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AND
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CONTENTS.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Brief Notices of some Writers of the English Franciscan Province since the Era of the Reformation, 11, 110, 222.
Catholic Funerals, 1.
Celebrated Sanctuaries of the Madonna, 204, 298, 391.
Collections illustrating the History of the English Benedictine Congregation, 491.
Extempore Preaching, 406.
Popular Education: Catholic Poor Schools and Middle Schools, 91.
Religion and Modern Philosophy, 185, 279, 373, 480.
St. Philip and the World, 120.
The Hierarchy, 467.
The Sacred Heart, 237.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Achilli (Dr.), 170, 362.
Agathon's Seven Questions bearing upon the present Ecclesiastical Crisis, 449.
Allies' (Mr.) See of St. Peter the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity, 363, 409.
Altar Cards, illuminated, 80.
A Socinian View of Catholicism, 351.
A Voice from the North, by an English Priest, 449.
Balmez, 122.
Benedict XIV. on Heroic Virtue, 360.
Berington's (Rev. J.) State and Behaviour of English Catholics, 362.
Bittleston's Two Letters to an Anglican Clergyman of the High-Church Party, 84.
Blanche-Raffin (A. de), Jacques Balmès, sa Vie et ses Ouvrages, 122.
Brownson's Quarterly Review, 82.
Bussière's (Viscount de) Life of St. Frances of Rome, Foundress of the Oblates of Tor di Specchi; with an Introduction on Christian Mysticism, 22.
Cardinal Pacca's Memoirs, 57.
Catholic Annual Register, 362.
Catholic Lending Libraries, 265.
Catholic Magazine and Register, 362.
Chromo-Lithographic Drawings of an Irish Ecclesiastical Bell, supposed to have belonged to St. Patrick, 361.
Clark's Hungary and the Hungarian Struggle, 82.
Compitum, 81.
Conversion d'une Famille Protestante, par Mde. Camille L., 84.
Cooper's (Rev. P.) The Anglican Church the Creature and Slave of the State, 82.

Crookall's (Dr.) Sacred Song, "Surge, Amica mea," 365.
Crowe's Edition of Wilhem's Method of Teaching Singing, 365.
Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Summa Theologica, 238.
Dublin Review, 170, 362, 449.
Faber's (Father) Lectures on the Spirit and Genius of St. Philip Neri, 170, 315.
Freeman's Remarks on the Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral, 449.
Gaume (l'Abbé J.), Les Trois Romes; Journal d'un Voyage en Italie, 251.
Gibson's Descriptive and Historical Notices of Northumbrian Churches and Castles, 265.
Gillis's (Bp.) Discourse on the Mission and Influence of the Popes, 361.
Gorham Case, Pamphlets on, 171.
Gueranger (Dom Prosper), Histoire de St. Cecile, 83.
Hanmer (A. J.) on Submission to the Catholic Church, 76.
Head's (Sir George) Historical Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca, 57.
History of England for Catholic Children, 453.
Hughes' (Bishop of New York) Sermon on the Church and the World, 361.
Husenbeth's (Rev. F. C.) Emblems of Saints, by which they are distinguished in Works of Art, 265.
Lantage (Père de), Catéchisme de la Foi et des Mœurs Chrétiennes, 83.
Lee's (Alfred) Empire of Music, and other Poems, 363.
Leibnitz's System of Theology, 363.
Luzerne's (Cardinal de la) Rights and Duties of Bishops and Priests in the Church, 450.
Maistre (Count Joseph de), The Pope, considered in his relations to the Church, Temporal Sovereignities, Separated Churches, and the Cause of Civilisation, 409.
Marshall's General Report on Roman Catholic Schools for 1849, 82.
Maskell's (Wm.) Letter to the Rev. Dr. Pusey, on his practice of receiving persons in Auricular Confession, 451.
Migne's (l'Abbé) Catéchismes philosophiques, polémiques, historiques, dogmatiques, moraux, liturgiques, disciplinaires, canoniques, pratiques, ascétiques, et mystiques, 450.
Miley's (Rev. Dr. John) History of the Papal States, from their Origin to the Present Day, 251.
Monica's (Mary) Cottage Conversations, 265.

- Monuments inédits sur l'Apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence et sur les autres Apôtres de cette Contrée, par l'Auteur de la dernière Vie de M. Olier, 264.
- Mount St. Lawrence, 440.
- Murray's (Dr.) Letters on the Philosophy of Plain Speaking, 81.
- Newman's (Father) Lectures on certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church, 80, 170, 506.
- Novello's Part Song-Book, 365.
- Office of the Immaculate Conception, 449.
- One Word on the Actual Constitution of the Anglican Establishment, 171; Author's Letter to the Editor of the Guardian, 363.
- Paradisus Animæ, 170.
- Peel, Sir Robert, 165.
- Perret's (M.) Drawings of Frescoes, &c. in the Roman Catacombs, 453.
- Pise's (Rev. Dr.) Christianity and the Church, 84.
- Popular Services, 315, 560.
- Prælectiones Theologiæ quas in Collegio Romano Societatis Jesu habebat J. Perrone, e Societate Jesu, in eodem Collegio Theologiæ Professor; accurante J. P. Migne, 238.
- Pressy's (Monsignor de, Bp. of Boulogne) Complete Works, 360.
- Prospective Review, 351.
- Psalterium Davidis, 449.
- Puseyism, its Rise, Progress, and Results, 506.
- Riambourg (De), the Works of, 360.
- Robson's Constructive Exercises for Teaching the Elements of the Latin Language, on a System of Analysis and Synthesis, 364.
- Rossi (G. B. de), L'Iscrizione della Statua ristabilita di Nicomaco Flaviano Seniore, 73.
- Sanitation, the Means of Health, 82.
- Schmid's (Canon) Tales, 265.
- Scriptures, the Holy, their Origin, Progress, Transmission, and True Character, 363.
- Scully's (Father) England with reference to the Monastic Institute, 171.
- Stothert's (Rev. James) Panegyric on St. Margaret, Queen and Patroness of Scotland, pronounced in St. Patrick's Church, Edinburgh, 361.
- Sumner's (Rev. R.) Unity and Stability considered in respect to the Anglican Church, 170.
- The Catholic School, 265.
- The Church Hymn-book, 171.
- The Church Musician, 171.
- The Gregorian Tones for the Psalms, arranged for Four Voices, with Organ Accompaniment, as used at St. Edmund's College, 364.
- The Lamp, 363.
- The Messenger, 363.
- The Miraculous Life of the Saints, 22.
- The Morality of Tractarianism, a Letter from one of the People to one of the Clergy, 81.
- Theological Science: Protestant Preaching, 238.
- The Opinions of Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P., 165.
- The Papal States: Miley and Gaume, 251.
- The Pope, 409.
- Vesper-Book for the Laity, 363.
- Wiseman's (Cardinal) Papal and Royal Supremacies contrasted, 82.
-
- Social and Intellectual State of England compared with its Moral Condition, 361.
-
- Two Sermons delivered at St. George's, 449.
- CORRESPONDENCE.**
- Popular Services, 454.
- ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.**
- Allocution of Pius IX., at the Secret Consistory of May 20, 1850, 85.
- Ancient Crucifixion in England, 371.
- Apostolic Letter of Pius IX., re-establishing the Catholic Hierarchy in England, 544.
- Canonisation of F. Peter Claver, S.J., 83.
- Catholic University for Ireland, 462.
- Circular of the Canadian Bishops, 272.
- Decision of the Pope on the subject of National Education in France, 171.
- Elevation of the Right Rev. Dr. Wiseman to the Cardinalate, 266, 458.
- Finances of the Papal States: Tax on Religious Foundations, 183.
- Government Aid granted to Catholic Schools, 269.
- Imprisonment of the Archbishop of Turin, 183.
- New Church and Mission at Gateshead, 557.
- New Churches, 90, 366, 466.
- Pastoral Letter of Cardinal Wiseman, 554.
- Piedmont: Arrest and Imprisonment of Monsignor Franzoni, 273.
- Plenary Indulgence in the form of Jubilee, 267.
- Prayers in Belgium for the Conversion of England, 174.
- Prohibited Books: Decree of the Holy Congregation of the Index, 182.
- Rome, 271.
- St. Mary's, Clapham, 90.
- The Brothers of Christian Instruction, 367.
- The Congregation of the Passionists, 466.
- The English Hierarchy, 458.
- The Jesuits at Detroit, Canada, 371.
- The Miracle at Rimini, 177, 277.
- The Synod of the Irish Bishops, 179, 365.
- The Syrian Archbishop in France, 184.
- The Trappists in Toulouse, 184.
- The Wednesday Mission, 366.

The Rambler.

PART XXXI.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CATHOLIC FUNERALS	1
BRIEF NOTICES OF SOME WRITERS OF THE ENGLISH FRANCISCAN PROVINCE SINCE THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION	11
REVIEWS: THE MIRACULOUS LIFE OF THE SAINTS.—The Life of St. Frances of Rome, Foundress of the Oblates of Tor di Specchi; with an Introduction on Christian Mysticism. By the Viscount M. T. de Bussière	22
CARDINAL PACCA'S MEMOIRS.—Historical Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca. Translated by Sir George Head	57
ROSSI ON THE CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF ROME.—L'Iscrizione della Statua ristabilita di Nicomaco Flaviano Seniore. Dichiarata da G. B. de Rossi	73
HANMER ON SUBMISSION TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.—Submission to the Catholic Church. By A. J. Hanmer, B.A.	76
SHORT NOTICES.—Father Newman's Lectures at the London Oratory on certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church.—Illuminated Altar-Cards.—Dr. Murray's Letters on the Philosophy of Plain Speaking.—Compitum, Vol. IV.—The Morality of Tractarianism, a Letter from One of the People to One of the Clergy.—Mr. Marshall's General Report on Roman Catholic Schools for the year 1849.—Dr. Wiseman's Papal and Royal Supremacies contrasted.—Hungary and the Hungarian Struggle, by Mr. T. G. Clark.—Brownson's Quarterly Review.—Rev. P. Cooper's Anglican Church the Creature and Slave of the State.—Sanitation, the means of Health.—Père de Lantage's Catéchisme de la Foi et	

	PAGE
des Mœurs Chrétiennes.—Histoire de Sainte Cecile, by Dom Prosper Gueranger.—Bittleston's Two Letters to an Anglican Clergyman of the High-Church Party.—Conversion d'une Famille Protestante, par Mde. Camille L.—Rev. Dr. Pise's Christianity and the Church	80
ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.—Allocution of Pius IX. at the Secret Consistory of May 20, 1850.—Canonisation of F. Peter Claver, S. J.—New Churches.—St. Mary's, Clapham	85

To Correspondents.

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PART XXXI.

CATHOLIC FUNERALS.

THE Protestant world is just now busied with an appropriate occupation: the dead are burying their dead. In other words, an extensive movement is in progress on the subject of the fittest manner of interring the great English nation. The Board of Health has made its long-promised report on the subject of intramural interment, and has propounded in it "a general scheme for extramural sepulture." This interesting document, one of the most important public papers that has been submitted to the country for many years, is now before us. The Government also has taken up the matter, and has already brought forward a measure on the subject. Surely, then, it is the duty of Catholics to place themselves in advance of the times, and to turn their attention to the subject of cemeteries and funerals; not merely from sanatory, but from religious considerations. While if we can compel the public to see that the Catholic Church looks upon the interment of the dead as an act of true Christian communion, and that instead of handing over the corpse of the pauper to the parish overseer to be buried by contract, she provides as decorously and as religiously for it as for that of the noble, we shall afford a fresh clue to lead all thinking men to the true Church. We remember the case of a poor person, who, seeing the corpse of a poor Catholic carried to the grave covered by a real Catholic pall, felt such a desire to have that pall and those affecting ceremonies used at her funeral, that she was led to examine into Catholic doctrine, and received the grace of God to embrace it.

To shew that since the national apostacy of England, Protestantism has not been able to provide for the decent interment of the dead, we need look to the metropolis alone.

And not to leave ourselves open to suspicion of exaggeration, we shall quote only from the Report of the Board of Health.

"Estimating," says the Report, "the duration of a simple generation at thirty years, there must have been interred in the small space of 218 acres—the area of all the graveyards in the metropolis—in the last generation, a million and a half of dead bodies. . . . The graveyards of London are still the plague-spots of its population. The putrid drainage from them pollutes its wells, seethes beneath its dwellings, and poisons its atmosphere; and some parts of the metropolis are still honeycombed with deposits of the putrescent remains of millions of its citizens, just as with cess-pools, and other abominations." A calculation made by Dr. Lyon Playfair, and quoted by the commissioners, estimates the amount of the gases evolved annually from the decomposition of 1117 corpses per acre, which is very far short of the number actually interred in the metropolitan graveyards, at not less than 55,261 cubic feet: therefore, as 52,000 interments take place annually in the metropolis, according to the ratio, the amount of gases emitted is equal to 2,572,850 cubic feet. The whole of this, however, beyond what is absorbed by the soil, must pass into the water below, or into the atmosphere above. What, then, must be the state of the air that is breathed, or the condition of the water that is drunk, by the denizens of this metropolis? "Yet such," we quote again, "*is the cupidity of the Church*, the unscrupulousness of the metropolitan undertakers, and, it must be added, the practical supineness of the authorities to whom the whole question of graveyards has been delegated by the State, that at this very moment there are further burials going on in some of the most frightfully gorged Golgothas of this metropolis." Such are the abuses that meet our eyes when we regard the question in a sanatory point of view; but others, not less portentous, strike us when we turn to its religious aspect. A contemporary has recently pointed out that it is no uncommon thing to see *churchyard earth carted on to the churchwarden's fields, and skulls set up for a mark at which boys may throw stones*: and we know of one instance at least in which a Catholic priest has often had to read the funeral service over poor deceased Catholics in a pauper cemetery, where, at stated intervals, fragments of coffins, but a short while in the ground, with portions of flesh still adhering to them, were burned *at night* in a remote corner of the graveyard.

The Catholic Church, on the other hand, when she has the ordering of her cemeteries and funerals, keeps prominently

before the eyes of her children the blessed truth, that those for the burial of whose remains she is providing, were our brothers in faith, and by virtue of "the Communion of Saints," are our brothers still. She teaches us that their remains must be respected, because they were the temples of the Holy Ghost. She makes her arrangements such that their bodies may remain undisturbed and at rest till the sounding of the last trumpet. She insists upon our paying due reverence to the remains of the departed, for of the body she teaches that "it is sown in corruption, it shall rise in incorruption. It is sown in dishonour, it shall rise in glory. It is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power. It is sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body."

Proceeding, however, to details, the subject of Catholic interment may be treated under two heads, *burial-grounds* and *funerals*.

It were much to be desired that we had a burial-ground attached to each of our quasi-parochial churches and chapels. We undoubtedly have a considerable number, especially in country places, but our large towns are fearfully ill-provided with burial-places for our countless poor. The consequence is, that our people are deprived of the privilege of being buried in *consecrated ground*, as also of having the Catholic burial-service read over their graves. What a miserable substitute for a Catholic funeral is the burial-service read over the corpse in the room, often a cellar, or garret, in which the departed lived and died! Often, again, have we to put up with an arrangement scarcely more satisfactory in a public cemetery, where one half for the *orthodox Protestants* is consecrated ground, and the other half left open to all others, with a preaching-room dignified by the name of a chapel, in which the Catholic priest may read the funeral service over his people, as soon as the pulpit has been vacated by the Wesleyan minister, the Unitarian preacher, or the Scotch divine.

Let us listen to the teaching of the Church herself on the subject of burial-grounds. She tells us that it is unlawful to bury her children in unconsecrated ground: "*Ubi nulla sunt cœmeteria ab ecclesiis distincta, Christiani in ipsis ecclesiis sepeliuntur; nefas autem est eorum aliquem in loco profano sepulturam habere.*" (*Devoti Institut. Canon.* p. 648.) Both the ecclesiastical and civil authorities are now, and with reason, much opposed to the ancient practice of burying within churches; yet the Church pronounces such a practice a less evil than the burying the faithful in unconsecrated ground. In the language of the Church, the word 'cemetery' does not mean what it ordinarily means with us, namely, a piece of

ground in the suburbs of a town, laid out as a public burial-ground. It means, so to speak, a dormitory, *attached to a church*, in which the faithful departed may repose in the sleep of death.* Each congregation or town is called upon by the Church to provide such a place of rest for its departed. Speaking of churchyards, in opposition to the practice of burying within the churches, the Roman Ritual says, "*Ubi viget antiqua consuetudo sepeliendi mortuos in cœmeteriis, retineatur, et ubi fieri potest, restituatur;*" where the ancient custom prevails of burying the deceased in churchyards, let it be retained, and, *where it is possible, let it be restored*. The Ritual orders likewise that none of the faithful should be buried in ground that is not consecrated; and directs that, if such be necessary as a temporary measure, a cross should in the mean while be placed at the head of the grave, to shew the faith of the deceased, and that as soon as possible the body be removed to consecrated ground: "*Nemo Christianus in communione fidelium defunctus, extra ecclesiam, aut cœmeterium rite benedictum sepeliri debet. Sed si necessitas cogat ex aliquo eventu aliquando ad tempus aliter fieri, curetur, ut quatenus fieri poterit, corpus in locum sacrum quamprimum transferatur, et interim semper crux capiti illius apponi debet, ad significandum illum in Christo quievisse.*" (*Rit. Rom. de Exequiis.*) With this recommendation, or rather this command of the Church before us, it will be surely our duty, in beginning new churches, or in adding to those already built, to provide a piece of ground for a Catholic cemetery, in every case where such an arrangement is possible.

Nor can the fact be concealed, that many of our existing chapel graveyards are anything but models of Catholic propriety. We know of several, of very small dimensions, which are half gardens and half graveyards; *i.e.* they have originally been gardens, and the apple-trees and potato-beds are only gradually encroached upon, as the demand for graves increases. Others we have seen used for drying clothes, and such like unspiritual purposes. We have heard a poor Catholic even express a wish rather to be buried in the Protestant churchyard, than have a grave near the Catholic chapel among onion-beds and gooseberry-bushes! As soon as a piece of ground is set apart for a burial-ground, it should all be laid down in grass, surrounded by a low coped wall, with

* "*Loca sepeliendis Christianorum cadaveribus destinata, jam inde ab antiquis ecclesiæ temporibus appellata sunt Cœmeteria, quasi fidelium corpora jacerent in loco dormitionis. . . . Sunt autem cœmeteria loca religiosa, solemniter episcopi benedictione humanis fidelium cadaveribus addicta, eaque prope ipsas ecclesias sita esse solent.*"—*Devoti*, pp. 644, 648.

a lich-gate at the entrance. In cases where the burial-ground is detached from the church or chapel, much will have to be done to it to make it a *Catholic* graveyard. It must not be laid out like a pleasure-garden or shrubbery, with flower-beds, serpentine walks, and rock-work, and other such Protestant devices for shutting out the wholesome thought of death. It needs a lodge for the porter, gravediggers, &c., and above all it must have its mortuary chapel. Many of our readers will have seen the Catholic cemetery at Chelsea, which is thus arranged, and which is the property of the secular clergy of the London district. We may also state that the first Number of the second series of the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* contains an arrangement for a cemetery, which comes as near the Catholic type as we can imagine Protestant amateurs to venture.

To pass on to the subject of Catholic funerals. When the "Reformers" shut their eyes to the clear proofs afforded by Scripture and tradition of the doctrine of purgatory, and the consequent practice of praying for the departed, a Protestant funeral became the mere burying the dead out of our sight, the hurrying of a nuisance out of the way, with some slight degree of decency. A Protestant funeral, whether got up with all the motley show and expensive trash of a modern funeral, with silver coffin-handles and plate, coffin lined and frilled, with pillow and mattress, and all the details of plumes, trapped horses, mutes, and so forth; or whether it be but a "poor man's funeral," with shabby hat-bands and scarfs, mourning cloaks, and black kid gloves; or whether it be the "medius terminus" for which we are indebted to the inventive genius and speculative faculties of Mr. Shillibeer, who advertises in the *Times*,—"Shillibeer's funeral system materially lessens the trouble and expense to bereaved relatives, in consequence of the establishment supplying all necessary requirements for every description of funeral, however costly or humble, at a positive reduction in first-class funerals of from 30 to 40 per cent. *Nobleman's* funeral 30 guineas, *artisan's* from 4*l.*,"—is of all spectacles the most melancholy, depressing, and hollow; while a really Catholic funeral is of all things the most consoling, and the sweetest solace of the wounded heart. It is on the part of the Church a duty that she owes to one who was her child, and whose remains were the temple of her Spouse. It is on the part of those who assist at it an expression of their faith in the resurrection of the flesh; of their hope to rejoin, in another life, their brother whom the grave is now about to conceal from their sight; and of their charity, in aiding to bury the body "sown in dishonour," and

in uniting to pray in the words of the Church, "Eternal rest give to him, O Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon him."

How perfect and touching are the last solemn rites as ordered by her who does all things well, we shall see by a rapid glance at the different stages of a funeral, from the moment the Catholic has drawn his last breath till he is laid in the bosom of his mother earth.

1. When the bell has tolled, to signify that the soul has passed away, and to ask a prayer for the departed, the body is reverently washed and laid out. A small cross is placed upon the breast, between the hands of the deceased; or, if a cross cannot be procured, the hands are arranged in the form of a cross. Lighted tapers are kept in the room, near the body, which is sprinkled with holy water, and prayers are recited over it, at intervals, till the time of the funeral. All this is provided for and *ordered* by the Rubric in the Roman Ritual: "Interim detur campana signum transitus defuncti pro loci consuetudine, ut audientes pro ejus anima Deum precentur. Deinde corpus de more honeste compositum, loco decenti cum lumine collocetur, ac parva crux super pectus inter manus defuncti ponatur: aut ubi crux desit, manus in modum crucis componantur, interdumque aspergatur aqua benedicta, et interim donec efferatur, qui adsunt, sive sacerdotes, sive alii, orabunt pro defuncto."

The body of a priest should always be washed, according to a very ancient custom, by another priest. The different orders of the clergy the Church requires to be buried in the dress of their respective order: "Sacerdos, aut cujusvis ordinis clericus defunctus, vestibus suis quotidianis communibus usque ad talarem vestem inclusive, tum desuper sacro vestitu sacerdotali, vel clericali, quem ordinis sui ratio deposcit, indui debet," &c. (*Rit. Rom.*) Accordingly, all in minor orders are buried in cassock and surplice; a sub-deacon, in cassock, amice, alb, girdle, maniple, and tunic; a deacon, in cassock, amice, alb, girdle, maniple, stole over the left shoulder and fastened under the right arm, and a *purple* dalmatic; a priest, in cassock, amice, alb, girdle, maniple, stole, and *purple* chasuble. All must have the tonsure and biretta. The bodies of infants and children under years of discretion must be robed in white, with no head-dress, but a wreath of flowers, or sweet herbs, in token of their virginity: "Cum igitur infans, vel puer baptizatus, defunctus fuerit *ante usum rationis*, induitur juxta ætatem, et imponitur ei corona de floribus, seu de herbis aromaticis et odoriferis, in signum integritatis carnis et virginitatis." (*Rit. Rom.*)

2. *The Coffin* is the next point of attention. We are

altogether wrong in the coffins to which we are accustomed in this country, both as regards what may be called their ground-plan and their elevation-plan. Our coffins ought to be, what they always were formerly in this country, and what they still are abroad, *i. e.*, made with a slope from head to foot, either single or double gabled. The *Ecclesiologist* for February last has some correct remarks on the form of the coffin :

“ In most parts of England,” says the writer, “ the shape of the coffin is absolutely wrong, in two essential particulars ; — everywhere in one. The rounding-off at the shoulders gives a hideousness of appearance ; it is an outline, and yet not an outline, of the human form ; a kind of caricature of humanity ; and it is the cause of needless expense. The true form, a mere slope from the head to the feet, the exterior shape of all old coffins, is both more in accordance with good feeling and correct taste, and also cheaper. It is still kept up in some parts of England, *e. g.* in many villages of Norfolk and Suffolk. The other fault is the flat top. It ought to be gabled ; and where money is not an object, double gabled. But the poor man, we will assume, must be contented with a plain gable ; the joining concealed by the upright of the cross that will run from the head to the foot of the coffin ; while the arms will branch off over the breast. This cross must be worked with square edges, and may be continued plain to the ends, or may expand after the fashion of a *cross formye*. When it is double gabled, a roll moulding may be added at the pitch of each gable, good and bold, and continued plain to the end. A single-gabled coffin will, it may be said, be naturally more expensive than those of the flat-topped fashion. It will so. It will cost about four shillings more ; perhaps not so much more when the carpenter becomes used to his work. In the funeral of a pauper, the Union will sometimes expend the eighteen shillings which the coffin costs, and allow the relations to add, if they think fit, some little decoration. Here the gabled top may be well recommended. If not, objection will rarely be made to having a cross marked in white paint on the flat top, from head to foot ; — and thus a symbol of Christianity is introduced.” — p. 333.

All the trumpery known as “ coffin-furniture ” must be got rid of. Suitable handles, two at each side, and one at both head and foot, are a becoming ornament ; such may be had in brass of Mr. Hardman of Birmingham ; or there may be an iron ring, fastened into an iron plate. Examples are given in plate 14 of the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*. The name-plate may be either a square or parallelogram, or shield

of brass, with an appropriate inscription. The coffin should not be covered with cloth. Where expense is no object, it should be made of oak, and polished; nothing can be more beautiful than this. The next quality of coffin should be made of elm, its beautiful grain-undulations brought out with oil. Where nothing more expensive can be afforded, it may be made of deal or pine, stained and varnished. The practice of covering coffins with cloth is absurd and unmeaning, as if cloth was a fit covering for the chill and damp of the grave.

3. *The Pall*.—Each church or chapel should have two palls; one smaller and simpler than the other, to be used in the house over the coffin, before the funeral, the other to be used at the funeral itself. The palls should be the property of the church, like the vestments, and at the service of the faithful, and would save the ten shillings or five shillings that is generally paid for the use of an inappropriate pall. A rich church should have its pall of velvet, and a poorer church may have it made of cloth. In Mr. Pugin's *Glossary* are designs for palls; and we have seen very beautiful ones made by Mrs. Powell of Birmingham.

4. *The Bier*. Every church should be provided with a bier. The present method of carrying the coffin by under-bearers is as inconvenient as absurd. Six men, covered with the pall, and thus deprived of light and air, are compelled to carry a coffin. If not accustomed to the work, there is every danger of the coffin falling. When, in a long journey to the grave, the under-bearers have to be changed, the procession is stopped altogether for a while. If the deceased has died of any infectious disorder, the lot of the under-bearers is still worse. All this trouble, annoyance, and danger is avoided by the use of the more seemly bier, and its head or hearse. There can be no comparison between the relative conveniences of the system of *under-bearers* with that of the *bier and bearers*. A working drawing for a bier, with its hearse, is given in plate 32 of the *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, and the article already quoted, in p. 335, adds a few suggestions towards improving it.

The bier-bearers will in most cases be supplied by the members of some guild or confraternity. The only regulation on this subject that the Church has made is, that no persons in orders are on any account to carry the body of any lay person: "*Laici cadaver, quolibet generis, aut dignitatis titulo præditus ille fuerit, clerici ne deferant, sed laici.*" (*Rom. Rit.*) The bier may be kept in a retired spot, at the west end of the church. With a bier of this kind no tressels will ever be required.

5. *The Hearse*, as we see it now, is absolutely intolerable.

We remember seeing one in Liverpool which was thought to be singularly grand. The top, with its forest of plumes, was supported on spiral columns, and at the back were two large carved figures weeping, with reversed torches in their hands. It looked like an advertising van belonging to a house in the feather line, and the two figures like emblems of the joint proprietors weeping over the dulness of trade. The hearse should be dispensed with in all funerals, if possible. It is a more Christian-like thing to see a fellow-creature borne to his last home on men's shoulders than by brute beasts. If we are to have a hearse at all, let it be of an appropriate form and character, with torches burning in lamps around it, as may be seen in Naples to this day. The hearse was originally nothing but a bier on wheels; as it had to encounter dust, rain, and wind, it was panelled, instead of hung with a pall. This old hearse has degenerated into the modern one, which looks for all the world like a gunpowder-van. We believe, however, that the old form has been retained in some parts of Yorkshire.

It is the custom in many Catholic countries to remove the corpse the day before the funeral at evening from the house to the church, and to leave it in the church all night. The Church wishes that the holy sacrifice of the Mass should be offered up for every deceased person, *corpore præsente*, before the body be buried. Hence we read in the Ritual: "Quod antiquissimi est instituti, illud, quantum fieri poterit, retineatur, ut missa præsente corpore defuncti pro eo celebretur, antequam sepulturæ tradatur."

The preliminary arrangements have now been made, and the hour for commencing the funeral service has arrived. The body has to be brought from the house of the deceased to the church. The clergy, and others who are to take part in the funeral, have already been called together by the sound of the bell to the church. The Ritual tells us what is next to be done. The priest, in his surplice and black stole, or black cope, with one clerk carrying the cross, and another carrying the holy water, proceeds with the others to the house of the deceased. Wax tapers are distributed, and the procession forms. First walk the lay confraternities, if there be any; then the regular and secular clergy in order, two and two, singing the psalms prescribed by the Church; then follows the officiating priest, and behind him is carried the bier, with lights; then the rest follow, praying *in silence* for the deceased. "Parochus induto superpelliceo et stola nigra, vel etiam pluviali ejusdem coloris, clerico præferente crucem, et alio aquam benedictam, ad domum defuncti una cum aliis procedit. Distribuuntur

cerei, et accenduntur intorticia. Mox ordinatur processio, præcedentibus laicorum confraternitatibus, si adsint; tum sequitur clerus regularis et secularis per ordinem; binique procedunt, prælata cruce, devote psalmos, ut infra, decantantes, parocho præcedente feretrum cum luminibus, inde sequuntur alii funus comitantes, et pro defuncto Deum rite deprecantes sub silentio." (*Rit. Rom.*) The lighted wax tapers may not be omitted at a funeral from economical or any other unworthy motives. The Ritual is very express on this head, and requires even that in the funerals of the very poor the incumbent must provide wax tapers *at his own expense*, rather than omit them. "Cum autem," says the Rubric, "antiquissimi ritus ecclesiastici sit, cereos accensos in exequiis et funeribus deferre, caveant item, ne ejusmodi ritus omittantur, ac ne quid avare aut indigne in eo committatur. Pauperes vero, quibus mortuis nihil, aut ita parum superest, ut propriis impensis humari non possint, *gratis omnino* sepeliantur; ac *debita lumina suis impensis, si opus fuerit, adhibeant sacerdotes.*"

When the procession has arrived at the house of the deceased, the priest sprinkles the body with holy water, and recites over it the "De profundis," with its antiphon "Si iniquitates." Then the body is carried out of the house, and the priest, as he leaves the house, intones the antiphon "Exultabunt Domino," and the cantors begin the psalm "Miserere," which is sung during the procession to the church. If the distance be considerable, and the "Miserere" does not fill up the time, the psalm "Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi," or others from the Office for the Dead, may be sung. On arriving at the church, the antiphon "Exultabunt" is repeated. As the procession enters the church, the "Subvenite," &c. is sung. The bier is then placed in the middle of the church, in such a manner that the feet of the deceased, if it be a lay person, and if a priest, the head, should be placed towards the high altar; and lighted torches are placed round the bier. "Corpora defunctorum in ecclesia ponenda sunt pedibus versus altare majus; vel si conduntur in oratoriis aut capellis, ponantur cum pedibus versis ad illarum altaria: quod etiam pro situ et loco fiat in sepulchro. Presbyteri vero habeant caput versus altare." (*Rit. Rom.*)

After this follow the office, Mass, the absolutions at the bier, and the burial-service. Such is a funeral, really Catholic.

Before concluding, it should be mentioned that all our cemeteries and graveyards should be portioned out into three divisions: one for the clergy and all in orders, which portion should be again subdivided into a part for those in priest's orders and another part for those in orders below the priest-

hood ; a second for the laity ; and a third for infants and young children. This division is not merely suggested, but is prescribed by the rubric of the Ritual. Concerning the separation that should exist between the part for the clergy and laity, it says: "Sepulchra sacerdotum et clericorum cujuscumque ordinis, ubi fieri potest, a sepulchris laicorum separata sint, et decentiori loco sita." Of the division in the portion allotted to those in orders, it adds: "Atque ita, ubi commodum fuerit, ut alia pro sacerdotibus, alia pro inferioris ordinis ecclesie ministris parata sint." Of the portion reserved for infants and young children, it says: "Admonendi sunt parochi, ut juxta vetustam et laudabilem ecclesiarum consuetudinem, parvulorum corpuscula non sepeliantur in communibus et promiscuis coemeteriorum et ecclesiarum sepulturis ; sed ut pro illis in parochialibus ecclesiis, aut illarum coemeteriis, quatenus commode fieri potest, speciales et separatos ab aliis loculos et sepulturas habeant, seu fieri curent, in quibus non sepeliantur, nisi qui baptizati fuerint infantes, vel pueri, qui ante annos discretionis obierunt."

In a future article we shall offer some remarks on the Burial Service, and on Catholic sepulchral monuments and inscriptions.

BRIEF NOTICES OF SOME WRITERS OF THE ENGLISH FRANCISCAN PROVINCE SINCE THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION.

DEDICATION.

DR. AND VENERABLE FATHER HENDREN, O.S.F.—Be pleased to accept this handful of gleanings, as an earnest of my good will. The difficulty of recovering materials and information, owing partly to the injuries of the times, and partly to the very retired, modest, and too diffident character of several members of your seraphic order, has often proved discouraging. "To love to be unknown, and to be considered as nothing" is an excellent maxim for personal humility ; but may it not be carried too far, when it takes away from the fair credit and reputation of the order itself? Your province formerly ranked as the *second* of the many on this side the Alps ; and considering the time of its revival (1629), and the comparatively small number of its members, it was as holy and learned as the former province, and might vie with any community of English religious men. (*Collect. Anglo-Minoritica*, p. 262.)

May a new Gennings arise to prune and propagate your "Genealogical Tree;" and in the words of your saintly worthy, F. Bell, "I pray our Lord, your seed and this plantation remain upon the earth, until our Saviour Jesus Christ do come to judge the same." Commending myself to your pious prayers and sacrifices, I am your affectionate brother in Christ,

G. O.

INTRODUCTION.

Queen Mary, from the consciousness she had of the meritorious services of the English Franciscans in the defence of the old religion, and of their unshaken attachment to her incomparable mother Catharine of Arragon, consort of King Henry VIII.,* was anxious, on her accession to the throne, to re-assemble the brethren who had survived their brutal persecution. She re-established them in their former convent of Jesus at Greenwich, founded for them by her royal progenitor King Henry VII. in 1486; she enlarged the buildings, and liberally administered to their wishes and comforts. In their conventual church, on Sunday, 22d March, 1555, Cardinal Pole sang his first Mass, at which ten Bishops in their mitres assisted; and on 26th August that year, her majesty, with her husband Philip, proceeded in state to visit this holy community. Here all went on prosperously under their guardian Stephen Fox, until Queen Elizabeth (who had been solemnly christened in their conventual church on 10th September, 1533) ungratefully and barbarously expelled them on 12th June, 1559, and converted the convent into a portion of her palace. Some of these scattered brethren are recorded to have lived to an advanced age. Brother Stephen Fox, before mentioned, died at Lisbon in 1588. Brother Richards ended his days in Spain in 1619, "in odore sanctitatis." Brother Nelson died near Hereford sixty-seven years after his expulsion; and Brother John Richel departed this life at Louvain, aged 97, rel. 72.

Under God, the merit of restoring the English Franciscan province is due to brother John Gennings. Converted in a wonderful manner from a furious bigot by the prayers of his martyred brother the Rev. Edmund Gennings, he decided on forsaking kindred and country, and, like another Saul, to

* "This royal felon in sacrilege," as Whitaker styles Henry VIII. (*Cathedral of Cornwall*, vol. i. p. 106), suppressed the Franciscan order in England and drove the friars from their convent at Greenwich as early as 11th August, 1534. At one time during that year more than 200 Franciscans were consigned to jail for refusing to swear that the tyrant's marriage with his mistress, Anne Boleyn, was legitimate and rightful before God and the Church.

become the preacher and champion of that faith which he had derided, blasphemed, and persecuted. After duly qualifying himself for the ministry in that blessed school of martyrdom and orthodoxy the secular College of Douay, he was ordained priest in 1607, and in the following year returned to his native country. About four years later he received the habit of St. Francis, from Brother William Stanney, subcommissary-general of the Franciscan Order in England; and from the good opinion which that venerable man entertained of this fervent religious, he placed in his hands the seal of the province,* which he had received from F. John Buckley, *alias* Jones, who had glorified God by suffering for the faith in London, on 12th July, 1598.

F. Gennings fully justified the expectation formed of his energy, discretion, and abilities. In 1616, in quality of vicar and custos of England, he assembled at Gravelines a handful of brethren (Mr. Dodd, *Church Hist.* vol. ii. p. 408, says they were about *six* in number, including novices). God manifestly blessed their undertaking. Within three years they succeeded in establishing at Douay the convent of St. Bonaventure, with a noviceship annexed. A decree of the general chapter at Rome, in 1625, pronounced that the English province should be restored to its pristine honour and place when a sufficient number of subjects should be collected. That auspicious realisation was proclaimed by the minister-general, F. Bernardine de Senis, in his letters patent of 6th August, 1629; and he selected F. John Gennings to be the first provincial of the restored province. This event was duly declared at the first chapter, which was holden at St. Elizabeth's convent, Brussels, 1st December, 1630. Full of days, but fuller of merits, this patriarch departed to our Lord, at Douay, on 2d November, o. s. 1660, rel. 48.

It would require volumes to recount the many zealous and apostolic men which the restored province supplied to the English mission† during the two last centuries. Our object

* It cannot be the present oval seal, representing the Blessed Virgin Mary crowned, holding the Divine Infant on her right arm, and standing on a crescent between two Doric pillars that support a fantastic canopy. The legend is, SIGILLVM · PROVINCIÆ · ANGLIÆ · FRATRVM · RECOLLECTORVM. In the exergue is a shield bearing the arms of France and England quarterly.

† The zeal of the province extended to Maryland. F. Massey Massy was sent thither in 1672, and two years later FF. Polycarp Whicksted and Basil Hobart were given him as fellow-labourers in that vineyard. In 1675 another reinforcement was assigned in the persons of FF. Henry a S. Francisco and Edward Golding. We find that F. Henry Carew, who had been appointed superior of the Maryland mission 6th May, 1677, died six years later on the passage back to England. FF. Bruno Taylor and James Haddock, on 30th January, 1700, were ordered to Maryland. Even Scotland shared in their zeal; for in 1705 FF. Peter Gordon and Clement Hyslop were directed thither.

is simply to submit a *precis* of its literary men. The attempt will probably serve to sharpen the industry of others in improving these humble researches.

WRITERS OF THE ENGLISH FRANCISCAN PROVINCE.

ANGELUS A S. FRANCISCO.—This was his name assumed in religion; his real name was Richard Mason. He is divided by Mr. Dodd (*Church Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 100-113) into two distinct persons. That he was an Englishman is certain; yet Harris, in his *Writers of Ireland*, p. 336, strangely claims him as a native of that country. We can follow him up as filling the offices of definitor or consulator, guardian of the convent at Douay, professor of divinity there, confessor to the nuns of the third order of St. Francis, missionary, president, provincial commissary, and lastly, provincial of his brethren, from 23d April, 1659, to 13th April, 1662. From his able pen we have the following works:—

1. *Sacrarium Privilegiorum*, &c. of the Franciscan Observantines. Douay, 1633. 2. *Quæstionum Theologicarum Resolutio*, &c. Douay, 1637. 3. *Regula et Testamentum S. Francisci*, &c., with a treatise *De Confraternitatæ Chordæ*, and *Manuale Tertii Ordinis S. Francisci*. These were printed at Douay, in Latin, 1643; but in the same year issued from the same press his translation into English of the said Manual, 12mo, pp. 528, dedicated to the Dowager Lady Elizabeth Rivers. His English Manual of the Confraternity of the Cord of the Passion was printed at Douay, 1654, 12mo, pp. 633, and dedicated to the Lady Anne Howard. 4. *The Rule of Penance of the Seraphical F. St. Francis*, as approved and confirmed by Leo X., in two vols. Douay, 1644. The first is dedicated to F. John Gennings, the second to the Abbess (Margaret Clare West) and Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis at Nieuport. 5. *Certamen Seraphicum Fratrum Minorum*, &c. Douay, 4to, 1649, pp. 356. A very valuable publication. In the *Reg.* 49 I find an order given him, 12th February, 1651, to get ready for the press a course of philosophy, *ad mentem doctoris subtilis (Scotus)*. N.B. According to the catalogue of the library of the British Museum, he was the author of *Apologia pro Scoto Anglo*, 12mo, Douay, 1656; and *Microcosmus*, &c., Wangii, 8vo, 1671. But perhaps his noblest production is a Liturgical Discourse on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, in 8vo. It consists of two parts; yet, strange to say, the *second* part was printed *first*, viz. in 1669, pp. 318, with sixteen pages of appendix, besides table of contents. The *first* part, containing 184 pages, besides a table of contents of eight pages, appeared in 1670. This most learned and edifying work is dedicated to Henry, the third Lord Arundel, Baron of Wardour (Count of the Roman Empire, and Master of the Horse to the late Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria), whose hereditary devotion to

the Holy Sacrifice the author commemorates. In 1675 he published an abridgment of this admirable work; a further abridgment, in the form of dialogue, was published by F. Pacificus Baker, O.S.F., in 12mo, 1768, pp. 167, which is sometimes bound up with Mr. Gother's *Four Methods of hearing Mass*.

It is not generally known that this luminary of his brethren was created the second doctor of divinity of the restored province (F. Davenport was the first). Worn out with labours in the service of religion, he obtained permission to quit England for his convent at Douay on 11th October, 1675, *ut sibi et Deo ibidem vacet*; and there he slept in the Lord during the year 1680.

AUSTIN, LEWIS (A SANCTA CLARA). This reverend Father published at Douay, in 1642, that rare treatise, "The Goade of Divine Love," a translation of St. Bonaventure's work, *Stimulus Divini Amoris*. The translator dedicated it, on 20th June, 1642, to the Very Rev. George Perrot, "our most loving, prudent, and provident Provinciall." He died at Paris in 1679.

AYRAY, JAMES (ALBAN A S. AGATHA). At the congregation holden in London, 11th October, 1675, he was chosen the chronologist of the province, and the Fathers were requested to send to him all their documents.* Whilst chaplain to the Spanish ambassador in London, he was distinguished as a preacher. We have seen but two of his published sermons, one delivered at Weld House, London, on the third Sunday of Advent, 12th December, 1686; and another preached at Somerset House, before the Queen Dowager, on the second Sunday after Easter, 10th April, 1687. To the best of our belief he ended his days in England early in 1705.

BAKER, PACIFICUS. This eminent spiritualist, after discharging with credit the offices of procurator, missionary, definitor, and of provincial *twice*,—the first time from 1761 to 1764, the second time shortly before his death,—ended his days in London on 16th March, 1774, æt. 80. We have from his pen, "The Christian Advent," "The Sundays kept Holy," "The Devout Christian's Companion for the Holy-Days," "The Devout Communicant," "The Holy Altar and Sacrifice explained," "The Lenten Monitor." Without much originality, all these works are remarkable for unction, solidity, and moderation; but we wish the style was less diffuse and redundant of words.

* We wish that all our religious societies, and each of our districts, possessed a duly qualified annalist.

BELL, (FRANCIS) ARTHUR, born in Hanbury parish, near Worcester, on 13th January, 1590; ordained Priest at Valladolid; admitted a novice amongst the Franciscans 5th August, 1618, and became one of the chief instruments in the happy restoration of their English province. As a linguist he was distinguished amongst his brethren, for he was skilled in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, and Flemish. In 1624 he published at Brussels "A brief Instruction how we ought to hear Mass," a translation from the Spanish of Andrea Soto, and dedicated to Anne Countess of Argyle; and "The Rule of the Third Order of St. Francis." In the following year, "The History, Life, and Miracles of Joane of the Cross," 8vo, St. Omer, pp. 158.

The good nuns of the Third Order of St. Francis, now, thanks to God, established at Taunton, had the comfort of possessing this worthy director during seven years at Brussels, viz. from 1623 to December 1630; and he introduced among them that methodical system of keeping their annals which they have so exemplarily followed. At the first general chapter of the restored Franciscan province of England, which was holden (December 1630) in their convent of St. Elizabeth at Brussels, F. Bell was officially declared guardian of St. Bonaventure's convent at Douay, with the charge of teaching Hebrew. It seems that in October 1632 his presence was required in England, for within the octave of St. Francis that year, F. Henry Heath, the vicar or vice-president of the college, was appointed to supply the remainder of his triennium. He was shortly after sent to Spain; but on 8th September, 1634, returned to the English mission, where he laboured with the zeal of an apostle. To the reverend mother, Margaret Clare West, the second abbess of his dear nuns of St. Elizabeth, then removed from Brussels to Nieuport,* he addressed from London the following letter, the original of which is duly treasured in their archivium at Taunton:



"Reverende Mother Abbasse,—I give God thanks, and hertily congratulate your Election. I received a letter from you dated Februarie 15, 1641, with a picture exceeding curiously wrought about the border; and another letter, dated the 2d of March, 1641, with a little Crosse of Mother Catharine's,† which I knew as soon as I sawe it. God have mercie

* Here it may be proper to state, that this community was first founded at Brussels on 9th August, 1621; that they removed to Nieuport in 1637; and thence to Princenhoff, in the city of Bruges, in 1662; thence emigrated to Winchester in 1794, and thence settled themselves at Taunton Lodge in 1808.

† Catharine Francis Greenway, the first abbess. She resigned her office three years before her death, which occurred in February 1642, *n. s.*

on her Soule, and double her spirit upon you, that you may wisely governe and conduct his handmaides to him. I will not cesse to pray for you, as I would be prayed for by you, and the Saints with you; who, sitting safe in the Porte, I hope will be mindful of us that are tossed in the wayes of Persecution, in continuall feares to lose all that we have, and our lives which we set at nought to save the Catholicke faith entire. Ye are right happie that ye are there, shrouded from the world, where ye see not the evilles that are done under the Sunne, nor hear the continuall execrable blasphemies spoken and written heer by the Adversaries against God's Church. Live and enjoy that happinesse, till God of his mercie give us greater and everlasting. These be the wishes of your Reverence's poor brother,

FRANCIS BEL.

London, this 3 of Aprill, 1642.

Endorsed,

To the R^{de} Mother Sr Margarite Clare,

Abbesse of the Cloyster of English Religious

of the Third Order of St. Francis in Newporte."

For the account of the Father's capture in Hertfordshire, 7th November, 1643, and of his inhuman execution at Tyburn for priesthood only, on 11th December following, æt. 53, rel. 25, miss. 9, we refer the reader to the *Certamen Seraphicum*, and to Dr. Challoner's truth-telling Memoirs of Missionary Priests.

BERNARD, FRANCIS (A S. FRANCISCO), D.D., was for a considerable time professor of theology at Douay. His surname was Eyston, a family fruitful of religious members.* We have seen his very sensible treatise on "The Creed, Decalogue, and the Sacraments," 4to, Aire, 1684. He was the author also of "The Christian's Duty." This jubilarian Father died in St. Bonaventure's convent on 17th May, 1709. Another father of the family was the writer, I believe, of "A clear Looking-Glass for all wandering Sinners," 24mo, Roane, 1654, pp. 192, dedicated to Lady Willoughby, and approved of by the Provincial F. John Yates; but I cannot recover the date of his death.

BENET. *Qy*, if not the author of the "Rule of Perfection, conteyning a brief and perspicuous Abridgment of the whole Spiritual Life," printed at Roan in 1609?

BIX, ANGELUS.—After filling the office of confessor to the Poor Claresses at Aire, and to the community at Princenhoff, Bruges, he was sent to England. His sermon on Good Friday,

* In 1734 there were *four* sisters of the Eyston family nuns in St. Elizabeth's convent at Bruges.

13th April, 1688, as delivered at Somerset House, was published by the command of Queen Mary d'Este, consort of King James. He died early in 1695, whilst guardian at York.

BOURCHIER, THOMAS, of an illustrious family, took the habit in 1558, in the restored convent at Greenwich. On being expelled with the community by Queen Elizabeth, he proceeded to Paris, where he diligently applied himself to theology, and obtained the degree of doctor in that faculty. Thence he directed his steps to Rome, and became a member of the great Franciscan convent there, *Ara Cœli*, and was appointed a Penitentiary of St. John Lateran's. His death occurred about 1586; but four years before, his "*Historia Ecclesiastica de Martyrio Fratrum Ordinis S. Francisci in Anglia et Belgio*" was published at Paris, an octavo of 297 pages. An edition appeared at Ingolstadt in 1583; another at Paris in 1586.

CANES, VINCENT (JOHN BAPTIST), was born, as appears from p. 261 of the *Fiat Lux*, on the borders of Nottingham and Leicestershire, but brought up in the Protestant religion. When arrived at the age of 18, he was sent to the University of Cambridge, and remained there two years. His docility of heart led him to the discovery of the truth, and he consecrated himself to God and the service of religion in the Franciscan convent at Douay. In due time he was appointed lector of philosophy and professor of divinity. In 1648 we meet him on the English mission. He was a man of acute and vigorous mind, and sprightly humour; and united with zeal the most delicate forbearance and charity. His first work was "*The Reclaimed Papist*," a small octavo of 221 pages, 1655, dedicated to John Compton, Esq., to whom, it seems, he was chaplain. It is written in the form of dialogue between Sir Harry, a Catholic knight, and a Protestant lady to whom the knight is paying his addresses, who admits that he possesses every good quality, "only one thing spoils all, you are a Papist;" and for his conversion she introduces to him a Presbyterian minister, and his wife, an enthusiastic Independent. If revised and abridged, and the dialogue more broken into questions and answers, it would now become a popular book. His "*Fiat Lux, or a general Conduct to a right Understanding and Charity in the great Combustions and Broils about Religion in England*," is admirably calculated to inspire sentiments of moderation and peace, by enlightening the mind and dispersing the mists of prejudice. The *second* edition (I have not seen the first) appeared in 1662, an octavo of 396 pages, and was dedicated to Elizabeth Countess of Arundel and Surrey, the mother of

Cardinal Howard. He was also the author of "Diaphanta; or, an Exposure of Dr. Stillingfleet's Arguments against the Catholic Religion." We have seen his "Three Letters, declaring the strange odd proceedings of Protestant Divines when they write against Catholics, by the example of Dr. Taylor's *Dissuasive against Popery*, Mr. Whitbie's *Reply in behalf of Dr. Pierce against Mr. Cressy*, and Dr. Owen's *Animadversions on Fiat Lux*," octavo, 1671, pages 411. Another treatise against Dr. Stillingfleet was published at Bruges shortly after the author's death. According to the Franciscan Register, p. 115, F. Canes was selected by the Catholic body to defend their cause against Dr. Stillingfleet, their most virulent antagonist, and he succeeded to the general satisfaction. F. Canes died in June 1672, and was buried in the chapel of Somerset House.

CANSFIELD, BENEDICT, or WILLIAM FITCH, born at Cansfield, Essex. His elder brother was called Thomas, his younger Francis. In p. 49 of his Life, Benedict is stated to have been the author of "The Christian Knight," which I have not seen. His "Rule of Perfection, reducing the whole Spiritual Life to this one point, of the Will of God," was printed at Rouen in 1609, and afterwards translated into Latin. He composed also a treatise "De bene Orando." As a preacher this saintly religious was highly esteemed. His death occurred at Paris, 21st November, 1611, æt. 49.

COLEMAN, WALTER (CHRISTOPHER A S. CLARA), a native of Staffordshire, and a great sufferer for the Catholic faith, was sentenced to death on 18th December, 1641, but died a lingering death in 1645, "continuis ærumnis et loci pædore extinctus, præ inedia et squalore in carcere." (*Reg.* 34.) His poem called "The Duel of Death" was dedicated to Henrietta Maria, consort of King Charles I.

CROSS, JOHN, alias MORE, was declared D.D. on 12th October, 1672;* on 10th May, 1674, was elected provincial for three years; re-elected 25th April, 1686, filling the office during an eventful period until 28th September, 1689, "summa cum laude et omnium satisfactione." During his visitation of the province in 1687, several new residences were presented to him by charitable founders and benefactors, viz. of the Holy Sacrament in York, of St. Anthony de Padua at Hexham; of the Holy Cross at Goosenargh, St. Winifred's at Holywell, Holy Trinity at Leominster, of the Immaculate Conception at

* At the end of August 1692 the congregation came to a resolve "that the title of Doctorship should cease in our province."

Abergavenny, of St. Mary Magdalen at Birmingham, of St. Mary of the Angels at Warwick, and of St. Francis of Assisi at Monmouth. In the course of the same year he obtained a ten years' lease of premises near the Arches in Lincoln's Inn Fields, lately occupied by the Countess of Bath, and there established a community of ten members. All offered a cheering prospect to religion until William Prince of Orange landed at Brixham on 4th November, 1688. As soon as the intelligence reached London, even the presence of the king did not prevent the populace from attempting to demolish the Catholic chapels. They made a desperate and continued attack on the residence of the Franciscans in Lincoln's Inn Fields for a day and a night, and were only prevented from carrying their design into execution by a guard of cavalry and infantry sent by the king. This discomfiture served but to sharpen their appetite for vengeance, and, learning that on the 17th November the king was to remove the infant Prince of Wales to Portsmouth, and, if necessary, to convey him to France, as also that his Majesty would proceed on the same day to join the army at Salisbury, the rioters deferred to that day the work of destruction. But the king consulted their safety by the following order, received by the provincial from the Right Rev. Bishop Leyburn, preserved in p. 212 of the Franciscan Register:

"For Mr. Crosse.

Verie R^d Father,—I am comanded by the Kinge to lett you know, that since the Rabble hath alreadye been very insolent and troublesome to you, att your Residence in Lincoln's-inne-fields, and is like to be more hereafter, it is his Majesty's desire and pleasure, that for prevention of future dangers and inconveniences, you, with the rest of your Fathers, retire from that place.—I am, verie R^d Father, your most affectionate Servant,

November 15th.

LEYBURN."

"In pursuance to this order we withdrew from the said place on 16th of November, having first removed our goods and obtained a guard of soldiers from his Majesty for the security of the house and chappell." In p. 29 of the Account Book we read: "By this place 'tis incredible what we lost; perhaps if I should say upwards of 3000*l*. I should not be much in the wrong."

This worthy provincial did not long survive the Revolution, for he was dead before the congregation met on 12th

May, 1691. He was admitted a Jubilarian 27th April, 1671 (*Reg.* p. 112). Of his works we may notice :

1. Philothea's Pilgrimage to Perfection, described in a practice of Ten Days' Solitude. This had been voted for publication by the chapter in London, 15th November, 1666, and was printed at Bruges in 1668, an octavo of 256 pages. 2. A Sermon preached before the King and Queen on the Feast of the Holy Patriarch St. Benedict, 1686. 3. A treatise De Juramento Fidelitatis; and another, De Dialectica. (*Registri*, pp. 117, 177.) 4. An Apology for the Contemplations on the Life and Glory of Holy Mary, the Mother of Jesus. 12mo, London, 1687. Pp. 143. Dedicated to Queen Mary, Consort of King James II. Mr. Dodd (*Ch. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 490) attributes to him "some divine poems."

On the 14th October, 1684, it was voted by the chapter that it would be conducive to God's honour and to the credit of the province if the life of F. John (Joachim) Wall, who had suffered death at Worcester, 22d August, 1679, æt. 59, rel. 28, should be written and published; and F. John Cross was requested to undertake the task. In this chapter it was recommended to the Fathers to form collections of the antiquities of their respective districts, "scilicet situum, possessionum, sepulturarum, fundatorum," &c. (*Reg.* p. 175-7.)

CROSS, NICHOLAS.—A man of such repute amongst his brethren as to be selected four times for the office of provincial; 1st, on the 13th April, 1662; 2d, 28th April, 1671; 3d, on 16th June, 1680; and 4thly, on 28th September, 1689; but from ill health could not complete this triennium, and sent in his resignation on 12th May, 1691. We have his sermon "On the Joys of Heaven," which he preached at Windsor before the Queen on 21st April, 1686. The catalogue of the Bodleian Library correctly assigns to him, and not to F. John Cross, as Mr. Dodd imagined, the authorship of "Cynosura; or, a Saving Star which leads to Eternity, being a paraphrase on the 50th Psalm, *Miserere mei, Deus, secundum*," &c., dedicated to the Countess of Shrewsbury. It is a thin folio, printed in London, 1670. For a time, F. Nicholas was chaplain to Anne (Hyde) Duchess of York, who died 31st March, 1671. This Jubilarian Father departed this life early in 1698.

CYPRIAN. . . . All that I can glean of him is, that he was chaplain to the Queen Henrietta Maria, and published "Heaven opened, and the Pains of Purgatory avoided, by the Indulgences attached to the Devotions of the Rosary and Cord of the Passion," octavo, 1663, pp. 133.

[To be continued.]

Reviews.

THE MIRACULOUS LIFE OF THE SAINTS.

The Life of St. Frances of Rome, Foundress of the Oblates of Tor di Specchi; with an Introduction on Christian Mysticism. By the Viscount M. T. de Bussi re. (Vie de Sainte Fran oise Romaine, &c.) Paris, Gaume Fr eres.

IF it be once admitted that there is a God, and that the soul is not a mere portion of the body, the existence of miracles becomes at once probable. Apart from the records of experience, we should in fact have expected that events which are now termed miraculous would have been as common as those which are regulated by what we call the laws of nature. Let it be only granted that the visible universe is not the whole universe, and that in reality we are ever in a state of most intimate *real* communion with Him who is its Creator; then, we say, we should have expected to have been as habitually conscious of our intercourse with that great Being, as of our intercourse with one another. The true marvellous, that we are not thus habitually conscious of the Divine Presence, and that God is really out of our sight. If there is a God, who is ever around us and within us, *why* does He not communicate with us through the medium of our senses, as He enables us to communicate with one another? Our souls hold mutual communion through the intervention of this corporal frame, with such a distinct and undeniable reality, that we are as *conscious* of our intercourse as of the contact of a material substance with our material bodies. Why, then,—since it is so infinitely more important to us to hold ceaseless communication with our Maker,—why is it that our intercourse with Him is of a totally different nature? Why is it that the material creation is not the ordinary instrument by which our souls converse with Him? Let any man seriously ponder upon this awful question, and he must hasten to the conclusion, that though experience has shewn us that the world of matter is not the *ordinary* channel of converse between God and man, there yet remains an overwhelming probability that some such intercourse takes place *occasionally* between the soul and that God through whose power alone she continues to exist.

In other words, the existence of miracles is probable rather than otherwise. A miracle is an event in which the laws of nature are interrupted by the intervention of some

spiritual agency, for the purpose of bringing the soul of man into a conscious contact with the inhabitants of the invisible world. With more or less exactness of similitude, a miracle establishes between God and man, or between other spiritual beings and man, that same kind of intercourse which exists between different living individuals of the human race. Such a conscious intercourse is asserted by infidels as well as by atheists, to be, if not impossible, at least so utterly improbable, that it is scarcely within the power of proof to make it credible to the unbiassed reason. Yet surely the balance of probability inclines to the very opposite side. If there is a God, and our souls are in communication (of some kind) with Him, surely, prior to experience, we should have expected to be habitually conscious of this communion. And now that we see that we are not at any rate habitually so, still the burden of proof rests with those who allege that such conscious intercourse never takes place. Apart from all proof of the reality of any one professed miracle, the infidel is bound to shew *why* all miracles are improbable or impossible; in other words, why man should never be conscious of the presence and will of his ever-present God.

In contemplating the miraculous history of any Catholic Saint, it is well to bear in mind the position we have here assumed. Protestants almost always, and even weak Catholics, regard the record of one of those mysterious lives, in which the soul of a man or woman has been repeatedly brought into this species of communion with invisible beings, as a tale which, though it is just possible that it may be true, is yet, on the face of it, so flagrant a violation of the laws of nature, as to be undeserving of positive hearty belief. They confound the laws of physical nature with the laws of universal nature. They speak of the nature of this material earth, as if it was identical with the *nature of things*. And this confusion of thought it is to which we would now especially call attention. Miracles are contrary to the ordinary laws of physical nature, and therefore are so far improbable; but they are in the strictest conformity with the nature of things, and therefore *in themselves* are probable. If the laws of nature rule God as they control man, a miracle is almost an impossibility; but if God rules the laws of nature, then it is wonderful that something miraculous does not befall us every day of our lives.

Again, it is in a high degree probable that miraculous events will generally, so to say, take their colour from the special character of that relation which may exist between God and man at the time when they come to pass. If, in the inscrutable counsels of the Almighty, man is placed,

during different eras in his history, in different circumstances towards his Creator and Preserver, it would seem only natural that the variations in those circumstances should be impressed upon the extraordinary intercourse between God and his people. Or, to use the common Christian term, each *dispensation* will have its peculiar supernatural aspect, as well as its peculiar spiritual and invisible relationship. If man was originally in a higher and more perfect state of being than he is now, it is probable that his communion with God was singularly, if not totally, unlike what it has been since he fell from primeval blessedness. If, after his fall, two temporary states have been appointed to him by his God, then the miracles of each epoch will bear their own special corresponding characteristics. And lastly, if by a new exercise of regenerating and restoring power it has pleased the Invisible One to rescue his creatures from the consequences of their ancient ruin, then again we may expect to recognise the history of that redemption in the whole course of the miraculous intercourse between the Redeemer and the redeemed, until the end of time. The supernatural elements in the Paradisiacal, the Patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Christian states, may be expected to be in many respects distinct, each embodying with awful and glorious power the invisible relations which the God of nature and of grace has thought fit to assume towards his creatures.

And such, in fact, has been the case. Not only is the ceaseless existence of a miraculous intercourse between God and man one of the most completely proved of all historical events, but the miracles of each dispensation are found in a wonderful degree to correspond with the relationship of God to man in each of the separate epochs. The same superhuman consistency is found to pervade all the works of God, both where nature and grace are separate from one another, and where the common laws of nature are burst through and the material universe is made as it were the bond-slave of the unseen. The impiously meant assertions of unbelief are fulfilled in a sense which unbelievers little look for; and they who cry out, in their hatred of miracles, that all things are governed by unchanging *law*, may learn that in truth unchanging laws do rule over all, although those laws have a range and a unity in the essence and will of God, of which mortal intelligence never dreamed. The natural and the supernatural, the visible and the invisible, the ordinary and the miraculous, the rules of the physical creation and the interruptions of those rules, all are controlled by one law, shaped according to one plan, directed by one aim, and bound

to one another by indissoluble ties, even where to human eyes all seems lost in confusion and thwarted by mutual struggle.

Of what we should now call the miraculous, or supernatural, communion between God and man in Paradise, we know historically but little. The records of revelation being for the most part confined to the state of man as he is, and his actual and future prospects, present but a glimpse of the conscious communion which was permitted to the first of our race in their original bliss. It is, however, believed by theologians that in Paradise what we should now term miracles did not exist; for this reason, that what is now extraordinary was then ordinary. God conversed with man, and man held communion with angels, directly and habitually, so that in a certain sense man saw God and the world now unseen.* For it is not the mere possession of a body which binds the soul with the chains of sense; it is the corruption and sinfulness of our present frames which has converted them into a barrier between the spirit within and the invisible universe. As Adam came forth, all pure and perfect from the hands of his Creator, a soul dwelling in a body, his whole being ministered fitly to the purposes of his creation, and with body and soul together he conversed with his God. It was not till the physical sense became his instrument of rebellion that it was dishonoured and made his prison-house, and laid under a curse which should never be fully removed until the last great day of the resurrection.

Upon the fall of Adam, a new state was introduced, which lasted about 2500 years. During its continuance, the supernatural intercourse between Almighty God and his degraded creatures took an entirely different character. What had originally been continual, and as it were natural, became comparatively rare and miraculous. Henceforth there *seemed* to be no God among men, save when at times the usual laws of the earth and the heavens were suspended, and God spoke in accents which none might refuse to hear. Of these supernatural manifestations the general aspect was essentially typical of the future redemption of the lost by a Saviour. That promise of deliverance from the consequences of sin which Almighty God had vouchsafed to the first sinners, was repeated in a vast variety of miraculous interventions. Though there may have been many exceptions to the ordinary character of the Patriarchal miracles, still, on the whole, they wear a typical aspect of the most striking prominence.

The first miracle recorded after the fall is the token granted to Abel that his *sacrifice* was accepted. A deluge

* See St. Thomas, Summa, pars prima, quæst. 94. art. 1, 2.

destroys all but one family, who are saved in an ark, the type of the Church of God, and a rainbow is set in the sky as a type of the covenant between God and man. A child is miraculously born to Abraham in his old age, who is afterwards offered to God as a type of the Redeemer, and saved from death by a fresh supernatural manifestation of the Divine will. The chosen race are carried captive into Egypt, as a figure of man's bondage to sin; a series of awful miracles, wrought by the instrumentality of Moses himself, a type of Jesus Christ, delivers them from their slavery, terminating with the institution of the passover, when the paschal lamb is eaten, and they are saved by its blood, as mankind is saved by the blood of the Lamb of God. The ransomed people miraculously pass through the Red Sea, foreshadowing the Christian's regeneration by baptism; as they wander afterwards in the desert, manna descends from heaven to feed them, and water gushes from the rock to quench their thirst, and to prefigure that sacred food and those streams of grace which are to be the salvation of all men. Almost every interruption of the laws of nature bespeaks the advent of the Redeemer, and does homage to Him as the Lord of earth and heaven.

At length a code of laws is given to the chosen race, to separate them completely from the rest of men, and a promise of perpetual temporal prosperity is granted to them by God as the reward of their obedience, and as a figure of the eternal blessedness of the just. From that time, with, as before, occasional exceptions, the supernatural events which befall them wear a new aspect. Their peculiarly typical import is exchanged for one more precisely in conformity with the leading principle of the new dispensation. The rites and ceremonies of the new Law prefigure the Sacrifice and Redemption of the Messiah; but the miracles of the next fifteen hundred years are for the most part directed to uphold that rule of present reward and punishment, which was the characteristic feature of the Jewish theocracy. The earth opens to punish the disobedience of Core and his companions. Fiery serpents smite the murmuring crowd with instant death, while the promised Saviour is prefigured, not by a miracle, but by the erection of a brazen serpent by the hands of Moses. The walls of Jericho fall prostrate before the trumpets of the victorious Israelites. One man, Achan, unlawfully conceals some of the spoil, and an immediate supernatural panic, struck into his countrymen, betrays the committal of the sin. Miraculous water fills the fleece of Gedeon, to encourage him to fight for his country's deliverance. An angel foretells the birth of

Samson to set his people free, when they are again in bondage. Samson himself is endowed with supernatural strength. Exhausted with the slaughter of his foes, he prays for water to quench his thirst, and a stream bursts forth from the ass's jawbone with which he had just slain the Philistines. Bound in chains, blinded, and made a jest by the idolaters, his prayer for a return of his strength is heard by God, and he destroys a multitude in his last moments.

And thus through all the history of the Kings and the Prophets, the power of God is repeatedly put forth to alter the laws of nature for the purpose of enforcing the great rule of the Mosaic law. The disobedience of the Jews might, if God had so pleased, have been invariably punished by the instrumentality of the ordinary course of events, shaped by the secret hand of Divine Providence so as to execute his will, just as now we find that certain sins inevitably bring on their own temporal punishment by the operation of the laws of nature. And so, in the vast majority of instances in which the Jews were rewarded and punished, we find that the Divine promises and threats were fulfilled by the occurrence of events in the natural order of things. But yet frequently miracles confirmed and aided the work of chastisement and blessing; and of the numerous wonders which were wrought from the giving of the law to the coming of Christ, we find that nearly all bore this peculiar character. For many centuries also a constant miraculous guidance was granted to the people in the "Urim and Thummim," by which they were enabled, when they chose to remain faithful, to escape all national calamities and enjoy the fullest blessings of the promised land.

Under the Christian dispensation, again, a new character is imprinted upon the supernatural history of the Church, which is, in fact, the impression of the Cross of Christ. While the characteristics of the Patriarchal and Jewish miracles are not wholly obliterated, an element, which if not entirely new, is new in the intensity of its operation, is introduced into the miraculous life of the children of Christ, which life is really the prolongation of the supernatural life of Jesus Christ himself. It is accompanied also with a partial restoration of that peculiar power which was possessed by man before he fell, when his body became a veil to hide the world of spirits from his soul. While prophecies of future events have not wholly ceased in the Christian Church, and miracles are frequently wrought for the conferring of some temporal blessings, yet these other wonderful features distinguish the supernatural records of Christianity from those of both Patriarchal and Jewish times. The undying power of the

Cross is manifested in the peculiar sufferings of the Saints, in their mystic communion with the invisible world, and in that especial sanctity to which alone miraculous gifts are for the most part accorded under the Gospel. Not that all these three peculiarities are to be observed in the life of every Saint under the Gospel. Far from it, indeed. The supernatural life of the Saints varies with different individuals, according to the pleasure of that Almighty Spirit, who communicates Himself to his elect in ten thousand mysterious ways, and manifests Himself according to his own will alone. Still, at times, they are found united, in conjunction with those miraculous powers which were possessed under the old dispensations, in one individual. In such cases we behold the life and passion of the King of Saints visibly renewed before our eyes; the law of *suffering*, that mysterious power, as life-giving as it is unfathomable, is set before us in an intensity of operation, which at once calls forth the scoffs of the unbeliever, and quickens the faith of the humble Christian; the privileges of eternity are anticipated, and the blessings of a lost Paradise are in part restored. Jesus Christ lives, and is in agony before us; the dread scene of Calvary is renewed, united with those ineffable communications between the suffering soul and its God, which accompanied the life and last hours of the Redeemer of mankind. Our adorable Lord is, as it were, still incarnate amongst us, displaying to our reverent faith the glories of his passion in the persons of those who are, in the highest sense that is possible, his members, a portion of his humanity, in whom He dwells, who dwell in Him, and whose life, in a degree incomprehensible even to themselves, is hid with Christ in God.

Such a Saint was St. Frances of Rome, one of those glorious creations of Divine grace with which, at the time when the Holy City was filled with bloodshed and ravaged with pestilence, and when the heaviest disasters afflicted the Church, Almighty God set forth before men the undying life of the Cross, and the reality of that religion which seemed to be powerless to check the outrages of its professed followers. A new Life of St. Frances has just been written by a devout and accomplished French nobleman, the Viscount De Bussière, and we shall draw from his pages some of the most remarkable illustrations of the miraculous life of the Christian Saint which the history of the Church affords. M. de Bussière has also prefixed to his work a very interesting and valuable essay on Christian Mysticism, which sketches in brief the progress of that ascetic process through which the soul is placed in a fit condition for the reception of the most wonder-

ful of the favours of Divine grace. Of this progress a still more rapid outline will probably not be without interest to our readers.

In Paradise, then, as has been said, the whole nature of man ministered to the fulfilment of the end for which he was created, namely, the knowledge and love of God. He came forth from his Maker's hands endowed not only with a natural soul and body untainted with sin, but with such supernatural gifts, arising from the Divine Presence within him, that nothing was wanting but perseverance to his final perfection. The various elements in his nature were not, as now, at war with one another. His body did not blind the eye of his soul, and agitate it with the storms of concupiscence; nor did the soul employ the body as its instrument of rebellion against God. Though not yet admitted to that glorious vision of the Eternal which was to be the reward of his obedience, yet he lived in direct commerce with the world of spirits. He knew and conversed with God and his angels in a way which is now wholly incomprehensible to the vast majority of his descendants.

When Adam fell, he became, in one word, what we all are now by nature. Not only was he placed under a curse, but his God was hidden from his eyes; and that corporeal habitation which he had abused to his soul's destruction, became the prison of his soul's captivity. Though created in the image of God, and retaining, even when fallen, certain traces of his celestial origin, he became a mere helpless denizen of earth, and a veil descended and hid his God and all spiritual beings from his mind. From that time forwards *suffering* became not only the law of his daily life, but the only means by which he could be first restored to the Divine favour, and finally be taken to a happy eternity. And inasmuch as he was to be redeemed by the sufferings of One who was at once man and not man, he was in a certain sense to share those sufferings, in order to partake in the blessings they purchased for him. A mystic union was to take place between the Saviour and the fallen race, of which a community in suffering, as the instrument of restoration, was to be for ever and in every case established. This anguish, further, was to be twofold, including all the faculties both of the body and the soul. Man had sinned in his whole being; in his whole being, therefore, he was to suffer, both in the person of his Redeemer, who was to suffer for him, and in himself, who was to suffer with his Saviour. A "holocaust" was to be offered to the offended Majesty of God; an offering, not only of his *entire* nature, but a *burnt* offering; a sacrifice which should

torture him in the flames of Divine vengeance, and kill him with its annihilating fierceness.

As, however, it pleased the Divine Wisdom to postpone for forty centuries the advent and atonement of the Redeemer, so, for the same period, the race redeemed participated, in a comparatively slight degree, in those restorative sufferings which derived all their virtue from the sacrifice upon the Cross. Pangs of body and bitterness of soul were, in truth, the lot of man from the moment that Adam sinned; but they were the pangs and bitterness of a criminal under punishment, far more than the sacrificial pains of the members of Christ crucified. Asceticism formed but a small portion of the religious worship of the people of God, until the great atonement was completed upon Calvary. Not that any degree, even the lowest, of acceptable obedience could ever be attained without some measure of the crucifixion of the natural man. Patriarchs and Israelites alike felt the power of the Cross as the instrument of their sanctification. But still earthly prosperity, including bodily pleasures, were, as a rule, the reward with which God recompensed his faithful servants. That which became the rule under the Gospel, was the exception from Adam till Moses, and from Moses until Christ. Here and there some great example of Christian asceticism enforced upon a sensual people the nature of perfect sanctity. Elias fasted on Mount Carmel, and beheld the skirts of the glory of the Most High. The Baptist fasted and tamed his natural flesh in the wilderness, and beheld not only the Incarnate Son of God, but the descent of the Eternal Spirit upon Him. Yet, for the most part, the favoured servants of God lived the lives of ordinary men; they possessed houses, riches, and honours; and married wives, even more than one.

At length the Cross was set up in all its awful power; suffering received its perfect consecration, and took its ruling place in the economy of man's redemption. Jesus, in descending from the cross, bestowed that cross upon his children, to be their treasure until the end of the world. Crucifixion with Him, and through Him, as their Head, became their portion and their glory. Every soul that was so buried in his wounds as to receive the full blessings of his sacrifice, was thereby nailed, in Christ, to the cross, not to descend from its hallowed wood until, like Christ, it was dead thereon. Henceforth the sanctity of God's chosen servants assumes its new character. It is no longer written, "I will bring you into a land flowing with the milk and honey of this earth;" but, "Blessed are the poor, and they that suffer persecution."

The lot of Abraham and of David is exchanged for that of St. Peter and St. Paul. In place of triumph in war with the idolaters, the Christian is *promised* persecution; in place of many herds and flocks and treasures of gold, God *gives* him poverty and sickness; the fast, the vigil, the scourge, take place of the palaces of cedar and the luxuriant couch; marriage gives way to celibacy; and long life is a privilege in order that in many years we may suffer much, and not that we may enjoy much. Such is the ordinary course of the Divine dealings with the soul since the cross received its full mysterious saving power.

And to the full as mysterious is the new character imprinted upon the miraculous life of Christian sanctity. The phenomena of that new existence, in which certain souls are brought into mystic communion with the unseen world, bear the print of the wounds of the Eternal Son in a manner which fills the ordinary Christian mind with amazement and trembling. It is by a painful crucifixion of the natural man, both soul and body, carried to a far more than ordinary perfection, that the soul is introduced into this miraculous condition. Imprisoned in her fleshly tabernacle, which, though regenerated, is *in itself* foul, earthly, and blinding as ever, the mind can only be admitted to share in the communion which Jesus Christ unceasingly held with his Father and with the world invisible, by attaining some portion of that self-mastery which Adam lost by his fall. The physical nature must be subdued by the vigorous repetition of those many painful processes by which the animal portion of our being is rendered the slave of the spiritual, and the will and the affections are rent away from all creatures to be fixed on God alone. Fasting and abstinence are the first elements in this ascetic course. The natural taste is neglected, thwarted, and tormented, till, wearied of soliciting its own gratification, it ceases to interfere with the independent action of the soul. The appetite is further denied its wonted satisfaction as to quantity of food. By fasts gradually increasing in severity, new modes of physical existence are introduced; that which was originally an impossibility becomes a second law of nature; and the emaciated frame, forgetting its former lusts, obeys almost spontaneously the dictates of the victorious spirit within. The hours of sleep are curtailed under judicious control, until that mysterious sentence which compels us to pass a third of our existence in unconscious helplessness is in part repealed. The soul, habituated to incessant and self-collected action, wakes and lives, while ordinary Christians slumber, and as it were are dead. The infliction of other severe bodily pains co-operates

in the purifying process, and enables the mind to disregard the dictates of nature to an extent which to many Catholics seems almost incredible, and to the unbeliever an utter impossibility. Physical life is supported under conditions which would crush a constitution not supported by the miraculous aid of almighty power; and feeble men and women accomplish works of charity and heroic self-sacrifice from which the most robust and energetic of the human race, in their highest state of *natural* perfection, would shrink back in dismay as hopeless impossibilities. The senses are literally tyrannised over, scorned, derided, insultingly trampled on. The sight, the smell, the hearing, the touch, and the taste, are taught to exercise themselves upon objects revolting to their original inclinations. They learn to minister to the will without displaying one rebellious symptom. Matter yields to spirit; the soul is the master of the body; while the perceptions of the intelligence attain an exquisite sensibility, and the mind is gifted with faculties absolutely new, the flesh submits, almost insensible to its condition of servitude, and scarcely murmurs at the daily death it is compelled to endure.

The process is the same in all that regards the affections and passions of the mind itself. The heart is denied every thing that it desires, which is not God. However innocent, however praiseworthy, may be the indulgence in certain feelings and the gratification of certain pursuits in ordinary Christians, in the case of these favoured souls nature is crushed in *all* her parts. Her faculties remain, but they are directed to spiritual things alone. Possessions of all kinds, lands, houses, books, pictures, gardens, husband, wife, children, friends, all share the same tremendous sentence. God establishes Himself in the soul, not only supreme, but as the *only* inhabitant. Whatsoever remains to be done in this world is done as a duty, often as a most obnoxious duty. Love for the souls that Christ has redeemed is the only human feeling that is left unsubjected; and wheresoever the emotions of natural affection and friendship mingle with this Christian love, they are watched, and restrained with unsparing severity, that the heart may come at last to love nothing, except in Christ himself.

All this, indeed, repeatedly takes place in the case of persons in whom the purely miraculous life of the Christian Saint is never even commenced. It is that which all monks and nuns are bound to struggle for, according to the different rules to which they have respectively received their vocation. And, by the mercy of God, this perfect detachment from earth, and this marvellous crucifixion of the flesh, is accom-

plished in many a devout religious, to whom the extraordinary *gifts* of the Holy Ghost are as unknown as his extraordinary *graces* are familiar. Still, in those exceptional instances where miraculous powers of any species are bestowed, this bitter death, this personal renewal (as far as man can renew it) of the agonies of Calvary, is the necessary preparation for admission to the revelations of the Divine glory, and to the other mysteries of the miraculous life.

The physical nature, then, being thus subdued, and taught to be the obedient servant of the sanctified will, the history of the Catholic Church records a long series of instances in which the soul has been brought into direct communion with God, with angels, and with devils, more or less through the *sensible* instrumentality of the bodily senses, thus spiritualised and exalted to a new office. The ineffable glories of the *life* of Christ are renewed in those who have thus endured the *cross* of Christ. The death of the body is the life of the soul; and the Son of God is, as it were, again visibly incarnate in the world which He has redeemed.

The phenomena of this miraculous state are as various as they are wonderful. There is scarcely a natural law of our being which is not found to be frequently suspended. Such is the *odour of sanctity*, a celestial perfume that exhales from the person of the Saint, in conditions where any such delicious fragrance could not possibly spring from natural causes, and where even, as in the case of a dead body, nature would send forth scents of the most repulsive kind. In such instances, sometimes in life, sometimes in death, sometimes in health, sometimes in loathsome diseases, there issues from the physical frame an odour of unearthly sweetness, perhaps communicating itself to objects which touch the saintly form.

Or a strange supernatural warmth pervades the entire body, wholly independent of the condition of the atmosphere, and in circumstances when by the laws of nature the limbs would be cold; sometimes, while sickness has reduced the system to such a degree of exhaustion, and brought on so morbid an action of the functions, that the stomach rejects, with a sort of abhorrence, every species of food, the most holy Eucharist is received without difficulty, and seems not only to be thus received, but to furnish sufficient sustenance for the attenuated frame. Not unfrequently corruption has no power over a sacred corpse, and without the employment of any of the common processes for embalming, centuries pass away, and the body of the Saint remains untouched by decay, bearing the impress of life in death, and not crumbling to dust, as in cases of natural preservation, when exposed to the

action of the atmosphere. Add to these, the supernatural flexibility and lightness with which at times the living body is endowed by Divine power; the physical accompaniment of ecstasy; the elevation of the entire body from the ground, and its suspension in the air for a considerable space of time; and we have sufficient examples of the mysterious ways in which the bodies of Saints bespeak the purity which dwells within them, and in a degree anticipate the corporeal perfection of those glorified habitations in which the souls of the just will dwell after the resurrection.

By another class of miraculous powers possessed by Christian Saints, they are enabled to recognise the true nature or presence of purely spiritual objects by the instrumentality of their natural organs of sense. Thus, a mere touch at times reveals to them the moral condition of the person on whom they lay their hands. A singular distaste for natural food is accompanied by a perception of a celestial sweetness in the holy Eucharist. Gross sinners appear to the sight in the form of hideous monsters, demoniacal in their aspect, or as wearing the look of the most repulsive of the brute creation. The sense of smell, in like manner, detects the state of the soul, while the ear is opened to heavenly sounds and voices, and Almighty God speaks to the inner consciousness in a manner which, inexplicable as it is when defined in the language of human science, is shewn by incontestible proofs to be a real communication from heaven to the enlightened intelligence.

In certain cases, the animal creation are taught to do homage to the presence of a Saint. As God opened the eyes of Balaam's ass, and it beheld the messenger of Divine wrath standing with a sword in his hand, so birds, fishes, insects, sheep, and the wildest beasts of the forests, have at times saluted the Saints with joy and sweetness, laying aside their natural timidity or their natural ferocity, and recalling the hour when Adam dwelt in sinless peace in Eden, surrounded by the creatures whom the hand of God had made. All nature is bid thus to arise to welcome the elect of the Lord of nature. Flowers spring up beneath their feet; fruits suddenly ripen, and invite them to gather and eat; storms cease, and gentle winds refresh the sky. Every where the presence of Him who lulled the tempest with a word is recognised in the souls in whom He dwells, and in whom He thus, in a mystic sense, fulfils his own promise, that the meek shall possess the land.

Thus, again, time and space are in their degree comparatively annihilated for the sake of some of these favoured ser-

vants of the Eternal and Omnipresent. St. Pius the Fifth, while bodily in Rome, was a witness of the naval victory of the Christians over the Turks; St. Joseph of Cupertino read letters addressed to him while their authors were writing them far away; St. Dominick foresaw the war of the Albigenses, and the death of Peter of Arragon; and St. Ignatius beheld his successor in the Duke of Gandia. A similar mysterious faculty enables its possessor to discern the presence of relics, and other sacred objects, more especially of the adorable Eucharistic species; or even to behold Jesus Christ himself in his glorified human form, in place of the usual appearance of bread and wine; while in some instances the Host has darted, unborne by mortal hand, into the mouth of a Saint about to communicate at the foot of the altar.

On those species of miracles which are in no way peculiar to the Christian dispensation we need not linger. Such is the gift of healing, whether by the Saint's will and touch while alive, or by his relics and intercession when dead. Such is the gift of prophecy, which abounded, as we might have expected, far more in the Saints before the advent of the Redeemer than since his coming, and which, indeed, was not rigidly confined to men of religious character. Such are those supernatural powers by which other present temporal blessings, in addition to the cure of diseases, are conferred upon individuals or communities by the instrumentality of holy men and women. We confine ourselves to those more peculiarly Christian privileges, which, though they were not wholly unknown to the Patriarchal and Mosaic Saints, are yet eminently characteristic of those times in which the glorification of the Humanity of Jesus appears to have shed a measure of glories upon the bodies of those who most intensely share the sufferings of his cross.

Some of these tokens of the perpetual death of the Son of God in his Saints were, indeed, for several centuries either unknown, or extraordinarily rare in the Christian Church herself. Such is that most awful of the displays of the undying power of the Cross, in which the actual wounds and tortures of the crucified Jesus are visibly renewed, by a miraculous agency, in the persons of his chosen ones. This most terrible of the gifts of the great God is generally preceded by some supernatural occurrence foreshadowing the visible representation of the scene on Calvary about to be set up before the eyes of men. At one time it is a species of bloody sweat, like that of Jesus Christ in the Garden of Gethsemani; at another, a visible print of the cross is impressed upon the shoulders; or angels present a mystic cup of suffering to the

hands of the self-sacrificing Saint. Then follows what is termed *stigmatisation*, or the renewal of the actual wounds of the Crucified, accompanied with the bloody marks of the crown of thorns upon the sufferer's head; for the most part, one by one, until the whole awful commemoration is complete, the skin and flesh are rent on the forehead and round the head, in the hands, in the feet, and in the side; a stream of gore pours forth, at times trickling down in slow drops, at times (as on Fridays) in a fuller tide, accompanied with agonising pangs of body, and except in the fiercest moments of spiritual conflict, with interior consolations of ravishing sweetness. The wounds pierce deep down into the flesh, running even through the hands and the feet. Many of our readers have themselves witnessed this awful and consoling sight in our own days; and there are few Catholics who do not number among their acquaintances some who have thus beheld a living proof of the reality of the Sacrifice of the Son of God.

The state of *ecstasy* is another of the most wonderful of the elements of the miraculous life of the Saints. Under the Divine influence the physical frame undergoes a change in many respects similar to that which is supposed (whether truly or falsely) to result from the operation of magnetism or somnambulism. Many features, at the same time, distinguish the Christian ecstatic condition from that which is produced by purely physical or (it may be) diabolical causes, on which we cannot at present enter in detail. It is sufficient to say that the results of the true ecstasy are in the strictest conformity with the doctrines of the Christian revelation, and in perfect harmony with the perfections and rules of the *moral* world.

The soul in this state becomes, as it were, independent of the power of the body, or she uses her physical senses in an absolute subordination to her own illumined will. Visions, such as are recorded in the Old Testament in the case of the prophets, are presented to her faculties. She is introduced into the courts of Heaven, and beholds and converses with Saints in glory, with the Mother of God, with Jesus Christ himself. Or the whole mystery of the Passion is re-enacted before her spiritualised sight, the evangelical history being filled up with all those actual but minuter details which are omitted in the written records of the Gospels. In certain cases, the body itself is lifted up from the ground, and so remains for a while in the presence of a crowd of bystanders. In others, the soul, while in ecstasy, is the medium of communication between Almighty God and other persons then present, and the Saint's voice repeats the revelations to those for whom they are designed. Or, again, an unearthly flame

shining around the head or whole person of the ecstatic, like the cloven tongues upon the Apostles at Pentecost, attests the presence of the Invisible, and symbolises the message sent forth from his throne to men.

A more purely intellectual vision or revelation is another of the works of the Holy Ghost in his Saints. By such revelations, for the most part, the truths of holy Scripture were communicated to its writers. God, who created the human soul with all its faculties, and who is able to make known his will in any way that He pleases to the intelligence, has his own mysterious but not the less accurate tests, by which He enables the favoured spirit to discern a revelation from a mere product of the human imagination, and to distinguish between the voice of God and the suggestions of Satan. Nor was this mode of intercourse between the soul and her God confined exclusively to the elder dispensations or to apostolic ages. Many a Christian Saint has been privileged to contemplate God himself, in a certain sense, in his essence; beholding the nature of such mysteries as those of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the eucharistic presence, or the true nature of sin, with a directness of vision, and comprehending them to an extent, which passes the powers of human language to define.

Lastly, all that we read in the Bible respecting the visible and tangible intercourse between man and the angelic and diabolic host is continued in the times of Christianity. The reality of the ministration of angels and of the assaults of demons, in the case of all Christians, is a doctrine of the faith; but in very many cases the Saints have become as conscious of the presence and actions of their unseen friends and foes as of the presence and actions of mortal men. To some Saints, our blessed Lord himself has appeared in human form, perhaps in that of the most despised and miserable of the poor and sick; to others, their guardian angels or other pure spirits have presented themselves, sometimes in the guise of ordinary men, and sometimes in a manifestly supernatural shape. Often, too, the enlightened soul has beheld Satan and his accursed spirits, either working it some bodily injury, or assaulting it with some subtle temptation, or seeking to scare it by assuming some hideous loathsome shape, or assuming the garb of an angel of light for the purpose of accomplishing his hellish ends. Of all these supernatural phenomena, however, illustrations will readily occur to those who are familiar with the lives of Saints, or, indeed, to those who have studied the Bible only, and who read the inspired writings as literally true, remembering that the miraculous events there recorded did not cease the moment that the canon of Scripture was

closed, but that such as was the relation between God and man and angels and devils for more than 4000 years, such it has been until this very hour. Many of the best authenticated examples will be found in M. de Bussi re's valuable essay, to which we refer our readers. We confine ourselves to such illustrations of the subject as are furnished by the life of St. Frances herself, which we take from M. de Bussi re's excellent work. Perhaps no Saint was ever the subject of a larger variety of miraculous interpositions of Divine power than this holy woman, as the circumstances of her natural life were extremely peculiar, and in many respects different from those of the Saints who have been most distinguished for their supernatural intercourse with the unseen world. The prodigies of her life and the miracles wrought by her intercession after her death underwent the usual investigation in all its strictness. Cardinal Bellarmine, in giving his vote for her canonisation (which took place in 1608), thus recorded his opinion of her merits:—"The blessed Frances is to be proposed as a model of virtues for every age, every sex, and every rank. For many years from her infancy she cherished virginity, for several years she lived in chaste wedlock, and afterwards lived a laborious widowhood. At length she passed a religious and perfect conventual life. Thus her declared sanctity will wonderfully profit both virgins, married persons, widows, and religious."

St. Frances of Rome was born and lived in the latter portion of that singular and great epoch which we term the Middle Age of Europe, so much talked about, and in many respects as yet so little understood. Amidst that era of storms and conflict, when the *energy* of man was as signally displayed as at any period in the history of his race, the lot of the Eternal City was for a long time one of desolation and sufferings. The sovereign Pontiffs themselves for many weary years resided at Avignon. Rome was deserted, the churches fell into decay, pestilence and bloodshed aided in the work of destruction, and at length, when hope seemed to promise a speedy return of the Popes to their ancient seat, the terrible schism of the anti-Popes plunged not only Rome, but Italy and all Christendom, into deeper sadness, and many almost into despair. At such an epoch we may well understand with what abounding gratitude the devout Catholic would trace the hand of God, still protecting his Church, in the life and miraculous works of such Saints as Frances of Rome, born and exercising their mysterious vocation in the very seat of misery and gloom.

It was in the year 1384 that St. Frances first saw the light. Her parents were wealthy, of noble birth, and allied

to the Orsini, the Colonnas, the Mellini, and other powerful families, who then made the streets of Rome their battle-field in their frequent and bloody disputes. From her infancy Frances displayed the marks of one predestined to extraordinary sanctity. As she grew up she increased her devotions and austerities, and at the age of sixteen interdicted herself the use of animal food and all delicacies. Her mother, a devout woman, accompanied her in her daily visits to various churches in Rome, and in all respects regarded herself as the guardian of one who was especially in the favour of Almighty God. She placed her daughter under the spiritual direction of Don Antonio di Monte Savello, one of the Benedictines of Monte Oliveto, who served the church of Santa Maria Nuova, situated at the extremity of the Forum, and for which the youthful Frances cherished a particular devotion. For thirty-five years Don Antonio remained the confessor of the Saint, and guided her through many of her severest trials. Notwithstanding the delicacy of her constitution, he generally permitted her to practise the austerities to which she was disposed, including not only severe fastings, but the discipline and the hair-shirt. At times he forbade them, and the instant submission of Frances to his directions was a pledge of the perfect obedience towards every person who had a claim over her which characterised her future life.

Her wishes were, we may say naturally, in favour of the monastic life; but in accordance with Don Antonio's directions, she said nothing on the subject to her parents, who desired her to marry. At length they fixed upon a husband for her, in the person of Lorenzo Ponziano, a young man of noble birth, good fortune, and amiable character. Counselling by her director, Frances overcame her intense repugnance to marriage, her parents refusing to yield to her solicitations, and she was united to Lorenzo. Immediately upon her change of state she conformed herself in every respect to her husband's wishes, adopting the style of dress and general outward mode of life which was accounted befitting her station. At the same time she persevered to the utmost extent that was practicable in her devout exercises, in confessions, communions, meditation, and in visiting her favourite churches. The fashionable world of the day laughed at the rigid life of the young bride; but her husband was too generous a man, and had formed too warm and respectful an attachment to Frances, to pay heed to its railleries, and he permitted her all the religious liberty that was compatible with her circumstances. They lived in the same house with the father of Frances, and the whole family were to the end a singularly united household.

In the sister of her husband, Vannoza, Frances found a firm friend, who soon learnt to share her devotions, and was her consolation in all her future troubles.

Not long after her marriage Frances fell sick; and after a long illness, all hope of recovery passed away. Many of her relations wished to have recourse to the magical devices which were unhappily too popular at the time; and at last, notwithstanding her indignant reproofs, they secretly introduced into her chamber a woman famous for what we should call her "dealings with the devil." Frances, supernaturally enlightened as to the true character of the disguised woman, drove her from her presence; and that night, as she lay awake, suffering bitterly, St. Alexis, whose feast was on the following day, appeared in a vision to her, and said, "I am Alexis, and I come to ask you from God if you wish to be healed." The dying woman replied, "I desire only what pleases my Lord and my God; may He dispose of his servant according to his good pleasure! For my own part, I should assuredly prefer that my soul should be delivered from the miseries of earth, and fly to the abode of the blessed; but I accept every thing from the hand of the Eternal, be it life or death." "Then it shall be life," said St. Alexis; "for the Lord wills that you remain in the world for the honour and glory of his name." He then stretched forth his mantle over Frances and disappeared, leaving her completely healed of her disease.*

From this time the miraculous character of her existence may be accounted as having commenced. Jesus Christ reappears, with his cross and its attendant supernatural glories, in the person of one who, though a wife, was in heart the spouse of her Saviour alone; who, in the midst of riches and honours, practised all the austerities of the silent cell; and who fulfilled the duties of daughter, wife, mother, mistress of a household, and steward of earthly possessions, with the spirit of an anchorite, her soul ever occupied in the contemplation of God.

The rigid austerities with which Frances made rapid progress in the ascetic life speedily issued in a conscious communication with the inhabitants of the invisible world. The body, tamed by her unsparing severities, which were not the less unceasing or efficacious in their purifying influence because they were modified or even laid aside at the desire of

* The details of this and other miraculous events of the Saint's life are taken from the depositions of her contemporaries; still preserved in the archives of the *Tor di Specchi* at Rome. The greater part will be found recorded in the "*Acta Sanctorum*." Many were accepted on the testimony of persons who for a great length of time had regarded Frances with suspicion, including the priest who was her director after the death of Don Antonio.

her husband or her director, rapidly yielded itself the willing instrument of the illuminated soul. The perfect and uncomplaining self-sacrifice with which she had embraced the state which was most repugnant to her inclinations, while it won her husband's love and conciliated his profound veneration, united with her bodily mortifications to crucify her *whole* nature, both moral and physical. The *will* being laid prostrate before the will of God, the sensuous portion of her being yielded up its carnal earthly independent action more readily than if she had multiplied her fastings and scourgings tenfold, in disregard of the claims of those she was called to obey. Thus approaching, as far as man may approach, to the sanctity of Jesus Christ, she soon shared those diabolical temptations with which Satan afflicted Him when He was about to begin his public ministry. As with so many other Saints, a series of conflicts with the devil were the first tokens that the world of spirits was opening upon the eyes of the soul.

Filled with awe at the miraculous cure of which she had been the subject, she was in the habit of meditating intensely on the probable designs of Almighty God in thus preserving her for his service. At length she felt herself illuminated with a sudden light, of which the result was a perception of the rigour of the judgment which she had been on the point of undergoing. From that hour, the great truths of revelation became more than ever the habitual subject of her thoughts; and strengthened by the sympathies and participation of her sister-in-law, she increased her devotions and her painful austerities. Satan now commenced his visible efforts to withdraw her from the service of God. He presented himself to her in the guise of a hermit; but, enlightened from within, Frances drove him from her presence. On one occasion the devil plunged her, with Vannozza, into the Tiber; and when apparently lost in the middle of the stream, they were borne safely to the shore. Some time afterwards, Satan put it into the head of a young priest attached to a church where Frances often communicated, that her communions were too frequent, and suggested to him to give her an unconsecrated wafer. God, however, revealed the sacrilege to her; she hastened to inform her confessor, who immediately brought the young priest to a humble repentance. One night, while at prayer in her room, the evil spirit came to tempt her in the guise of a handsome youth. At another, she was lifted up by her long hair, and held suspended from the balustrade at the roof of her house. She invoked the name of Jesus, and was restored to her apartment. With many other such devices the enemy of her soul sought from time to time to terrify her, or to lead

her into sin, or to thwart her in her undertakings for the glory of God.

In these conflicts with Satan we recognise only what has been the lot of many a pious soul, from the hour when the devil conversed with Eve in Paradise. The struggles of Frances were but a faint reflection of the temptation of Jesus Christ. In one remarkable respect she was introduced into the unseen world by the possession of a blessing which (we believe) has been granted to none but her. Our blessed Lord himself, in his sacred humanity, was comforted and strengthened but twice by the visible appearance of angels from heaven. They ministered to Him after his temptation, and in his agony in the garden He enjoyed a like mysterious aid. In the same way, not only under the old dispensation, but under the Gospel, as the New Testament and all ecclesiastical history assure us, occasional glimpses of the actual presence of angels have been vouchsafed to the Saints. To Frances, on the other hand, God granted, after a certain period, the perpetual sight of an archangel, who was commissioned to guard and enlighten her. Before this time she had frequently felt sudden blows given to her, whensoever, even inadvertently, she committed the slightest fault; the sound of the blows from her invisible monitor being heard by those who stood by. These strokes, as she was afterwards informed by her archangel companion, were inflicted by her angel guardian. Before detailing, however, the circumstances of this other wonderful gift, we must recur to her conduct in her domestic life, with which this blessing was, in fact, connected. Five years after her marriage a son was born to her. He was named John Baptist, was brought up as the child of such a mother would naturally be educated, and became afterwards the support and honour of his family in its times of greatest affliction. Within a year from the birth of her eldest child, Cecilia, the mother of her husband, died. Her father-in-law then united with her husband and her husband's brother to entreat Frances to undertake the whole superintendence of their united household; and Frances, unwilling as she was to load herself with fresh worldly cares and duties, obediently consented.

The ordinary obligations of the mistress of a wealthy house were soon exchanged for works more congenial to her feelings; for the desolation and misery of Rome were brought to a climax by a terrible famine, which called forth all the self-denying charities of Frances and her sister-in-law. Two more children, a boy, named Evangelista, and a girl, Agnese, were in the course of a few years born to Frances and Lo-

renzo; and again a famine and pestilence brought her to minister, almost night and day, to the sufferers. Scarcely were these calamities lightened, when Lorenzo was wounded in a skirmish between the Papal troops (on whose side he fought) and one of the many insurgent bands whose violence desolated the cities of Italy. The wound was long thought mortal; but at length, after many days, the nursing and the prayers of Frances were rewarded, and the sick man recovered; as some thought, miraculously. While he was yet weak from his wound, the wars between the Holy See and Ladislas King of Naples were renewed; Rome was pillaged, the churches were plundered and defiled with every indecency and crime, and the special vengeance of the conqueror was directed against the chief partisans of the Pope. Lorenzo had no chance left but to fly, unable to carry his family with him. Frances, now deprived of her natural guardian, soon saw herself stripped, by the fortunes of war, of a large part of their property, and her misery seemed at its height when a band of Neapolitan soldiers forced their way into her palace, tore her eldest child from her arms, carried off the movable possessions of the house, and left it almost a ruin.

to Almighty God had, however, yet heavier trials in store. The invasion of Ladislas produced the usual results in the desolated country. First famine, then pestilence, followed in the path of the fire and sword; and Evangelista fell a victim to the disease. He died in his mother's arms, at the age of nine years, with the words of grace and consolation upon his lips. In a neighbouring house lay a little girl, sick for many days, and deprived of the use of her speech. At the moment when Evangelista breathed his last sigh, this child sat up in her bed, and cried out, again and again, "See, see, how beautiful! There is Evangelista Ponziano going to heaven between two angels!" Drying her tears, and embracing the bitter cross, Frances devoted herself to the care of the starving and dying, and to the reparation of the pecuniary losses which her husband had sustained.

of A year afterwards her perfect submission to the will of God received its wonderful reward. Occupied at her devotions early one morning in her oratory, a dazzling light suddenly shone around her, while a mysterious joy inundated her soul. Lifting up her eyes, she beheld her departed child Evangelista, in feature and look what he was when he died, but transfigured with an angelic radiance. At his side stood another, in form a child of the same age, but far transcending Evangelista in beauty. She would have clasped her son in her arms, but the aerial figure offered no material obstacle

to her touch. Evangelista then spoke to her, assuring her that God had assigned him a place in the second choir of the angelic hierarchy, and that he who stood by his side was an archangel from the same order, who was henceforth to be the visible companion of Frances in her daily life. He also told her that his sister Agnese was soon to die, and to join him in Paradise. After this Evangelista disappeared, and the archangel remained. From that hour he was at her side. He was ever clad in a heavenly brightness, so brilliant that often she could not bear to look upon his features. At times, when she fell into any slight fault, she could see him no longer. On her contrite confession of her sin to God, he instantly reappeared. In her struggles with devils, the archangel encouraged her with his look, or drove her tormentors from his presence, by sending forth darting rays of light from his person, or by a movement of his golden hair. He communicated to her supernatural knowledge, enabling her sometimes to read the very thoughts of those who were about her. When she would fain increase her austerities, if she was in danger of carrying them too far the archangel instantly stayed her; and especially he comforted and strengthened her in the performance of her many household duties, distasteful as they were to one who would have passed every waking moment in meditation and prayer.

As Evangelista had foretold, his sister soon died; and not long afterwards, peace being restored to Rome, Frances was comforted by the return of her husband and her remaining son. Lorenzo came, however, a premature old man, worn out with sickness, fatigue, and the hardships of exile. His devoted wife enabled him to bear up against the loss of his two children, which he then learnt for the first time; and his love and reverence for her increasing at the knowledge of all she had done and suffered, he betook himself to a more strictly religious life than before his flight from Rome.

The conformity of the Saint's life with that of our blessed Lord now increased more rapidly than ever. Her meditations on the incidents of the Passion began to be accompanied with sensible bodily pains, corresponding with the wounds endured by Jesus Christ himself. Blood flowed from her hands; by piercing pangs on her shoulders and head she participated in the anguish of the Redeemer during his scourging and crowning with thorns. And though she never received the *stigmata* in their completeness, one of the five sacred wounds, that in the side, was renewed in her. A large opening was miraculously formed in her side, from whence flowed a liquid clear as water. This wound frequently caused her most intense

anguish; but her thirst was only for suffering, and she glorified God for the mysterious gift. After a considerable period it was instantaneously healed by the Blessed Virgin, who appeared to her in her ecstasy.

The state of ecstasy itself also now began to be frequent with her. Of the visions then granted to her, the earliest were, for the most part, of purgatory and hell. The awful details of what she saw are fully recounted in M. de Bussièrè's *Life*. Afterwards, her visions were generally of the most consoling and transporting kind. Our blessed Lord himself, both as an infant and as of mature age, his blessed Mother, the Apostles, and many other Saints, with the angels from heaven, appeared to her again and again, and she was ravished in the contemplation of the glories of God. These communications with our Lady and the Saints became still more frequent when she undertook, under Divine guidance, the foundation of the Congregation of Oblates; and in these visions the minutest rules were given to guide the infant institute. For all these, as well as for the account of the Congregation itself, of her husband's death, and of the last years of the Saint's life, of her repeated conflicts with Satan, and of the many miracles which God wrought through her, both while alive and when dead, we must refer to M. de Bussièrè's volume. In the same way we must pass by the prophecies which she occasionally delivered, the remarkable instances in which she was employed in the spiritual guidance of various persons, both laymen, priests, and religious, and the account of the departure of the archangel who was her first companion, his place being taken by another of the heavenly host, who remained with her till her death. A more wonderful or miraculous history can scarcely be found in the lives of the Saints of God of any age; while the fact that Frances passed nearly the whole of her days in the midst of her family, brings her character more home to the personal experience of devout persons living in the world than is sometimes the case with the lives of those Saints who have lived wholly in the retirement of the cloister.

That such marvellous histories can be in any way practically edifying to the ordinary Christian is, indeed, denied by Protestants and unbelievers, and it is doubted by some Catholics themselves. These last quarrel, not with the monastic, or eremitical, or sacerdotal characters of Catholic Saints, but with that marked supernatural element which mingles in so strange a degree with the entire record of such lives as that of St. Frances of Rome. They question, if they do not loudly condemn, the publication of such details in the present condition of the English mind. They ask for something more (as they

call it) practical, more like ordinary life, more comprehensible, more fit for exact imitation, more suited to the capacities and the prejudices of the unbelieving, scoffing, critical world. In short, objectors, if Protestants, laugh at the whole affair, as a symptom of the drivelling simplicity or the unblushing lying of the Papists; if they are "moderate" or "liberal" Catholics, they object to such tales, because they very much dislike being laughed at by their non-Catholic friends, and by the periodical prints of an enlightened public. Other Catholics also, superior to these baser motives, doubt the utility of spreading such miraculous accounts, from mere want of knowledge of their real effect, and of reflection on the nature of *all* true sanctity. A few brief remarks, therefore, on the various classes of objections which are made to such lives as that of St. Frances of Rome may not be unacceptable to our readers.

An immense number of persons, both infidels and Protestants, especially in sober-minded England and Scotland, treat every professed Catholic miracle as a portion of the vast, gigantic system of deliberate fraud and villany which they conceive to be the very life of Catholicism. From the Pope to the humblest priest who says Mass and hears confessions in an ugly little chapel in the shabbiest street of a country town, all are regarded as leagued in one wide-spreading imposture. Pius IX., for instance, it is imagined, *knows* the liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood to be a trick of the Neapolitan clergy; but he keeps up the falsehood for the sake of gain and power. In like manner he has an extensive Roman laboratory ever at work for the manufacture of all the instruments of delusion which his emissaries propagate throughout Christendom. There he makes false relics, from portions of the true cross downwards; there he sells pardons and indulgences; and there he has a *corps* of writers employed in the invention of fictitious miraculous tales, saints' lives, and the like. All over the world he has "agents" for the sale of these goods, the Vicars Apostolic in England being his "English Correspondents," who doubtless receive a handsome percentage on the profits realised. The staff of underlings is also complete, energetic, and well paid. Thus, the Oratorian Fathers are busily employed in scattering "Saints' Lives" throughout this country, greatly to their own profit. Thus, too, the writer of the present article is engaged in a similar work, either laughing in his sleeve at the credulity on which he practises, or submitting from sheer intellectual incompetence to be the tool of some wily Jesuit who enjoins the unhallowed task. Such, when drawn out into details, and stripped of the pompous declamation of the platform, is, in

sober truth, the idea which innumerable persons imagine to be the Catholic system of propagandism and deceit; and every Catholic miracle is thus accounted for by the supposed wickedness of all Catholics, except a few blinded ignorant devotees.

Any argument, therefore, addressed to prejudgments of this class must merge in the general argument, which shews that, whether the Catholic religion be true or false, it is beyond the limits of credibility that its ruling principle can be one of intentional deception. It would not merely be a miracle, it is an impossibility that such an imposture should remain undetected to this day, and that men and women of all ranks, ages, and countries, the ablest and the most simple, including uncounted fathers and mothers of families, should persist in submitting to and upholding the authority of a few thousand priests, who are really no better than incarnate devils. Whether the Catholic system be an error or not, it must have fallen to pieces a hundred times over, if its chief ruler and his subordinates were mere tricksters, playing upon the credulity of a fanatical and besotted world. By this same test, then, its miraculous histories must be judged, like the general characters of its supporters. They who propagate these stories believe them to be true. They do not, of course, assert that *every* supernatural story is what it professes to be. They may even admit that many are the mere creations of well-meaning, but ill-informed, report. Nor is every Catholic priest, monk, or layman, to be accounted a sincere and honest man. There are betrayers of their Lord, from Judas Iscariot to Dr. Achilli, who remain for years in the Church, deceiving others without deceiving themselves. But on the whole, and viewed as a body, the Catholic Church is as honest and truthful, when she asserts that many wonderful miracles are incessantly taking place within her, as the most scrupulous of moralists can desire.

"But she is herself deceived," exclaims the more candid separatist or sceptic, taking up the argument declined by his scoffing brother. Catholics, it is supposed, are under the dominion of so abject a superstition, that the moment the subject of their religion is introduced, they cease to exert their ordinary common sense and powers of criticism, and believe any thing and every thing that seems to be marvellous. Granting them to be sincere, the charitable Protestant is of opinion that they are intellectually incapable of testing the pretensions of these wonders to be real and true miracles. If, in plain words, Catholics are not knaves, they *must be* fools. Now, let us ask any candid person who thus accounts for our belief in modern miracles, to furnish us with an intelligible

answer on two points. First, let him explain how it comes to pass that an innumerable multitude of persons, many of them distinguished for the highest intellectual powers, and proving by their lives and their deaths that they are ready to make every sacrifice for the sake of religion, should suffer themselves to be imposed upon in so momentous a subject, should willingly accept as true a series of absurd fabrications, whose falsehood they might detect by the exercise of any ordinary acuteness, and should risk their reputation with the world by professing to believe these fictions. If we *are* sincere in our faith, it is impossible to suppose us so willing to be imposed upon. The hollowness of these supernatural pretensions must have betrayed itself to *some* amongst us. The bubble must have burst *somewhere*. If not at Rome, where Protestants imagine Catholic intellect to be at its lowest ebb, at least in England, or France, or Belgium, or Germany, *some* of our great Catholic philosophers, historians, politicians, and men of science, must have unveiled the truth.

And, secondly, we desire to be told *who* are the deceivers. If our numerous miracles are all errors, there must be gross deception in a host of instances *somewhere*. *Where* is it, then? we ask; which are the dupes, and which the rogues? Do the clergy cheat the laity? Or do the laity (who have quite as much to do with these miracles) cheat the clergy? Do the Jesuits entrap the Pope? Or does the Pope mystify the Jesuits? When missionaries shed their blood in hundreds in heathen lands, are we to believe that *they* are the fabricators of the wonderful tales which they have been in the habit of sending home to Christendom? Or did they leave Europe with the intention of becoming martyrs, without troubling themselves to ascertain whether they were not the dupes of delusions already surrounding them in a Christian land? Again we say, if Catholic miracles are all false, there must be boundless trickery *somewhere*, and we ask to know *where* it is. In an English court of justice a charge of conspiracy cannot be entertained unless the accuser can point out certain parties on whom to fasten his charge. Judge and jury would laugh at a plaintiff who came into court crying out that he was victimised by some invisible, undescribable, and unknown, but yet very numerous, band of foes. So it is with this popular theory about Catholic miracles. We are told that we are deceived. We are all cheated together. The bishops are victims; the priests are victims; monks and nuns are victims; the laity are victims; the old Catholics in England are victims; the converts are victims, at least so we are as a body; the best of us all are victims; the most learned, the most

pious, the most able, the most self-denying, all *these* are dupes. If there are deceivers, they are the few, the ignorant, the cunning, and the vile. The Roman Church, as a Church, is supposed to be under the dominion of a band of conspirators, who have blinded her eyes without her having found it out, and who are now using her for their own godless purposes. Does not such a supposition confute itself? Is it worth admitting, even as an hypothesis? Would such a statement be endured for a moment by a judge and twelve men in a jury box? We say, therefore, before moving a step to overthrow the Protestant's accusation, "Make a distinct and intelligible charge of certain definite crimes against certain definite individuals. When that is done, the proof still remains with you. Shew us both who are the deceivers, and how they deceive us; or admit that there is no credulity so open-mouthed as that of Protestants when they attack Catholics; no superstition so base as that which worships this visible order of nature as an eternal rule which not even God himself can ever interrupt."

The fact is, however, that no Protestant ever attempts any thing like a profound investigation of the Catholic miracles. A calm, critical, and judicial inquiry into the worth of the Roman process of canonisation has never been risked. Here is an enormous catalogue of incidents, whose supernatural character is vouched for by the decrees of a long series of Popes, professedly based upon the most prolonged and anxious legal examination. For centuries a tribunal has been declaring that one series of miracles after another has come before it; that it has weighed them all with the utmost care; that it has heard every thing that could be urged against them; that it has rejected, as not proved, a very large number; and that, after the most searching inquiry, it *has* found such and such supernatural incidents to be established by every law of human evidence.* No man can look at the processes of the canonisation of Catholic Saints without admitting that very few of those secular events which we unhesitatingly believe are supported by so overwhelming a weight of proof. Men's fortunes and lives are incessantly taken away by law at our very doors on lower degrees of evidence, and no one exclaims. And yet the decisions of this Catholic tribunal are set aside without hesitation. Protestants think them not even worthy of listening to. The whole affair they account a childish trifling; and with a shrug or a sneer they pass it by.

And it is the same with those miracles which have not

* For the steps followed in the processes of canonisation, see Faber's *Essay on Beatification, Canonisation, and the Processes of the Congregation of Rites.*

been brought before any such high tribunal, but which rest on undeniable private evidence. Protestants simply put them aside as incredible. They assume that they cannot be true, and therefore that they are not true. Press them in argument, and they will shirk your most stringent proofs. You can make no impression upon their *wills*. They will believe any thing but that God has interrupted the course of nature in favour of any one but themselves. In short, if we wish to see human reason in its most irrational mood, we have but to enter into conversation with a Protestant who asserts and thinks that he believes the Bible miracles to be true, and urge upon him the proofs of such modern miracles as are recorded of St. Frances of Rome. You will perceive first, that though he has made up his mind on the subject with unhesitating dogmatism, he has never investigated its bearings or facts, even in outline. Nevertheless, to your surprise, you will find him perfectly ready to start some random theory, at a moment's notice, unconscious of the momentous, the awful nature of the matter he is handling. You see, perhaps, that his mind is powerfully influenced by the singular character of many Catholic miracles. He thinks them strange, unnecessary, unaccountable, absurd, disgusting, degrading. His nervous sensibilities are shocked by an account of the fearful pangs accompanying the *stigmata*. In the phenomena of ecstasy he can see nothing more than the ravings of delirium, or (if he believes in mesmerism) than the tales of a clairvoyante and the rigidity of catalepsy. His physical frame, accustomed to its routine of breakfast, luncheon, and dinner, its sofas and easy chairs, and its luxurious bed, shudders at the thought of the self-inflicted penances of the Saints, and at the idea of God's bestowing a miraculous power of enduring such horrors. He would be as much surprised to be told that Smithfield was literally the abode of incarnate demons, as to hear that demons have often assumed the shapes of beasts and monsters in their conflicts with the elect. The notion that an angel might visibly appear to a pious traveller on the Great Western or Birmingham railroad, and protect him from death in a frightful collision of trains, makes him open his eyes and contemplate you as scarcely sane to hint at such a thing. That "the Virgin," as he calls her, should come down from heaven and enter a church or a room, and hold a conversation with living men, women, or children in the nineteenth century, and give them a trumpery medal, or tell them to wear a piece of cloth round their neck, or cure them of some disease, he regards about as likely and rational as that the stories in the *Arabian Nights* and the *Fairy Tales* should turn out to be true his-

stories. Be as serious as you please, he simply laughs in his sleeve, thinking to himself, "Well, who would have believed that the intellect of an educated Englishman should submit itself to such drivelling as this?"

Perceiving that this is the state of his mind, you open the Bible, which lies, handsomely bound, upon his table, and running rapidly through the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, point out to him a long series of supernatural events there recorded; and shew him that in their nature they are precisely the same as those modern miracles which provoke his disgust or contempt. You solemnly remind him, first of all, that our Lord Jesus Christ is the head of the Church; and that all his people are made *like Him*, in his life and his sufferings, as well as in his glory, and then proceed to your summary. He counts the penances of Saints needless and impossible; you remind him of our blessed Lord's fast of forty days and forty nights. He is horror-struck at the details of sufferings of those in whom the Passion of Christ has been visibly renewed; you beg him to attempt to realise the bloody sweat in the Garden of Olives. He speaks of mesmerism and clairvoyance, and derides the thought of a Saint's being illuminated with radiant light, or exhaling a fragrant odour; you ask him how he explains away the transfiguration of Jesus. He says that it is physically impossible that a man's body can be (as he expresses it) in two places at once; you desire him to say by what law of nature our Lord entered the room where the disciples were when the doors were shut; how St. Peter was delivered from chains and imprisonment by the angel; how St. Paul was rapt into the third heaven, *whether in the body or out of the body he could not tell*. He says that when a Saint has thought himself attacked by devils in hideous shapes, his brain has been diseased; you entreat him to beware of throwing a doubt on the temptation of Jesus Christ by Satan in the wilderness. He pities you for believing that the Mother of God has appeared for such needless purposes to excited devotees; you ask him why the Son of God appeared long after his death and ascension to St. Paul, and told him what he might have learnt in a natural way from the other Apostles. He calls your miraculous relics childish trumpery; you ask whether the handkerchiefs and aprons which cured the sick, after having touched St. Paul's body, were trumpery also; and whether St. Luke is countenancing superstition when he relates how the people crowded near St. Peter to be healed by his very shadow passing over them. Then, as he feels the overwhelming force of your rebukes, he insinuates that there

is something divine, so touching, pure, and strict in morality, in the Bible narratives, which is wanting in these lives of Catholic Saints; and you refer him to such biographies as that of St. Frances of Rome, and compelling him to read the narratives of her revelations, ask him if all that she says when in a state of ecstasy does not wear, even in his judgment, the impress of a Divine origin, and seem to be dictated by the God of all purity, humility, and love.

At length your opponent, after brief pondering, changes his ground, and asserts that you are yourself deceived; that the real defect in Catholic miraculous stories is the want of evidence. He tells you that he would believe, if he could; but that you have not proved your point. You next call his attention to the distinct promise made by our blessed Lord to the Church, that miracles should always continue with her; and ask him how, on his theory, he accounts for the non-fulfilment of this promise. You desire him to lay his finger on the epoch when its fulfilment ceased; and not only to assert that it then ceased, but to prove his assertion. He says nothing, for he has nothing to say which he can even attempt to prove; and you proceed to furnish a few examples of miracles, from patristic, mediæval, or modern times, or perhaps of the present day, which are supported by at least as cogent an amount of evidence as the historical proof of the Scripture miracles. You insist upon his *disproving* these. He cannot. He resorts to some new hypothesis. He says that there is deception *somewhere*, though he cannot tell where; and probably by this time is shewing symptoms of a wish to end the discussion. You urge him again, and press him to give an intelligible reason for supposing that there *must* be deception anywhere. He thinks a while; and when at length you are looking for a rational conclusion, he starts backwards to his old assumption that the Catholic miracles *cannot* be true. He begs the whole question, and says that they are in favour of Catholicism, which is false. You too recur to your old reference to the Bible, and so on. And thus you run again the same round; and you may run it a thousand times over, till you perceive that there is but one reason why your opponent is not convinced; which is, that he *will not* be convinced. And thus it was in the days when those very miracles were wrought which Protestants profess to believe. The Jews *would not* believe our Lord's words and doctrines. He then bade them believe Him because of his miracles; and they instantly imputed them to the power of the devil. He shewed them that this theory was impossible; but, so far from being convinced and converted, they

went their ways, and plotted his death. Now, our contravertualists cannot, or do not wish, to take away our lives; but when not a word is left them in the way of argument, they go their ways, and protest to their fellows, that we are obstinate, unfair, superstitious, and insolent; and too often encourage one another in the bitterest persecution of those who are convinced by our reasonings, and submit to the Church.*

But we turn to the objections which are at times felt, not openly confessed, by Catholics themselves to the publication of Saints' Lives, abounding in supernatural incidents. Such persons are, indeed, not numerous; and their number is rapidly diminishing. Still it can scarcely be doubted that conscientious Catholics *are* to be found, who take the view we are speaking of, from ideas which, though erroneous (as we believe), are yet so truly founded in sincerity, as to demand respect and explanation from those who differ from them.

The objections they raise are twofold. First, they allege that such books scandalise Protestants and drive them from the Church; and secondly, they do not see *how* incidents wholly unlike our ordinary daily experience *can* practically serve us in our private Christian lives.

To the idea that Protestants are thus needlessly prejudiced against the faith, we reply, that this assertion is wholly unproved. That Protestants do, as a matter of fact, laugh at and attack such biographies, we fully admit; but they laugh at them on grounds which we cannot admit without giving up the Christian revelation itself. They scoff at them, not because they think them not supported by credible testimony, but because they are not what they call dignified, refined, and just such as they should have supposed all things to be that come from God. That such a temper of mind is indicative of pure Deism it needs no words to prove. A man who derides a miraculous event merely as *trifling*, thereby asserts that he himself is the judge of what is great and what is little in the sight of God. He lays down laws for the guidance of the Almighty. He is adopting the identical reasoning of professed infidels, who on this very ground reject Christianity itself. And it is obvious that nothing can be more perilous than the encouragement of so fatal a principle of judgment. Once let the acute and logical Protestant perceive that you move

* In a comparison of the conversions of the present day with those of the earliest days of the Church, it ought not to be forgotten that, with all the comparative toleration of Catholicism which now exists, instances of the most cruel persecution are still by no means unfrequent. From that ferocity which will induce a parent, even a mother, to turn a helpless girl out of doors for becoming a Catholic (as we know has been the case in several instances) it is but a step to the bloody persecutions of the Jews and Pagans.

one step backwards in deference to this objection, and he will press you with fresh consequences of the very same admission until he lands you in undisguised scepticism, if not in the blackest Atheism.

Can any single instance, in fact, be named in which a mind which was apparently determined to seek salvation at all costs, has been actually deterred from entering the Catholic Church by meeting with these extraordinary histories? Are they not a butt for determined and obstinate Protestants, and for such Protestants only? Ask any convert whether, on looking back, he can say that the knowledge of these peculiarities in Catholic hagiology ever practically held him back for four-and-twenty hours in his journey towards the Church. That the world is made angry, and that the world vents its spleen and its contempt in bitter jests, is true enough; but *souls are not made to sin, or kept away from their Saviour*, by any thing of the kind. And that the rage and mocking of man afford not the slightest reason for inducing the Church to turn out of her natural path, we shall not dishonour our readers by attempting to prove to them.

That it is her natural course to make these histories public for the practical edification of her children is clear from one fact alone: they are precisely parallel to the life of our blessed Lord as narrated in the four Gospels. The whole question resolves itself into this: If such lives as that of St. Frances, and many others recently published in England, are not edifying to the ordinary Christian, then the life of Jesus Christ is not edifying. The Gospels, as well as the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, must be rigorously expurgated and cut down to the type of the common domestic life of the present day. Nothing can be further removed from the circumstances of most men than the records of our Lord's miracles and supernatural acts in general. What has the temptation, the transfiguration, the driving the devils into the swine, the turning the water into wine at what we should now call a "wedding-breakfast," and, in fact, almost every *act* in our blessed Lord's life, in common with our amusement, our business, our society, our whole experience? Yet, to say that a devout soul can meditate on these transcendently mysterious events, and not derive from them practical instruction to enable her to fulfil her little trivial earthly duties with Christian perfection, is nothing short of blasphemy. The Son of God incarnate, all glorious, all awful, all unfathomable as He was even in the days of his sojourning on earth, was yet our example, our model, our embodied series of precepts. The eye of the simplest regenerate child cannot be turned for an instant upon his divine glories

and ineffable sufferings without drawing light therefrom to guide it even in its play with its fellows, or in the most trivial of the duties towards its parents and teachers.

And such, we are convinced, is the experience of Catholics of all ranks, of every age and every degree of intellectual cultivation, who study religiously the miraculous lives of the Saints, believing them to be, on the whole, correct histories. It is not needful that they should regard them to be literally true, in all their details, as the Bible is true. We have but to regard them as we regard other authentic human narratives, with the addition of that veneration and confidence which is due to such portions of them as have been formally sanctioned by the Church, to derive from them unceasing spiritual comfort and instruction. Doubtless, if we are so ignorant as to fancy that all Saints' histories are to be alike in details, and that therefore we ought to wish that the circumstances of our lives were the same as theirs, we shall be doing ourselves great mischief. But let us study them with a true knowledge of the mere elements of the Christian faith, and they will be to us what St. Paul desires his disciples to seek for in *his* life, namely, a continuation, as it were, of the life of Jesus Christ, carried on through all the successive ages of his Church on earth. They will impress upon our minds with an intensity peculiarly their own, the reality of the invisible world and the ensnaring tendencies of every thing that we possess. Weak and ignorant as is the imaginative and sensitive portion of our nature, it needs every possible help that it can find to counteract the paralysing effects of the worldliness of the world, of the lukewarmness of Christians, and of the enthralling nature of the universe of sight and sense. Our courage is wonderfully strengthened, and our love for things invisible is inflamed, by every thing that forces us, as it were, to see that this visible creation *is not* the only thing that is real, mighty, and present. The general precepts and the dogmatic statements of religion acquire a singular and living force when we perceive them carried out and realised in the actual affairs of life in a degree to which our personal experience is a stranger. Influenced as human nature is by example, these unpretending narratives, whose whole strength lies in the facts which they record, and not in the art of the biographer, undeniably *strike* the mind with an almost supernatural force. They enchain the attention; they compel us to say, Are these things true? Are these things possible? Is religion, after all, so terribly near to us? Are this life and this world so literally vain and worthless, so absolutely nothing worth? Are suffering and awful bodily anguish blessings to be *really* coveted? Are the

maxims which I daily hear around me so hopelessly bad and accursed? Are angels and devils so near, so very near, to us all? Is purgatory so terrible and so inevitable to all but the perfect, that these fearful visions of its pains are in substance what I myself shall endure? And if I fall from grace and die in sin before one of the innumerable temptations that hourly beset me, is it true that nothing less than an eternity of such torments, the very reading of which even thus represented makes me shudder with horror, will be my *inevitable* lot? And is the bliss of the Saints and the joy of loving God so inexpressibly sweet to any souls here on earth? Is it possible that I should escape from this state of coldness, deadness, worldliness, and unwilling performance of my religious duties, and positively come to lose all my taste for bodily and mere intellectual pleasures through the absorbing of my whole being into the love of Jesus and of Mary, and through a burning thirst for the beatific vision of the Eternal Trinity?

And who will venture to say that it is not good for us *all* to have such thoughts frequently pressed upon our attention? If there is any meaning in the command that we are to aim at being perfect, whatever be the state of life *in which* we are called to seek perfection, surely it is no ordinary advantage thus to have the essentially supernatural character of our religious life forced again and again upon our attention. For, be it never forgotten, this very *supernaturalness* is one of its essential features. There are innumerable varieties in our vocations. The earthly circumstances in which we are to serve God are almost innumerable in their variety; but the supernatural element appertains to them all alike. Our actual relationship to the awful and glorious realities of the unseen world is precisely the same in kind as that of the most miraculously endowed Saints. The only difference is this, that in their case that relationship was perceived and visibly manifested in a peculiar mode, to which we are strangers. Heaven, purgatory, and hell, are as near to us as if we beheld the visions of St. Frances. The cross is as literally our portion, in its essential nature, as if the five sacred wounds were renewed physically in our agonising frame. Our angel-guardian is as incessantly by our side, as if our eyes were opened to behold his effulgent radiance. Satan strikes the same blows at our souls, whether he shews himself to our sight or not. The relics of Saints, which we carefully look at or criticise, *may be*, at any moment, the vehicles of the same miraculous powers as the handkerchiefs from the body of St. Paul. Who would say to a blind man, "Forget the tangible realities of this life, because you cannot see them?" Who would not rather say,

"Bear constantly in mind what is the experience of those who *can* see, that you may practically remember their ceaseless nearness to you?" And just such is the experience of the Saints, in whose histories faith has partly merged into sight, and the veil which blinds *our* eyes has been partially and at certain seasons withdrawn. It tells us, as few things else can tell, of the *reality* of the objects of our faith.

CARDINAL PACCA'S MEMOIRS.

Historical Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca. Translated by Sir George Head. Longmans.

[Second Notice.]

WE left his Holiness Pius VII. and his faithful minister in captivity at Grenoble. During their short stay in that place they were treated with tolerable decency, and many devout Catholics were presented both to the Pope and to the Cardinal. On one occasion the latter was consulted by a party of ladies respecting the present state of the French Church, which gives the Cardinal occasion to describe the four different classes into which the French clergy were at that time divided, partly really and partly nominally. The state of things which then prevailed has so completely passed away, that many of our readers will perhaps be glad to have their memories refreshed by a quotation of the Cardinal's own words.

"The first class was composed of those ecclesiastics who, tainted with Jansenism, and deaf to the remonstrances of the Pope, had taken the oath prescribed by the so-called *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*; which oath, although denounced by Pius VI., they had not retracted; neither would they subsequently, when the Concordat between Pius VII. and the First Consul Bonaparte was concluded in the year 1801, although they were liege subjects of the Republic, submit themselves to that document, out of sheer enmity to the Holy See; so that they were, in fact, to a certain degree detached from all the rest of the clergy, and yet still continued to call themselves *Constitutional Priests*.

"The second class, even still more numerous than the first class, was formed of those who, in the beginning obstinately disobedient to the denunciation of Pius VI., had also taken, and had never retracted, the oath of the civil constitution of the clergy; but subsequently, in the year 1801, some repenting of their error, and others, not a few, having an eye to ecclesiastical preferment under the new order of things, had submitted to the Concordat.

"The third class reckoned among its numbers those who, having rejected with horror the oath above-mentioned, remained in France in a state of concealment; and with praiseworthy zeal in the cause of religion, though existing themselves in a state of actual persecution, provided for the spiritual wants of the faithful, and administered the sacraments to those exemplary persons who, detesting the unfortunate schism established in the kingdom, would neither recognise nor hold any communication with the intrusive, illegitimate pastors provided for them by the National Assembly. These zealous ecclesiastics, however, who had conducted themselves up to a certain period in a manner deserving the highest praise, subsequently, at the publication of the Concordat of Pius VII., rendered themselves liable to the grave imputation of disobedience to the Bull and Briefs of the Supreme Pontiff. For, aware that there were at the head of the Government persons notorious for their hostility to the Church, they paid no regard to whatever was published in the name of the Consuls, being continually apprehensive of some new trick and treachery in matters of religion. Some looked upon the Concordat as a false, apocryphal document altogether; others thought it had been purposely altered by the Government, and, at all events, was not the same that had been approved by the Holy Father; being confirmed in the latter opinion by the wicked annexation of certain erroneous articles, called *Organic*, that were appended to the articles of the Concordat in such a manner as to make the former appear to be part and parcel of the original. Finally, others, excusable from the conscientious motives that actuated them from beginning to end, considered the Concordat altogether invalid and valueless, on the ground that the Pope was compelled by threats and violent means to sign it; and they called themselves 'Purists,' on account of being free from the contamination of intercourse with the clergy recognised by the Government. Their body may be said to include the priests following the tenets of the French refugee Bishops in Germany and England, who declined, at the request of the Pope, to renounce their episcopacy, who maintained that the Concordat was good for nothing, and who asserted themselves to be the only legitimate pastors in their dioceses. These purists, however, taken collectively, degenerated to such a degree afterwards, that there arose a schism; and some French ecclesiastics of their persuasion partook of the fanatic frenzy of Donatists, thinking themselves the only pure Catholics in the whole world, and declaring that the Supreme Pontiff, and other members of the Church, who recognised and held communication with the Bishops nominated in the Concordat, and solemnly confirmed by the holy Apostolic See, had fallen into error.

"The fourth class comprised those ecclesiastics who, penetrated by maxims of true respect and devotion to the Roman Church, were obedient to the Briefs of Pius VI. in the year 1791, and at the conclusion of the Concordat in the year 1801 submitted no less implicitly to the Bulls and Briefs of Pius VII."

After a few days the Cardinal was taken back to Italy and lodged in the fortress of Fenestrelle, in Piedmont, while the Pope was carried, still a captive, to Savona. Fenestrelle is the Siberia of Italy. A more wretched resting-place could scarcely be conceived, as reasonably thought the Roman servant of the Marchese Patrizi, who accompanied his master thither when he was consigned to captivity soon after the Cardinal, and who begged permission instantly to return, saying, "How, sir, is it possible to live in a country where one sees neither the earth nor the sky?" Here Cardinal Pacca was imprisoned for three years and a half, and here he wrote a considerable part of the present memoirs. He seems to have borne his captivity with a perfect equanimity, resulting from the union of a good conscience, a devout life, a cultivated intellect, a cheerful disposition, and a good digestion. And assuredly he had need of the consolations both of nature and grace. The incidents which from time to time diversified the monotony of his existence are full of interest, and they are told with the same charming *naïveté* which pervades the rest of the book. On the evening of his arrival, as he sat in his miserable chamber, a filthy apartment, the floor full of rat-holes, the ceiling shattered by an earthquake, one of the two windows looking out upon an inner staircase of the fortress, and the other on the snow-clad sides of an Alpine mountain, so lofty that it concealed the sky altogether from the sight;—in this decent dungeon the Cardinal sat, having tranquillised his mind by fervent prayers. A gleam of consolation soon reached him, in the tidings that his attached chamberlain would be allowed to remain with him; and by and by one of the officers of the fort, Major Jamas, came in and inquired whether he had need of any thing.

"Thanking him for his attention, I said, that being in holy orders, even holding the rank of an Archbishop, I felt confident that there would be no objection to allowing me to say Mass in the chapel of the fort, as I was desirous to do; and that, therefore, since several days had already elapsed since my last confession, I requested the commandant would have the kindness to assign to me a priest-confessor. The major replied, that he believed the commandant would make no difficulty so far as to allow me to celebrate the Mass; but that there would, on the contrary, arise a grave objection to granting me a confessor, inasmuch as the orders of the Government to allow nobody to speak to me were explicit and peremptory. 'With regard to the Mass,' he added, 'you may celebrate it whenever you please.' 'But,' I rejoined, 'I have not the good fortune to be exempt from mortal failings; and, provided I am not allowed a confessor, I shall be obliged to abstain from saying Mass at all, very much to my sorrow.' Major Jamas, saying he would report my request to the command-

ant and bring me his answer, then left me. Shortly afterwards I composed myself to rest, and, notwithstanding all the disagreeable events of this memorable day, I enjoyed, the first night of my imprisonment in the fort of Fenestrelle, several hours' placid repose.

"Next day my state of satisfaction was not so perfect as before, for I then began to be sensible, from experience, of the serious physical as well as moral inconveniences that persons doomed to confinement in the fort are doomed to suffer. Towards night there arose an impetuous wind, such as, disgorged with a rushing, deafening sound from the gullet of the mountains, blows here frequently, and inflicts serious damage on the houses in the village. These hurricanes not uncommonly dislodge, to the infinite peril of the passers-by, the large heavy slabs of stone that, fastened together with iron cramps, serve for tiles; and once especially, during the period of my imprisonment, the sentry's sentry-box was blown off the ground, and carried away in the air to a considerable distance. On the night in question, the wind was accompanied by an unusual depression in the temperature, which, owing to not being provided with winter clothing at that season of the year, severely affected me. Endeavouring to get rid of the cold, I had a fire lighted, but was obliged immediately to extinguish it, for the room was instantly filled with dense volumes of smoke that stopped my breathing; while the gusts passed down the chimney with such violence as to overthrow some of the few articles of furniture, and set the rest a shaking, so that at last it became indispensable to block up the aperture.

"To these bodily sufferings were to be added others of an intellectual character; for, in the first place, having requested a book the evening before, in the hope of being able, by occupying my time, to distract my thoughts a little, they brought me to-day—a volume of *Voltaire!* and, secondly, hearing a bell ring in the corridor opposite my chamber, and knowing that a priest, who was a prisoner like myself, was about to say Mass in the chapel, I immediately sent my chamberlain to Major Jamas, to ask permission to be allowed to attend the divine office with the other prisoners; and received an answer from Major Jamas that at present he had had no instructions, but that the next day he would let me know the commandant's determination. Such harsh treatment,—which, considering it was offered to a Cardinal Archbishop, was the more outrageous,—began seriously to vex me. I ask for a confessor,—they refuse me! I solicit the consolation of a book,—they give me a volume of *Voltaire!* I request permission to attend the Mass,—not only do I receive a point-blank refusal for the time being, but am told that it is even a matter of doubt when, if ever at all, the boon will be granted me! Touched to the quick as I actually was at the cruel procedure, and under the impression that every thing combined to deprive me of that peculiar relief which, under such sad circumstances, is in the power of religion alone to bestow, I bore my lot silently and patiently,

'Sperando il bene e tollerando il male.'

“After dinner the commandant, Major Gazan, came to pay me a visit, when I immediately introduced the subject of the Mass and of the confessor, and earnestly entreated the commandant ‘to gratify me in objects of such extreme importance.’ The commandant replied, ‘that he would order the *concierger*,’ meaning, in fact, the gaoler, ‘to come to me in the morning before the Mass was celebrated and accompany me to the chapel; but,’ he said, ‘it was out of his power to grant me a confessor, in consequence of the express command of the Government, that I was on no account whatever to be allowed to converse with anybody.’ I then begged him to write at least to Turin for further instructions, saying, I was sure the application would meet with a favourable answer; and I added, that it was impossible, considering the unfortunate circumstances in which I was placed, the Government could be capable of debarring me, a Cardinal Archbishop as I was, from the exercise of the offices of my religion, which indulgence was the only consolation that was left to me; and with regard to denying me a confessor, I said, they would not even impose such a restriction on a condemned criminal! The last words, scarcely able to refrain from tears, I pronounced in a tone of such deep melancholy, that the commandant was evidently touched with compassion; at all events, he promised to write to Turin by the first post; and he added, that either himself, or some officer in his stead, would regularly accompany me every day to walk within the limits of the fort. For the latter favour I thanked him with all my heart, and then took an opportunity to request Major Gazan would be kind enough to procure me, if not the Bible, at least some books better adapted to my vocation than the one that had been sent me.

“The night of the 7th, my second night at Fenestrelle, I passed even worse than the first, in consequence of the troubles above mentioned that had disquieted me during the day; in addition to which a violent blustering wind came on, that lasted several hours. The 8th of August, however, commenced under more favourable auspices, for the Bible and several other religious books were brought me, which circumstance was alone sufficient to restore my mind to its usual tranquillity; the more so, as the gaoler punctually entered my chamber so soon as the priest was ready to begin the Mass, and conducted me to the chapel. I went thither drest in my morning gown, though I wore exposed to view my episcopal cross, as well as the usual insignia of a Cardinal’s rank; for I was unwilling to appear ashamed of being recognised a prisoner, such as I really was. The other prisoners, who had already taken their places in the chapel when I entered, seemed struck with amazement at seeing a Cardinal Archbishop come amongst them; while for my part, accompanied by the gaoler, who stood close to my side without leaving me an instant, I heard a general burst of indignation break forth in a stifled tone, and every one regarded me with visible marks of respect and veneration. So soon as the Mass was over, the gaoler, after carefully examining underneath the cushion I had leaned

against, lest peradventure I might have deposited there some written paper, attended me back to my chamber."

Nothing would induce the French authorities to allow the Cardinal a confessor, and a request he made to an official who afterwards visited the fortress was equally unavailing. At length, he says,

"I determined to adopt another mode of procedure, and to procure for myself the consolation of receiving the sacraments in spite of the Government. Accordingly, I gave instructions to my chamberlain to communicate my wish to be confessed to Don Sebastiano Leonardi, priest of Modigliano, who was one of my fellow-prisoners, and to request of him to endeavour to come at night secretly to my chamber, on the vigil of the Most Holy Nativity. Don Sebastiano readily complied with the suggestion, and, concealing himself in the corridor, took an opportunity, when the sentry had turned a little aside, to make his way by crawling on all-fours to my chamber-door, which was opened by a pre-concerted signal. Had not my mind been then fully intent on the sacred fearful ceremony we were about to perform, I should have had difficulty to restrain from laughter at the extraordinarily comic theatrical appearance of the priest as he entered crawling barefooted into my room, in the manner above related. I performed the act of confession, and after thanking him for the charitable service he had rendered me, and bidding him beware of being seen on his return through the corridor, added jocosely, 'that it would grieve me if, on my account, he were to be invested anew with the order of the Iron Crown,' alluding to the chain by which he had been girded by the gendarmes on his way to the fortress.

Before he took his departure, however, we concerted a scheme by which I might in future be enabled to administer to myself the Eucharist without the knowledge of any of the authorities in the fortress. The priests, my fellow-prisoners, were in the habit, at the celebration of their Mass, of making use of a very ordinary chalice, and other worn-out ragged implements, which they borrowed in the little village of Fenestrelle; and on the occasion of the principal festivals they used to procure from my chamberlain my own chalice, my cope, and my other sacred vestments, all of which, after the service of the day was over, they returned in the evening in a basket. I therefore proposed to Don Sebastiano that at the ensuing festival of the Epiphany he would have the kindness to consecrate for myself one Host, in addition to those that might be required for the rest of the prisoners, and that, having deposited it in my chalice, he would bring it himself in the evening with the rest of the things in the basket. In the evening of the festival of the Epiphany, Don Sebastiano punctually made his appearance, and returned the basket as usual, at the door, to my chamberlain, from whose hands I took it, and, drawing forth the consecrated particle from the chalice, placed it on the sill of one of the windows, which I had purposely converted

as nearly as possible to the form of an altar, upon which two candles stood continually burning the whole ensuing night. . . . Early the next morning I administered to myself the sacrament, and from that act of religion, which a few days before I had not hoped to be able to perform, I felt new strength and comfort."

After a time a confessor was allowed him, and henceforth his days passed on more pleasantly; the commandant of the fortress being desirous of making his illustrious captive as comfortable as his instructions permitted. The Cardinal thus describes the course of each day's employment:

"So soon as I got out of bed in the morning, I used to read a chapter or two of the Holy Scriptures, sometimes out of the Old Testament and sometimes out of the New, chiefly selected from the book of the Prophets and the epistles of St. Paul—those chapters, in fact, that require the closest study and the most serious meditation. After I had done reading, I went into the chapel to hear the Mass, the same as I did for the first ten months while I was prohibited from confessing, and consequently from celebrating the Holy Sacrifice. Returning from the chapel to my chamber, I took a cup of chocolate, and read the life of the saint whose festival belonged to the day, and afterwards heard another Mass. This terminated the canonical hours of the day. Then setting aside for a short time my religious duties, I turned over the pages of some Latin classic or Italian author, until the day was sufficiently advanced to breathe the open air, when I betook myself to a very narrow place that was allotted to me in the court-yard of the prison, apart from the other prisoners, where, either quite alone, or attended by my chamberlain, I walked backwards and forwards till mid-day. Next I returned to my chamber, and occupied a couple of hours in the serious study of theology and canon law, and in reading the controversies of Bellarmine, the treatises of Gerson—*which latter particularly served to throw a light upon the calamitous period of the times, which they appeared to meet precisely*—some voluminous works relating to the conferences of Angers, the works of Bossuet, and of other French authors. At two o'clock, French time, I dined, and, according to the Roman custom, took a short nap afterwards. I then returned to my religious duties, which terminated by the recital of the vespers, the evening prayers, the matins and hymns of the following day; which being done, I again resumed my reading with books of ecclesiastical and profane history. Afterwards, during the summer season, I took another turn of walking exercise in the court-yard of the fortress; and in winter I continued to walk till sunset. After sunset I read the gazettes and daily journals, and then went to the apartments of the commandant, where I generally passed an hour or thereabouts in company with himself and his wife, whereby my eyes were much relieved after long-continued reading. When I returned to my chamber, I generally read the works of Cicero, which were of great comfort to me during my long imprisonment, and concluded

my daily studies by reading the lectures on the Holy Scriptures of Padre Granelli or some other Jesuit, and then, after the performance of some other religious duties, I took a light supper, and went to bed.

"On Sundays and other saints' days, as my chamber was arranged in the form of a chapel, where the *Santissimo*, according to my privileges as Cardinal, was always preserved, I gave the benediction to all the prisoners, and also to the commandant, his wife, and a few other officers of the fortress, who were in the habit of attending on those occasions. On the festival of S. Carlo Borromeo, to whom the fort is dedicated, and especially on the festival of the liberation of St. Peter, by whose powerful patronage we prisoners entertained the hope, as it actually happened in the sequel, to be one day or other set at liberty, we used to celebrate the ceremony with great pomp and solemnity."

At length a summons from the autocrat called the captive to Fontainebleau, to attend the Holy Father, from whom Napoleon imagined that he had now extorted all that he needed. Furious at the publication of the Bull of excommunication, the emperor had treated the pontiff with a pitiless ferocity, all the while that he professed to laugh at the blow that had struck him. In a letter to Prince Eugene he had said, "Is the Pope ignorant how much times are changed? Does he take me for a Louis Débonnaire, or does he fancy that his excommunications will make the muskets fall out of my soldiers' hands?" And in conversations with Cardinal Caprara at Paris he frequently observed "that the Bull had not yet caused the muskets to fall from his soldiers' hands, and that it was a thing to be laughed at." Yet in 1812 his own jeering question received the very answer he counted impossible. The vanquished soldiers in Russia literally let their arms drop from their hands, through that frost and snow which was the visible instrument by which almighty vengeance smote the sacrilegious tyrant.

In the mean time, while Napoleon was on his march to meet his destiny, the Pope, dragged along by the reckless French officials, was brought from Savona to Fontainebleau in an almost dying state. How the Holy Father was treated may be imagined from what took place at the convent on the top of Mont Cenis, where he was so alarmingly ill that his life was despaired of, and the *viaticum* was administered to him. That very evening, notwithstanding the prayers of the monks and the remonstrances of the medical attendant, Col. Lagorse (who had the command), bound by his instructions, compelled the Pope to depart, and to travel day and night till they reached Fontainebleau.

After his return from his defeat in Russia, Napoleon was not long in bringing his plans for the complete subjugation of the Church to a crisis. Conscious how terribly his power was shaken by the Russian campaign, he felt that he must lose no time in tranquillising the religious feelings of the devout portion of the French nation. But a man like Napoleon could see but one way of attaining this end. Instead of imitating Charlemagne, he would imitate Henry VIII. of England. He would not, indeed, copy our illustrious reformer by declaring himself head of the Church *instead* of the Pope; he saw and confessed the absurdity and suicidal nature of such a scheme. His object was to rule the Church *through* the Pope; and for this purpose, setting aside as foreign to the subject all consideration of the temporal power of the Pontiff, he resolved to extract from Pius VII. such a Concordat as should practically transfer the supreme jurisdiction of the Church from the Pope to the Emperor of France. With this view the Pope was reduced to the lowest stage of feebleness and exhaustion, by excessive bodily fatigue and incessant mental worry; every upright and courageous Cardinal was banished from his presence, and he was surrounded by courtier prelates of the ultra-Gallican school, and devoted to the will of the despotic emperor. Cardinal Pacca tells us what *he* expected when in his captivity he heard a mere rumour of what took place when the Pope, thus exhausted, was brought face to face with Bonaparte.

“On the 30th of January, 1813, while I happened to be in the apartments of the commandant in the evening, the Canon Barrera came and informed me that a letter had arrived from Turin, with the intelligence that the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress had unexpectedly arrived at Fontainebleau on the 19th of the same month, and had had an interview with the Holy Father, the result of which was supposed to be of the most important nature, and was a matter of unusually intense interest among all classes of people at Paris. The news, however, though it seemed likely to be the immediate forerunner of my own liberty, as indeed happened eventually, afforded me little consolation; nay, on the contrary, it occasioned me considerable disturbance of mind and vexation, foreseeing, as I clearly did in an instant, what it led to. Intimately acquainted with the modest, pliable nature of Pius VII., then harassed and disheartened by the pains and inconveniences of a long imprisonment, and knowing him to be surrounded by persons who, if not absolutely sold to the Emperor, were of a superlatively timid, courtier-like disposition, I could not fail to see at first sight that an interview between Napoleon Bonaparte and Gregorio Barnaba Chiaramonti was a contest of unequal forces, and I consequently readily foretold the side on which victory would fall.”

But whatever were his alarms, suspense was not long added to his other troubles, for an order speedily arrived from Paris, to say that the Pope and Napoleon had come to terms, and that in consequence the Cardinal was to be liberated from prison, and was to join the Pope at Fontainebleau. On his journey his fears were confirmed, and he learnt that the zealous Catholics of France were in dismay at the nature of the proposed Concordat, which was not yet known to have advanced no further than the signing of preliminaries, though declared by Napoleon to be completed. With no loss of time the Cardinal hastened to Fontainebleau, and thus narrates his reception :

“On entering the ante-chambers, I perceived several French Bishops, and passing thence into the room where was the Pope himself, I met his Holiness, who had advanced a few steps forward towards me. At first sight of the Holy Father, I was thoroughly shocked and astonished to see how pale and emaciated he had become, how his body was bent, how his eyes were fixed and sunk in his head, and how he looked at me, with, as it were, the glare of a man grown stupid. He embraced me, and then, with an extraordinary coldness of manner, said, ‘he did not expect me so soon.’ I replied, that ‘I had accelerated my journey on purpose to have the consolation of throwing myself at his feet, and of testifying to him my admiration of the heroic constancy with which he had endured his long severe imprisonment.’ To this his Holiness, as it were quite overcome with grief, replied in the following precise words : ‘But,’ said he, ‘we have been dragged through the dirt ! Those Cardinals * * * * * absolutely forced me to go to the table and sign my name.’ He then took me by the hand, and leading me to his chair, made me sit down beside him.”

After a brief interview, the Cardinal retired full of sadness, which was partly relieved when Monsignor Bertazzoli came to tell him that the Pope had been unwillingly compelled to dismiss him thus coldly ; and shortly afterwards he went again to his Holiness.

“On returning,” he says, “to his Holiness, I found him in a truly pitiable state of body and mind, that I feared might have a fatal termination. Their Eminences the Cardinals Di Pietro, Gabrielli, and Litta, having already arrived at Fontainebleau, were the first to enlighten him as to the manner he had been taken by surprise, and the consequences of the mistake he had committed ; of which mistake he now conceived a legitimate horror, thoroughly aware, as he had become, how the counsels and suggestions of evil advisers had caused him to fall headlong from his former glorious position. He was consequently overwhelmed by a depression of spirits the most profound, so much so, that in the course of speaking to me of what had happened, he frequently broke forth in the most plaintive ejacu-

lations, saying, among many similarly interjectional expressions, that the thought of what had been done tormented him continually; that he could not get it out of his mind; that he could neither rest by day nor sleep by night; that he could not eat more than barely sufficient to sustain life; and that (these were the precise words he uttered) he should die, he said, 'like Clement IV., out of his senses.' I said and did as much as I possibly could to console him, especially conjuring him to tranquillise his mind, and reminding him, that of all the evils it was yet possible to inflict upon the Church, that of his death would be the worst and most calamitous; and I added, that 'as in a very few days he would find himself surrounded by the remainder of all the Cardinals who were in France, on whose zeal for the interests of the Holy See, and devotion towards his sacred person, he might implicitly place his confidence, there might yet be found in their united counsels a remedy for the mischief that had occurred.' At the words 'find a remedy,' his countenance became in a slight degree re-composed, and interrupting me, he said, 'Does your Eminence really believe in the probability of a remedy?' 'Yes, most blessed Father,' I replied; 'for almost all the evils of life, when we have the will to seek a remedy, a remedy is to be found.'"

The same afternoon he had another conversation with the Pope, who shewed him the draft of four additional articles which Napoleon had wished to append to the Concordat, and had in vain attempted to wring from his Holiness. We quote them at length:

"First, 'That the Pope, and future Pontiffs his successors, should promise, previous to assuming the pontificate, never either to ordain, nor to execute any thing contrary to the four famous propositions of the Gallican clergy.'

"Secondly, 'That the Pope and his successors should for the future have the nomination of only the third part of the members of the Sacred College, and that the other two parts should be nominated by Catholic princes.'

"Thirdly, 'That the Pope, by a public Brief, should disapprove and condemn the conduct of all those Cardinals who refused to be present at the sacred ceremonial of the nuptials of Napoleon and the Archduchess Maria Louisa; and that the Emperor, restoring the said Cardinals to his favour, to the end that they might acknowledge and subscribe their names to the above-mentioned Brief, would grant them permission to rejoin the Holy Father.'

"Fourthly, 'That from the benefit of the act of grace or amnesty comprised in the last article, the Cardinals Di Pietro and Pacca be excluded, and that neither of them be ever more permitted to approach the Pope's person.'"

As matters really stood, the Concordat, though containing

nothing to be compared with such articles as these, would in fact have practically hampered the free action of the Church to an extent from which every true Catholic recoiled. At the same time the actual Concordat never was drawn up and signed. The Pope merely signed the articles agreed upon as preliminaries, with the hope that their injurious effects might be prevented by modifications in the final document. Cardinal Pacca's account of the manner in which the Pope signed the preliminaries is too important to be omitted. He gives it as the result of the inquiries he made on his arrival at Fontainebleau.

"Certain conferences and conversations between the Pope and Napoleon then took place for a few days successively, with reference to which many verbal and printed accounts have been given, that are for the most part void of foundation. In a little work especially, called *Bonaparte and the Bourbons*, the illustrious author states that in one of the aforesaid colloquies Napoleon was transported by a fit of fury to such a degree, that he seized the Pope by the hair, and treated him most injuriously; though the Pope, who was frequently interrogated on this particular point, invariably denied the truth of it, acknowledging at the same time, or allowing it to be gathered from his expressions, that the tone of behaviour of the Emperor in his conversation was authoritative, occasionally even contemptuous, and that in one instance he proceeded to the length of plainly telling him he was insufficiently versed in ecclesiastical matters. What is certain is, that the conferences ended finally on the evening of the 25th by the Pope signing the Concordat.

"The circumstances attending the conclusion of this fatal treaty have never been thoroughly known; though, on sufficiently good authority, it has been ascertained that, in order to induce the Pope to sign the document, he was made to believe the articles were merely preliminary, and not to be communicated to the public until the Cardinals in council should determine the proper mode of carrying their provisions into execution. It is also a matter beyond doubt that the Pope, when the Cardinals and Bishops were importuning him to accelerate the adjustment of the matters in question, and while at the same time being outraged by the presence of the Emperor, and in an extraordinary state of agitation, he cast his eyes imploringly on those around him, as if to beseech their support and advice in his dilemma, and was replied to by a nod of the head and a shrug of the shoulders of one or more of his councillors,—an action such as is commonly used to imply a total want of resource and the necessity of resignation,—the Pope, at the moment that he put his signature to the ill-omened paper, gave it clearly to be understood, by his hesitating manner, that he actually felt the step he was taking to be a false one, and against his own heart's inclination. * * *

"The Pope, so long as the Emperor remained at Fontainebleau, manifested no outward appearance of the feelings that agitated his heart with regard to what had happened; but so soon as Napoleon was gone he fell into a state of profound despondency, and was attacked by fever. Conversing with the Cardinals, particularly Cardinal di Pietro, on their arrival at Fontainebleau, and discussing the subject of the articles to which he had just affixed his signature, he at once saw, by the undisguised expression of their countenances, the fatal consequences likely to be the fruit of that ill-advised deed, and became so horror-struck and afflicted in consequence, that for several days he abstained from the celebration of the holy sacrifice under the impression that he had acted unworthily. Neither did he conceal the reason from the French Bishops and Cardinals who were residing in the palace, and was with difficulty prevailed upon, even after the arguments and suggestions of a pious, learned dignitary, again to come near the altar."

The articles actually signed by Pius VII. were as follows:—

"Art. I. His Holiness shall exercise the functions of the Pontificate in France and in the kingdom of Italy in the same manner and under the same forms as his predecessors.

"Art. II. The ambassadors, ministers, and *chargés d'affaires* of foreign powers residing at the court of the Holy Father, as well as the ambassadors, ministers, and *chargés d'affaires* of the Pope residing at foreign courts, shall enjoy the immunities and privileges enjoyed by other members of the *corps diplomatique*.

"Art. III. The dominions, or, in other words, the immovable property, heretofore possessed by the Holy Father and *unalienated*, shall be exempt from every species of imposition, and shall be administered by his agents or by other persons entrusted with the management of his affairs. Those portions, on the contrary, at present *alienated*, shall be replaced by the yearly revenue of two millions of francs in compensation.

"Art. IV. Within six months after the regular notification of the names of the Archbishops and Bishops of the empire and of the kingdom of Italy nominated by the Emperor, the Pope shall give canonical institution, according to the articles herein contained and by virtue of the present covenant. Previous information shall be given by the metropolitan. In case the Pope, at the expiration of the above-mentioned period of six months, shall have failed to grant the institution, the metropolitan—and failing the metropolitan, or, in the case of the metropolitan being himself the nominee, the oldest Bishop of the province—shall proceed to institute the Bishop nominated,

in such a manner that the see shall never remain beyond the space of one year vacant.

“Art. V. The Pope shall nominate to ten bishoprics, whether in France or in Italy, as shall hereafter be mutually agreed upon.

“Art. VI. The six suburban bishoprics shall be re-established, and the Pope shall have the nomination. The property actually existing shall be restored, and for the property sold an equivalent shall be given. After the death of the Bishops of Anagni and Rieti, their dioceses shall be united to the above-mentioned six bishoprics, in conformity with a plan that shall be agreed upon between his Majesty and the Holy Father.

“Art. VII. With regard to the Bishops of the Roman States who, in consequence of present circumstances, may be absent from their dioceses, the Holy Father shall be at liberty to exercise in their favour his right of giving bishoprics *in partibus*. A pension shall be given to them, equal to the revenue which they enjoyed previously, and they shall be appointed to vacant sees either within the empire or in the kingdom of Italy.

“Art. VIII. His Majesty and his Holiness shall hereafter, at their leisure, take into their consideration the necessity of making a reduction in the number of bishoprics in Tuscany and in the States of Genoa. The same with regard to the establishment of bishoprics in Holland and in the Hanseatic Departments.

“Art. IX. The Propaganda, the Penitenzieria, and the archives, shall be established at the place of the Holy Father's residence.

“Art. X. His Majesty restores to his favour the Cardinals, the Bishops, the priests, and the laymen who, on account of *actual occurrences*, had incurred his displeasure.

“Art. XI. The Holy Father persuades himself to comply with the above-mentioned dispositions, in consideration of the actual state of the Church, and from the confident hope with which his Majesty has inspired him, that his Majesty will grant his protection, and provide for the numerous exigencies of religion consequent upon the times in which we live.”

So soon as the liberated and upright Cardinals had given the Pope hopes that a plan might be devised for extricating him from his difficulties, his Holiness gave instructions to the whole body of Cardinals at Fontainebleau, including those who favoured Napoleon, to put each upon paper his opinions of

the Concordat, and any remarks he thought proper to add. A series of deliberations among the Cardinals then took place, in which it was resolved by a very large majority to advise the holy Father absolutely to retract the Concordat without any delay. The Gallican Cardinals, as might be expected, pretended that such retraction could hardly be proposed by Italians who held the doctrine of the papal infallibility. On this Cardinal Pacca remarks :

“ It did not therefore follow as a consequence that the sentence of the Roman ecclesiastical law that pronounces the infallibility of the Roman Pontiffs would thereby be damaged ; and for this plain reason, because the Pope, having promised and granted what was prejudicial to the good of the Church, had done what he had no right to do, though, on the other hand, he had never ventured to inculcate any erroneous doctrine ; wherefore, though his error was certainly a very grave one, it was not nevertheless an error of doctrine, and, consequently, with regard to the question of the Pope's infallibility, not liable to imputation, since the most ardent defenders of Pontifical rights, though they maintain that Popes are infallible in their doctrine, have never for a moment dreamt that they are equally infallible in their management of public affairs, or in their private conduct.”

The moment the recommendations of the Cardinals were given in to the Pope, he commenced acting upon the advice of the large majority, which was to the effect that his Holiness should write a letter to the Emperor, retracting the Concordat, and that as soon as it was despatched he should formally communicate its contents to the Cardinals, to make them all witnesses of the fact. For the details relating to the composition of the letter we must refer to the Memoirs themselves, as also for the letter itself, and for the Pope's formal announcement of its contents to the Cardinals. They are all deeply interesting, and the letter to the Emperor is one of the most edifying and instructive public documents which a Catholic can read. It shews what that Supreme Pontiff really is, who, in the eyes of the world, is the tyrant of men and the usurper of the power of God.

The moment all was concluded, the Pope's health began to improve ; he recovered his spirits, began again to smile, regained his appetite, and his natural sleep at night. Meanwhile, Napoleon's wrath knew no bounds, except those which policy imposed, in order that he might diminish the effect of the retraction. He did his best to conceal the fact itself, though he is said to have exclaimed in his Council of State, that he should never finish the business till he had blown the head of one of the Cardinals at Fontainebleau off his shoulders. The

Pope's imprisonment was instantly made more rigorous than ever; the most zealous Cardinals were carried away, among the rest Cardinal Pacca, who was sent to Uzès in Languedoc, where he was confined, not in a prison, but as a guest in a private family of devout Catholics, with whom he spent several very happy months. The history of his sojourn at Uzès is full of interest; but, together with the record of his final liberation on Napoleon's fall, and his return to Rome, we must pass it over, as we have space for nothing more than the character which the Cardinal gives of the excellent Pius VII.

"I, who have had the honour of serving Pius VII. as minister, and of being near his person in the years 1809 and 1815—years remarkable, in the course of the political events comprised in both periods, for vicissitudes, whereby scenes of sorrow and misfortune were blended with affairs the most arduous and complicated, ending with glorious triumph—have consequently had an opportunity of observing him under such peculiarly delicate, critical circumstances, as necessarily oblige a man, even in spite of his own will, to expose his true character and manner of thinking. Having therefore attentively studied his character, and well knowing his disposition, I can affirm that Pius VII. was a man by no means deficient in talent, nor of a weak, pusillanimous nature; on the contrary, he was of ready wit, vivacious, more than commonly versed in the sacred sciences, and especially possessed that peculiar description of good sound sense that in matters of business intuitively perceives the difficulties to be overcome, and sees every thing in its proper light. He was besides, as is well known to every body, not only exempt from the strong passions of ambition and self-interest, but also free from those affections of flesh and blood that have obscured the fame of other Supreme Pontiffs, to an extent that gave reason to his people, from the very first days of his elevation to the Holy See, to expect a happy, glorious Pontificate. But among his other excellent endowments there remains to be mentioned one quality, which by some is attributed to an acutely discriminative sense of what is right, and by others is considered a defect. The first view of a matter of business that presented itself to the mind of Pius VII. was invariably the right view, and his first resolutions were always dictated by such exquisite good sense and delicate discernment, that would to God he had always carried them into effect! But if perchance a minister, or any other influential person present, happened to see the matter in a different light, suggesting at the same time, and resolutely insisting upon a different proposal, then inevitably would the good Pius immediately abandon his own proper opinion, and adopt and follow counsels of others that, in the great majority of cases, were infinitely inferior to the dictates of his own mind. Malevolent persons have attributed this peculiarity either to weakness of mind or to an over-earnest desire to enjoy peace and

quiet ; while others, reasoning more leniently upon the singular humility and modesty of his nature, imagine it to have proceeded from the low estimate he thought proper to form of himself, and from over-diffidence of his own talents and perceptions. Certain it is that, during the period of his Pontificate, his public conduct was not marked by a mode of procedure constant and uniform, as the events which I now have in hand to recount successively will clearly shew."

ROSSI ON THE CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF ROME.

L'Iscrizone della Statua ristabilita di Nicomaco Flaviano Seniore. Dichiarata da G. B. de Rossi. Roma, Bertinelli.

WE notice this book, not so much for its own sake, as for the announcement which it contains of another that has been long promised from the pen of the same author, which has been already spoken of in these pages, but which we are not sorry to have another opportunity of bringing before the attention of our readers. We allude to the collection of all the Christian inscriptions of Rome during the first six centuries, by G. B. de Rossi.

Of the value of these monuments it is not necessary that we should speak at any length ; the important use that may be made of them is known to the student of theology through the works of Perrone and other modern professors ; and the more general reader has been made acquainted with them, either in the volumes of the Abbés Gerbet and Gaume in France, or those of Doctors Wiseman and Rock in our own country. Probably, however, few persons are aware of the immense labour and diligence which are requisite to make a really complete collection of them. The ancient Christian inscriptions of Rome have not, as Dr. Maitland seemed to imagine, been always carefully preserved, and then the most important of them selected and arranged in the Lapidarian Gallery ; that collection, large and interesting as it is, scarcely contains more than the eighth part of those which will be published by De Rossi ; and in fact, so far from being a selection of the most ancient or the most valuable, it is only a general gathering together of those which had not been otherwise disposed of previously to the Pontificate of Benedict XIV. ; those that had neither been lost, nor given away, nor appropriated to other collections in Rome or elsewhere. Before that period, the *custodi* of the Catacombs (from whence, of

course, the great majority of these monuments are taken), those who superintended the excavations and took charge of the relics and everything else which was discovered there, enjoyed the privilege of disposing of these precious memorials in whatever manner they thought fit; and whilst as yet there was no appointed place in which they should be deposited, and it was impossible to foresee that they would be as numerous and important as they have subsequently proved to be, these persons not unnaturally presented specimens to distinguished *letterati* and foreign ecclesiastics, as a means of increasing the public interest and devotion towards the cemeteries from which they were taken; or they deposited them in churches, as the most appropriate places for the preservation of Christian monuments. Here they were very commonly inserted in the pavements, where, as might have been expected, they have either gradually been effaced by the constant tread of worshippers, or thoughtlessly removed, and so lost sight of altogether, on occasion of some subsequent restoration of that portion of the church. Marangoni laments the loss of many which had been removed from the churches of the Prassede, Sta. Cecilia, and others, by the masons employed to restore the pavement, who bargained for them as part of the price of their labour, and afterwards broke them up to use them for ordinary purposes of building; yet he himself did not hesitate to expose others to a similar risk, by placing them in the churches of Sta. Maria Traspontina, San Giovanni di Dio, and elsewhere, which now in like manner are irretrievably lost; and it may not improbably happen that a future generation will seek in vain for those which are now to be seen in the pavements of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Sta. Costanza, and SS. Quattro Coronati.

A collector of Christian inscriptions, therefore, one who wishes to make his collection perfect, has something more to do than merely to transcribe those which are brought together to his hand in the Lapidarian Gallery, in the Museums of the Capitol, of St. John Lateran, and of the Roman College, in the cloisters of San Gregorio and of San Lorenzo *fuori le mura*, or in the porticos of San Marco and Sta. Maria in Trastevere, &c.; he must also search, sometimes within the chapels of convents and private palaces, sometimes even in the walls of vineyards, or among the rubbish of a marble-cutter's out-houses; above all, he must descend into the cemeteries themselves, not only for the sake of those few grave-stones which have been left there, but also for those other inscriptions which it is not possible to remove, because they were not engraven upon stone, but only written upon the mortar

with which the stones were fastened. All this De Rossi has done with a diligence and perseverance to which we ourselves can testify; we have seen, in one of the corridors of the Benedictine monastery at St. Paul's, a number of inscriptions that have been rescued from oblivion entirely through his steady patience during a period of two or three months; first, in collecting every fragment of *res lapidaria* which could anywhere be found in the precincts of that Basilica amid the ruins of the late fire and the materials prepared for the new building, and afterwards in the more difficult task of arranging and putting them together; a single inscription perhaps being made up of eight or ten pieces. A still larger number may be seen in one of the chambers at the Vatican, for whose preservation, at least in any legible, useable form, we are indebted to the same hands. In the cemetery of San Sisto too we have known him spend hour after hour in removing the soft mud which had filled up all the little cavities of the mortar round the edge of a grave, until he had succeeded in bringing to light a perfect inscription, where, previously to his labours, it was only possible to distinguish a few detached letters; and some persons, indeed, doubted even of the reality of these.

However, not all the pains-taking assiduity in the world can now suffice to recover every portion of that vast mass of primitive Christian monuments which Rome might have possessed, had she uniformly exercised her present care for their preservation. Besides those which have been scattered to distant parts of the world, many more have perished altogether; and of these De Rossi can but use his utmost diligence in selecting what may seem to be the most authentic copies. This he assures us (*L'Iscrizione*, &c., note 1, page 26) that he has scrupulously done; and his position, as one of the writers in the Vatican, gives him peculiar facilities for the execution of this part of his task. In that library he has access not only to the mss. of Marini, the late librarian, on this subject, but also to many other ms. collections, more ancient, and more valuable, because much more carefully revised; and the references to the Vatican mss., with which the pages of the present dissertation abound, give us every confidence that our author will not have been slow to avail himself of the assistance which such powerful auxiliaries can afford. Indeed, the skill which he has displayed both in deciphering and illustrating this newly-discovered monument of Nicomachus Flavianus, some parts of which had completely baffled the ingenuity of the first Roman antiquarians, may be looked upon as a kind of guarantee to the public that the collection of the ancient Christian inscriptions of Rome will be executed in a manner

worthy of its importance, that the collector's abilities are equal to the task. It would seem that it was with some such intention as this that the present paper has been published as a separate pamphlet, distinct from the ordinary volume of the *Annals of the Archæological Institute* to which it properly belongs; and, at any rate, it is under this aspect that we have thought it deserving of notice, and do not hesitate to commend it to the attention of our readers.

HANMER ON SUBMISSION TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Submission to the Catholic Church. By A. J. Hanmer, B.A.

THIS little work is addressed to inquiring friends, anxious to be informed why the writer had left the Established Church. The answer is a startling one. Mr. Hanmer assures them that "it was for this reason, and for no other, viz. because the fundamental principles of the established religion are, in *themselves*, really and truly, neither more nor less than those of total infidelity." The line of argument thus adopted is one which Protestants often profess to be greatly shocked at, as tending to precipitate sceptically-disposed minds into conclusions from which they would naturally have shrunk, and which they would never have consciously accepted but for the sake of intellectual consistency. No doubt it is most shocking that men should be so devoid of religious principle as to take up with infidelity rather than abandon their erroneous opinions; and more shocking still that they should be content to give up whatever was real and true in their principles rather than follow it out to its legitimate results. But to maintain that the course of reasoning in question is an immoral or irreligious one, is, in fact, to deprecate the use of argument in the matter of religious truth altogether. For it is impossible to argue with another except on some common ascertained ground. Some premiss must be mutually granted ere it is possible to build any conclusion upon it which both parties will accept. To discover this common ground is the first object of a discussion where the desired result is conviction. And thus it becomes necessary to define and analyse terms, lest the parties should seem to agree when they really essentially differ. A common basis once discovered, the argument may proceed; but whether to any valid conclusion will depend on the ability and honesty of the combatants, and on the very important previous ques-

tion, whether the basis admitted has in it the principle of truth. This, however, is plain, that if one hold a true principle and the other does not, the latter must infallibly be driven at the hands of a skilful opponent into plainer and plainer avowal of the falsehood which implicitly he maintained from the first, though his language may have sounded accurate and true. This must be the downward process. Whereas, on the other hand, if he really hold the truth which in words he professes, he will be led to see that certain other truths are contained in what he holds; and thus he is put on a moral trial whether he will accept the truth in its integrity, or abandon it altogether and take up with its opposite. This is the case in *every* argument where truth is concerned, though its logical issue will depend on the clear-sightedness or the determination of him who is in possession of the truth.

We say, then, that the line of argument disapproved of is one which is necessarily pursued in every religious discussion; and to complain of the issue is only to quarrel with your opponent for being more resolute or uncompromising than yourself, and to make it a crime on his part that he knows he is in possession of the truth, and contends for its triumphant vindication, fearless of consequences. And further, instead of giving offence, such a course of reasoning ought to be considered rather complimentary than otherwise, seeing that it gives you credit for love of the truth, and supposes that all that is needed is to shew you that your principle is untrue, to induce you to discard it for ever. It takes for granted that you abhor infidelity in however latent and subtle a state, and would rather be convicted of *material* unbelief, and have it dislodged from your mind, than implicitly harbour it though unawares. If, indeed, it has taken a formal shape within you, then already are you an infidel at heart, and your state can hardly be worse when the plague is brought to the surface; the sight of it and the shock of its disclosure may bring you to your senses; if not, it has happened to you as it happens to every one who "loveth darkness," you have brought yourself under the law of God's retributive justice, which taketh away even that which a man seemeth to have. The fault is in yourself, and you must suffer its penalty.

But anyhow, it might justly be retorted in answer to such objections, Why do you assail the Catholic Church from infidel ground, or allege infidel reasons for refusing submission to her authority? Surely if to press infidel principles to their results be something so fearful, to hold and avow those principles is very much more so. And they *are* held, we do not mean implicitly only, but in an argumentative form. And

if not avowed, we fear they are too often not unconsciously entertained, though, to use Mr. Hanmer's words, men may "shrink from contemplating" them, or "resort to various expedients in order to dissipate the impression and drive away the conviction." Many are beginning to see and to half acknowledge to themselves that the choice is between Rome and unbelief. Unbelief is present before their minds as a possible alternative. Mr. Hanmer was himself consciously visited by the "huge ungainly monster," and by God's grace he resisted the horrible seduction. The danger, then, is no self-devised one on his part, the charge is no after-thought taken up as a weapon of assault against the communion he has left. He has a right to speak, and charity impels him to speak plainly. He has evidently thought much on the subject of which he writes, and though, to our taste, his language is at times somewhat overcharged and redundant, his reasoning is clear and strong, and his position impregnable. Some of the arguments are urged with considerable force and originality; we may particularly instance his exposure of the antichristian pretensions of the Oriental Churches, which it has become a fashion among Anglicans to patronise, in their jealousy of Rome. The process, too, by which he demonstrates the *value* of the Papal supremacy by means of a sort of mathematical problem strikes us as able and ingenious.

Mr. Hanmer's argument, however, is by no means exclusively negative in its character; and the latter portion of the work, in which he enlarges on his own experience of the Church's teaching, is eminently practical and constructive. One of the most prominent ideas with which, as was to be expected, his mind is occupied is the relation which the high Catholic doctrine of our Lady's prerogatives bears to the adorable mysteries of the Most Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of the Son of God. We may take this opportunity of saying a few words on this subject. Many Anglicans who cannot bring themselves to submit to the Church are adopting a new line of defence. After having protested all their lives against the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin, as that portion of Roman exaggerations against which their religious sense most revolted; having always studiously contrasted what they call primitive views with the devotional system of the mediæval or the present Church; having hitherto loudly declared, that what is to be seen on the Continent, and is contained in popular devotional books, is the really authorised practice of the whole Catholic Church in communion with Rome, by which her formularies are to be interpreted, and her very mind and spirit to be determined; that if less developed elsewhere, as,

for instance, in a hostile country like England, such difference was a merely accidental exception, which could be accounted for by local and other obvious causes;—they are now changing their tone, and declare, that as for what the Church authoritatively teaches and sanctions, they might be disposed to accept all, both in the letter and in the intention; but that it is perfectly insufferable that a handful of enthusiasts, members of religious orders, converts and others, followers of certain modern doctors and saints, should be allowed to have their own way unrebuked; and until they are disowned and put down by authority, it is too much to expect, that they should join a Church which tolerates such scandals, even though there be none else in the world; and they protest, that if they are forced to enter the Roman communion, if there really is no help for it, it can only be with a distinct understanding that they implicitly repudiate such dangerous extremes. We need not point out the pride, the presumption, the self-stultification of such a defence. We will not comment upon the ignorance it displays of the great theologians and spiritual writers of the Catholic Church. We would only say to such: Your notions of God and Christ, and all that is most holy, are infinitely more distressing and repugnant to us than our doctrines touching the Blessed Virgin Mary can possibly be to you. For instance, when Dr. Mill, in his recent sermon, *Human Policy and Divine Truth*, says that to hold the Mother of God to be immaculate in her conception is to “place her as a successor to what were once considered the exclusive honours of her Divine Son,” he gives utterance to thoughts which to the faithful and devout Catholic are disparaging beyond all power of expression to the incommunicable attributes of our Lord, as degrading Him to the level of a sinless creature. We feel that he does not realise, even so far as intellectually to conceive what is meant by, the Catholic doctrine of the hypostatic union in the Person of Christ. If, then, it be true that the worship we pay the Blessed Virgin sensibly interferes with the worship you pay to the Three Persons of the Most Holy Trinity, it is because you pay to the Supreme God that lower and, as we may say, merely human worship which we pay to the most exalted of creatures. What you require—we say it not offensively, but in earnest—is to be taught who and what God is, who and what Christ is; when your minds have been raised to adore Him who is infinite, then will you find room to behold, contemplate, and admire, yea worship, her who is the holiest work of his hand.

And further, we would say, If you sincerely desire high doctrine on any subject whatever, such teaching as has both

depth and richness and is redolent with the unction of piety, you must seek it, not amongst such as hold the mere letter of the Council of Trent and rise not beyond, but amongst those doctors and divines whom now you dislike for their ultra opinions. It is the high doctrine, the highest doctrine, which has authority on its side, which is taught by all the great masters in theology and ascetical divines; and if you would put it to a practical trial, ask counsel at the mouth of any number of Catholics who have the character of being both *holy* and *learned*, and judge for yourselves. We defy you to produce an instance of one whom *in other respects* you would judge to be prudent and devout, even according to your own highest standard of prudence and devotion, who does not render what you deem an excessive worship to our Lady, and speak of her in terms which sound extravagant in your ears. Once embrace the Creed of the Church—which is all that is required of catechumens—not in a self-satisfied, self-willed way; but in the spirit of a little child, as our Lord enjoins, and *grace* will enable you to do all the rest. The Church herself declares you incompetent, by the very fault of your position, to judge of these things; why, then, presume to criticise from without what only the gift of faith can enable you to realise from within?

SHORT NOTICES.

FATHER Newman is publishing, one by one, in quick succession, the series of Lectures he has been for some time delivering at the London Oratory, on *Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church* (Burns and Lambert). Those who are curious in watching the progress of the theological dissecting-knife in the hands of an operator of extraordinary skill will derive a rare pleasure from their study. Any thing like a fair criticism on their merits is impossible until they are completed, and we shall therefore reserve what we have to say upon them for a future occasion. We suspect that, when their author has brought them to a conclusion, they will present one of the most perfect examples of theological and philosophical *analysis* which the history of Christian controversy affords.

A set of very elegant Altar Cards have been designed by two students of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall Green, and lithographed in colours, which deserve to be purchased for every new church, and every old altar in process of re-decoration. They are in the style of the Middle Age illuminations, and do much credit to their designers.

As they are published in two forms, one with legible Roman characters, and the other in a species of Old English, they will please all parties. We venture to remind our readers that such works are not got up without considerable expense, and that it is in some sense a duty with those who can afford it to lend a helping hand to young ecclesiastical artists who have zeal and ability enough to produce works of so much real worth.

Dr. Murray's *Letters on the Philosophy of Plain-Speaking* (Bellevue) originally appeared, at least in part, in the *Tablet* and the *Nation*. They were written in reply to the attacks of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, a dull, prejudiced, and High-Church Protestant periodical, which savagely attacked Dr. Murray's *Irish Miscellany*. The letters are very clever, and full of pointed and powerful passages. In the general principle which Dr. Murray advocates we cordially agree, though we differ in one or two details of its application, conceiving that he occasionally diminishes, rather than increases, the force of his statements by an ill-chosen word or image. Good taste, when really good, and not over-refined, is a material element in strength and plainness of speaking. For instance, Dr. Murray has called Mr. Whiteside's book a "miserable, pulpy, and slobbering volume." In our eyes, the force of the epithet "pulpy" is almost neutralised by the term "slobbering." So again, the word "frowzy," as applied to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, strikes us as both in bad taste and as tending to weakness rather than plainness and power. We mention this one point of disagreement with Dr. Murray all the more prominently, because he possesses so much vigour and brilliancy that he can well afford a little pruning.

The fourth volume of *Compitum* (Dolman) is, like its predecessors, a garden of pleasant thoughts and quotations. Among living writers Mr. Digby stands alone. The only recent author who bears any relationship to him is the late poet-laureate. Southey possessed that same singular memory, that fondness for quaint old books, that facility for the harmonising of quotations, which make up the literary character of Mr. Digby's books. To that pure, devout, and affectionate spirit which pervades every line of *Compitum* and of the *Agnes of Faith*, Southey was a stranger. The present volume of *Compitum* includes the roads of magistrates, warriors, kings, priests, of the Pope, of pagans, and of historians.

The Morality of Tractarianism, a Letter from One of the People to One of the Clergy (Pickering), is a striking illustration of much that is urged or implied in Father Newman's lectures. Tractarianism, begun in honesty, is ending in deceit. If it does not make its adherents Catholics, it makes them false to themselves, and false to the rest of the world. This letter is a phenomenon in the records of religionism. How can its writer remain one day in the system he thus bitterly exposes? If all things are possible to them that believe, how mournfully is this movement shewing that all things, in another sense, are possible to those who do not believe.

To Mr. Marshall's *General Report on Roman Catholic Schools for the Year 1849* we shall return at a future period. It is an extremely interesting paper; and while it shews that a vast amount of labour in the way of the education of the Catholic poor is yet to be done and *to be begun*, it establishes the certainty that much is already accomplished, and still more in progress. Mr. Marshall reports of the children, what is true of all Catholics in general, that, if they have but a chance, none will be before them in the race. We cannot too strongly urge upon our readers the overwhelming importance of the subject, and the necessity of remembering that the present is the golden opportunity, which may never return. Without the Catholic education of the Catholic poor, all our other efforts are something very like a mockery and a self-delusion.

The Papal and Royal Supremacies contrasted (Richardson) is the Right Reverend Dr. Wiseman's second sermon at St. George's, London, on the Gorham and Exeter case. It contrasts, with that abundance of illustration which is so striking a feature in its author's works, the two supremacies in their origin, their respective characters, in their exercise, and in their results, and abounds with passages of interest and power.

Hungary and the Hungarian Struggle, by Mr. T. G. Clark (Groombridge and Sons), is a zealous apology for the Magyars, with a good deal of interesting information respecting their history and character. Mr. Clark was resident in Hungary for nearly two years, and his personal experiences have the aspect of truthfulness. He saw all, however, with the eyes of warm enthusiastic youth, and his statement is purely *ex parte*; still, being genuine, it has its value.

Brownson's Quarterly Review (Boston, U.S., Greene) is a Catholic journal not sufficiently known to English Catholics. The history of its editor is well known. He was a Socinian until within the last few years, and, on his conversion, continued his review, already existing, on Catholic principles. He is a writer of considerable power and earnestness, extremely attached to metaphysical studies, and independent in mind. The American Episcopate warmly patronise the Review, and it has on many grounds a strong claim on English support.

A second edition of the Rev. P. Cooper's lectures, *The Anglican Church the Creature and Slave of the State* (Dolman), has just appeared. They hit extremely hard, and their republication at the present moment is opportune.

Sanitation, the Means of Health (Groombridge and Sons), is the first of a set of elementary catechisms, sold at a low price. The topic is fashionable just now, and men and women are not so egregiously ignorant of the law of health as were too many of the past generation. This little catechism, however, contains a good deal of information which will be new even now to most persons.

A new edition of Père de Lantage's *Catéchisme de la Foi et des Mœurs Chrétiennes* (Paris, Sagnier et Bray) has just been issued. This catechism has stood the test of nearly two hundred years of use, and is still one of the best ever written in France. It forms a volume of nearly six hundred pages; and there is not a subject which requires catechetical explanation, in the Catholic education of the young, which is not here treated with admirable fulness and distinctness. In the absence of such books in our own language, it may be warmly recommended to every person engaged in the work of Christian instruction.

The *Histoire de Sainte Cecile*, by Dom Prosper Gueranger, Abbot of Solesmes, is a charming little volume, written with care and accuracy, such as we should naturally expect from the reputation of its author, yet at the same time with something of the natural ease and simplicity, and all that warmth of devotion, which form such prominent features in ancient hagiographers. This charm, indeed, it could scarcely fail to be possessed of, since, in the biographical portion of his book, the Abbé Gueranger has done little more than translate the ancient Acts of his saint's martyrdom: moreover, it is free from that burdensome sentiment with which so many French lives are loaded, and which, to our English taste, is so offensive. We are disposed to complain of a few details in the arrangement; especially that the critique upon the authenticity of St. Cecilia's Acts should not have formed the subject of a separate dissertation, either by way of preface or appendix to the Life, rather than be left to find its place accidentally, as it were, in the main body of the work, according to the chronological order which he has followed of all the events that concern the history of his saint—either in her own person, in her basilica, in her cemetery; in the devotion towards her manifested by Popes, Cardinals, and people, by poets, painters, and musicians; and finally, in the rude attacks of last century's criticism upon the age to which she belonged, and almost upon the very fact of her existence at all. Those persons who were acquainted with the remarks of Tillemont, Baillet, and others, upon this subject, required to have their doubts set at rest, and to see St. Cecilia securely located in some particular time and place, before they could appreciate a sketch of the state of society in which she lived, and a full description of all the *dramatis personæ* connected with her; whilst those to whom such rash criticisms were happily unknown would gladly have been spared the necessity of considering them at all.

Moreover, we could have wished that the volume had been illustrated by something more than a copy of Bernini's famous statue, which, graceful as it is, scarcely supplies the place of that *vera effigies* which we are somehow naturally tempted to look for as a necessary frontispiece to all single biographies of this kind. If we remember rightly, the ancient mosaics of the Basilica would have furnished him with a very pleasing portrait of the Saint; and indeed, some little sketch of the bath, the scene of her first punishment, of the

old frescoes representing Paschal's vision and the re-discovery of her body, and even of some parts of the Basilica itself, would not have been misplaced in the Abbé's volume. The text deserved such illustrations; and we hope, in a second edition, he may be induced to supply them. We hope too that he may again find leisure, amid his graver studies, to give us similar histories of some other of the ancient saints—of St. Agnes at least, who seems in some sort to be St. Cecilia's rival in the devotion of the Roman ladies; and St. Catharine too, whose name and altar are so often found united with theirs (*e. g.* in the subterranean chapel in St. Cecilia's own Basilica), as together forming the very flower of the Virgin Saints.

Mr. Bittleston, formerly curate of Margaret Chapel, London, and who has now happily exchanged the delusions and formalities of Anglicanism for the realities and living rites of Catholicism, has published *Two Letters to an Anglican Clergyman of the High-Church Party* (Burns and Lambert), written to a friend some months before their author himself became a Catholic. They contain many acute remarks on the singular fallacies with which men whose eyes are nearly opened to the truth persuade themselves that they are pleasing God by running away from the approach of all further light. Like so many others, Mr. Bittleston must now be amazed that one who knew so much could be so long in acting on his convictions. Happy they with whom the time of grace does not pass away *before* the moment of action comes!

A curious account of a conversion wrought by wholly different means is given in a small French publication, *Conversion d'une Famille Protestante*, par Mde. Camille L. (Sagnier et Bray). Madame L. tells the tale of the conversion of her friends, who are English people, with all a Frenchwoman's vivacity and *tendresse*, and details the particulars of their remarkable change with the accuracy of an eye-witness. These kind of records are often couched in a style which makes one admire the writer's zeal more than his historical qualifications, and are consequently somewhat tedious in the perusal. Madame L. has, however, contrived to be both instructive and edifying, and her history is interesting from its manifest truthfulness.

Christianity and the Church, by the Rev. Dr. Pise (Baltimore, Murphy), is a volume chiefly founded on Louis Lahure's *Le Christianisme et les Philosophes*. It contains a curious collection of extracts from writers, many of whom are the last to whom one would have looked for testimonies in favour of the Catholic religion. Bayle, Rousseau, Voltaire, Cambacres, and others such, do duty by the side of the Christian Fathers and later theologians.

Ecclesiastical Register.

ALLOCATION OF PIUS IX. AT THE SECRET CONSISTORY OF MAY 20, 1850.

VENERABLE BRETHREN,—We have had hitherto reason to admire the care of Divine Providence in defending the Catholic Church; but in these latter days we have beheld, in a degree more than ever remarkable, proofs of that protection which the Almighty promised to his Church to the end of time. The world is aware of the lamentable occurrence which drove us in affliction into exile more than sixteen months ago, and all have been eye-witnesses to the ever-to-be-deplored and awful time when the Prince of Darkness was permitted to display his rage against the Church and against the Apostolic See, and was allowed to run riot in this city, the centre of Catholic truth, to the ineffable sorrow of ourselves and of all good men. But we are likewise aware how the God of justice and of mercy, “who striketh and healeth, giveth death and restoreth life, bringeth down to hell and bringeth back again,” hath consoled us by the ever-present and manifest proofs of his goodness, and looking with compassion on our prayers and sighs, and upon the supplications of the whole Church, hath deigned to quell the tempest, and to deliver our most beloved subjects from the miserable state in which they were, and to restore us to this holy city amidst the joy of the people and the exultation of the whole Catholic world. In this our first address to you after our return, it is our duty to offer our most grateful thanks to Divine Providence for so many favours, as well as to bestow deserved praise upon those powerful nations and princes who were moved by Almighty God to render this service to the Holy See, and by their means, counsels, and arms, to defend the temporal principality of the See, and to restore public peace and order in our city and states.

Our beloved son, Ferdinand II., King of the Two Sicilies, merits the special tribute of our gratitude, and the most particular mention in our prayers. He, by an impulse of his eminently religious feeling, hastened in person to meet us at the first rumour of our arrival at Gaeta, in company with his august consort, Maria Teresa, infinitely happy in being able to give the Vicar of Christ on earth striking marks of his rare piety, his devotion, and filial obedience, granting us most munificent hospitality, and unceasingly bestowing on us, during the time we remained in his kingdom, all sorts of good offices, of which you, indeed, venerable brethren, have been the constant witnesses. He willed, also, when other nations marched to the assistance of the temporal power of this Chair of the Apostles, to join his troops to theirs. The eminent services which this prince has rendered to us and the Holy See are so deeply engraved in our heart, that nothing shall ever efface the happy remembrance of them.

In the next place, we must mention with great honour, and with the pledge of our lasting gratitude, the most noble French nation, illustrious for its military glory, for its respect to our Apostolic See, as well as on so many other accounts. For this nation and its illustrious chief, the President of the Republic, hastening at once to assist us in our necessities and those of our Pontificate, and sparing no sacrifice for that end, decreed that its brave generals and soldiers should be sent to our rescue;

who, at the price of many and painful exertions, freed and succoured this city in the miserable condition to which it was reduced, and have arrived, above every thing, at the glory of having recalled us to our dominions.

Also Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, apostolic King of Hungary, and most illustrious King of Bohemia, faithful to the piety and reverence for the Chair of Peter which his race has ever manifested, and employing with a promptitude and incomparable zeal his vast power and earnest care in the defence of the civil principality of the Apostolic See, through his victorious arms set free from an unjust and oppressive domination the pontifical provinces, especially those of Æmelia, Picenum, and Umbria, and restored them to our legitimate authority and that of the Holy See.

We have also the most sincere motives for cherishing a grateful remembrance of the services which we have received from our most dear daughter in Christ, Maria Elizabeth, Catholic Queen of Spain, and her government; since it is well known to you that from the moment she became aware of our reverses, she had nothing more at heart than to urge, by every motive, all Catholic nations to adopt the cause of the common Father of the Faithful, and to send their valiant troops to defend the possessions of the Roman Church.

Wherefore, we return sincere and well-merited thanks, and acknowledge our gratitude to them. In this matter, we cannot sufficiently admire the Providence who ruleth all things in strength and sweetness, and who hath disposed the hearts of princes not united to the Roman Church, even in the midst of troubles and bitterness, making them support and maintain her temporal state, which the Sovereign Pontiff has held by the will of Almighty God, through so many successive ages, in just right, in order that in the government of the Universal Church, divinely committed to his charge, he may exercise his apostolical authority with that liberty which is necessary for his office, and for securing the welfare of the flock of Christ. We wish to bestow praise and honour upon the ambassadors and agents of these nations and princes, who proved their goodwill and affection by defending us before our departure, and by sharing in our exile and return. We have been so deeply moved by the many acts of piety, of intense affection, of devoted respect, and abundant liberality, which we have witnessed in the whole of Christendom, that we could wish, if time would permit, to declare our gratitude, not only to every city and town, but even to every one of their inhabitants. Yet we must not pass over the striking and wonderful proofs of faith, piety, love, and liberality, which we have received with so much gladness from our venerated brethren the Bishops of the Universal Church. Although they were in straits and difficulties, they ceased not to fulfil their ministry with fortitude and zeal, and to fight the good fight, and by their words, by their useful writings, and in their Episcopal assemblies, to defend the cause, rights, and liberties of the Church, and to provide for the spiritual wants of their flocks. How can we express our gratitude to yourselves, venerable brethren, Cardinals of the holy Roman Catholic Church, who have afforded us relief and consolation; for you have been the companions of our afflictions, you have borne trials with unshaken courage, and you were ready to endure the worst for the honour of the high dignity with which you are invested, and you have never failed to assist us with your advice and co-operation? Wherefore, since, by the special favour of Almighty God, things have been so ordained as that we have been enabled to return to our See amidst the congratulations of our city and of the whole

world, it is our first duty to return our sincere thanks, in the lowliness of our heart, to the Father of mercies, who hath shewn his mercy to us, and the immaculate Mother of God, to whose powerful intercession our safety is due.

So far we have rapidly traced those occurrences which have yielded pleasure to us; but our supreme office obliges us likewise to mention those things which trouble us and render us anxious. You know that a truceless war is being waged between light and darkness, truth and error, vice and virtue, Belial and Christ; and you know with what wicked arts and deceits impious men have laboured to disturb and cast down our holy religion, to uproot the germs of every Christian virtue, and to spread every where an unbounded license of thought and living, and to affect and corrupt the minds of inexperienced youth especially, with every kind of dangerous errors; and they have endeavoured to subvert all right, human and divine—to destroy what is indestructible, the Catholic Church, and to war against the Chair of St. Peter. No one can avoid seeing the trials to which the flock of Christ is exposed, and the dangers by which society itself is threatened. We must unite together in heart and soul, in watchfulness, zeal, and energy, to fight well the battles of the Lord, and to raise up a wall for the house of Israel. We ourselves, notwithstanding our sense of weakness, trusting to the help of Almighty God, will not be silent for Zion, and will not rest for Jerusalem; and keeping our eyes ever bent upon our Lord Jesus, the author and consummator of our Faith, will spare neither care, nor anxiety, nor labour, to strengthen the temple and repair the afflictions of the Church, and provide for the well-being of all, being ready even to give our life for the sake of our dear Lord and for his holy Church. Addressing all our venerable brethren the Bishops of Christendom, sharers in our solicitude, and congratulating them again upon the labours which they have nobly undergone for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, we encourage them, in fearful contest, to be united in word and work, and, strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, to take up the buckler of Faith and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, and to go forth, as they have done, in ever-increasing zeal, in episcopal valour, constancy, and prudence, to fight boldly for our most holy religion, to withstand the efforts of our enemies, to beat back their assaults, and to defend their flocks from their violence. Let them exhort ecclesiastics especially to be earnest in prayer, fervent in spirit, and edifying in holiness of life, that, united amongst themselves by the strict tie of charity, they clothe themselves with divine armour, and march to the combat as it were with a single heart and a single soul, joining in common all their forces, and, under the conduct of their Bishop, raising night and day the priestly voice, preaching with ardour to the Christian people the law of God and the ordinances of the Church, his spouse. Let them urge ecclesiastics to expose to their people the fallacies and deceit of wicked men, and to shew all evils flow from sin, and that true happiness can only be found in the keeping of the divine law, and in the fidelity with which men fulfil their duty, seek virtue, and turn from sin and darkness to the Lord.

We invite you to share in our joy, and in the consolation which we have received, amidst so many sorrows, on account of the decrees lately issued by our beloved son the Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph, who, following the impulse of his own religious feelings, and yielding to our prayers, and to the petition of the Bishops of his great empire, has acquired a title to glory, and has gained the applause of all good men by the liberty which he has so readily and so nobly conceded, through his

ministers, to the Church. We thank and congratulate this noble prince for this act, so worthy of a Catholic sovereign. We entertain a sure hope that he will complete the good work that he has begun, and will carry out his religious designs for the Church.

But our joy has been checked by the affecting and painful accounts which we have received of the sufferings of the Church in another State, and of the manner in which her rights and the rights of the Apostolic See are there trampled upon. In the kingdom of Piedmont, as is universally known, law has been promulgated contrary to the laws of the Church, and to the conventions solemnly concluded with this Apostolic See; and the illustrious Archbishop of Turin, our venerable brother, Louis Fransoni, has been torn by an armed force from his episcopal residence and conducted to the citadel. As the gravity of the case and the duty of our charge for the defence of the Church required, we immediately, through our Cardinal Minister, protested to that Government, first against the said law, and then against the injury and violence done to the illustrious Archbishop. In the bitterness which fills our hearts, our consolation is to hope that these protests will have the desired effect, and we put off to another allocution, when the moment shall seem opportune to us, to speak to you of the ecclesiastical affairs of that kingdom.

In our paternal solicitude towards the illustrious Belgian nation, which has always been remarkable for its zeal for the Catholic religion, we cannot now refrain from testifying publicly our grief at the sight of the dangers which threaten the Catholic religion therein. We trust that in future the most serene king, and all those who are placed at the helm of affairs in that kingdom, will reflect, in their wisdom, how the Catholic Church and its doctrine preserve the tranquillity and temporal prosperity of nations,—that they will preserve in its integrity the salutary force of this same Church, and consider it as their most important duty to protect and defend the holy prelates and the ministers of the Church.

As that apostolic charity with which we embrace all nations in Christ urges us to desire, above all things, that all men may be united in faith and in the knowledge of God, we turn to those separated from us in the faith, and with all the affection and earnestness of our heart we beseech them to look to the light of truth, and to come to our holy Church and to the See of St. Peter, upon which our Lord built his Church.

Lastly, venerable brethren, let us not cease to pray fervently and constantly to the God of mercy, the giver of all good gifts, that He may be pleased, through the merits of his only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, of his most blessed Mother, and of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the Saints of Heaven, to protect and guard his Church, to increase her triumphs over the whole earth, to shed his graces upon us, to reward the nations and princes who have deserved well of us, and to grant peace to the world.

CANONISATION OF F. PETER CLAVER, S.J.

THE following decree for the beatification and canonisation of the Jesuit Father Peter Claver has just been promulgated. It will be remembered that the life of F. Claver was recently published in the *Lives of Modern Saints*, now edited by the Fathers of the Oratory.

The Indies or Cartagena: Decree of the Beatification and Canonisation.

sation of the Ven. Servant of God, Peter Claver, professed Priest of the Society of Jesus.

On the dubium, "Whether, after approbation of the virtues and of two miracles, the beatification of the ven. servant of God may be safely proceeded with?"

Almighty God, who most wisely rules and governs the vicissitudes of things, hath most fittingly, by successive delays intervening in his secret counsel, reserved up to this age the honours of beatitude in the case of his ven. servant Peter Claver, professed Priest of the Society of Jesus, and Missionary Apostolic, who departed this life nearly two centuries ago, although he was even then illustrious for his virtues and miracles. For, although it is in the nature of men, almost neglecting more ancient examples, to apply their mind more easily to new ones, at this time assuredly, when so many degenerate sons of the Church, in order to tear to pieces its unity, which they dread, are attempting to withdraw, by a false opinion of their power, the ministers of Christ from the obedience of the Holy See, it was of very great importance to propose the Ven. Peter for imitation, who, belonging to an illustrious society, and charged with an apostolic office, ever singularly honouring the Sovereign Pontiff, and, above all, reverencing his supreme power, not only brought back degenerate sons to him, but in due order, and most humbly exercising the power given to him by the divine institution, he even snatched from infidelity and added new children to the Church, thus imparting to his brethren expelled, dispersed, and assailed with contumely, new strength, with greater alacrity to discharge their office.

Since, therefore, the virtues of the venerable Peter, which formerly appeared illustrious to holy men, and were celebrated by the praises of many, were, upon a legitimate judgment of the same, declared to be heroic, by Pope Benedict XIV., on September 24th, 1747; and our most holy lord, Pope Pius IX., declared, on August 27th, 1848, that Heaven had witnessed to them by two miracles, nothing remained but that, according to custom, the Fathers of the Congregation of Sacred Rites should be interrogated, whether they thought he might be safely enrolled in the list of the blessed. And when this was recently done—viz. on May 14th, in a General Assembly in Vatican, held in presence of the Sovereign Pontiff himself—the applause and acclamation of all who were present followed. Nevertheless, the Sovereign Pontiff Pius willed to defer the matter, that the time for his obtaining the Divine light by prayer might not be abridged; yet not so as to pass over this most sweet season, which intervenes between the Resurrection of our Lord and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, but that at the very time when our Saviour, discoursing with his Apostles concerning the kingdom of God, in them fortified and informed by his exhortations all the future ministers of the Church healthfully to feed the flock committed to their charge: at that very time, we say, the great glory that awaits those who nobly fulfil that office should be shewn forth by enrolling venerable Peter among the blessed. Wherefore, on this day, being Trinity Sunday, there being assembled in the Chapel of Pope Sixtus IV., at the Vatican, the Most Reverend Cardinals Aloysius Lambruschini, Bishop of Porto, Sta. Rufina and Civita Vecchia, Prefect of the Congregation of Sacred Rites; Constantine Patrizi, Bishop of Albano, Vicar of the City of Rome, and Reporter of the Cause; the Rev. Father Andrea-Maria Frattini, Promoter of the Holy Faith; along with me, the undersigned Secretary; after offering unto God the Sacrifice of the New Covenant, he solemnly pronounced, "That the beatification of the venerable servant of God,

Peter Claver, might safely be proceeded with;" and ordered that apostolical letters, in the form of a brief, should be drawn up concerning the same beatification, to be celebrated at fitting season in the Vatican Patriarchal Basilica.

And he ordered this decree to be published and deposited in the Acts of the Congregation of Sacred Rites, on the 26th May, 1850.

ALOYSIUS, Cardinal LAMBRUSCHINI, Bishop
of Porto, Sta. Rufina and Civita Vecchia,
Prefect of the S. C. R.

Locus ✠ *Sigilli.*

J. G. FATATI, Sec. of the S. C. R.

ENGLAND.

Two new Catholic churches have been opened during the past month. One is at Erdington, a village near Birmingham, which has been built at the expense of the Rev. D. Haigh, formerly a Protestant. The church is said to be one of the most beautiful new churches hitherto erected, and is enriched with many images and rich decorations. It has cost about 12,000*l.* and has an endowment of about 3000*l.* more. The architect is Mr. C. Hansom. It was consecrated by the Right Rev. Dr. Ullathorne, assisted by a large number of regular and secular clergy.

The other is at Clitheroe, and is a large, open, and striking building, designed by Mr. Hansom of Preston.

ST. MARY'S, CLAPHAM.

WANT of space in our last Number prevented us from calling attention to the advertisement which then appeared in our columns, from Father de Held, Superior of the Redemptorist Monastery at Clapham. Some of our readers are probably not aware that the very room in which the Protestant Bible Society was first planned is now a Catholic chapel, in temporary use, until a new church now erecting is completed. Notwithstanding the vehemence of the anti-Catholic feeling of the neighbourhood, the new mission has gained a firm footing, to such an extent that the crowded state of the present chapel is almost intolerable. A new church, from designs by Mr. Wardell, and calculated to add considerably to his reputation, is about half finished. Some time ago a report gained credence that a large sum of money had been given for the completion of the church, and, apparently in consequence, the contributions to the building almost entirely ceased. The report was purely fictitious, but the result has been the cessation of the works, while the constant progress of the Catholic religion in Clapham makes the need of the Church daily more urgent. The popular feeling of the "Clapham sect" may be judged of by the fact that no one can be found to let any building for a Catholic schoolroom. We therefore venture to appeal to our readers on behalf of the Fathers and their work, and can assure them that the new church is but the first of many benefits which London and England will derive from the apostolic labours of the children of St. Alphonsus. For the sake of that great Saint, to whom we owe so much, may the work of his sons be no longer delayed.

DIED,

On May 9th, at his residence Oxford Street, Liverpool, John Lupton, Esq., in his 79th year.

R. I. P.

Levey, Robson, and Franklyn, Great New Street, Fetter Lane.

The Rambler.

PART XXXII.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
POPULAR EDUCATION: CATHOLIC POOR SCHOOLS AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS	91
BRIEF NOTICES OF SOME WRITERS OF THE ENGLISH FRANCISCAN PROVINCE SINCE THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION .	110
ORATORIUM PARVUM: St. Philip and the World	120
REVIEWS: BALMEZ.—James Balmez, his Life and his Works. By A. de Blanche-Raffin	122
SIR ROBERT PEEL.—The Opinions of Sir R. Peel, Bart. M.P.	165
SHORT NOTICES.—The Dublin Review: Dr. Achilli.—The Paradise of the Christian Soul.—Father Newman's Lectures on the Difficulties of Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church.—Father Faber's Lectures on the Spirit and Genius of St. Philip Neri.—Rev. R. Sumner's Sermon, Unity and Stability considered in respect to the Anglican Church.—The Church Hymn-book.—The Church Musician.—One Word on the Actual Constitution of the Anglican Establishment.—Father Scully's Essay, England with reference to the Monastic Institute	170
ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.—Decision of the Pope on the Subject of National Education in France.—Prayers in Belgium for the Conversion of England.—The Miracle at Rimini.—The Synod of the Irish Bishops.—Prohibited Books: Decree of the Holy Congregation of the Index.—Finances of the Papal States.—Imprisonment of the Archbishop of Turin.—The Trappists in Toulouse.—The Syrian Archbishop in France	171

To Correspondents.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All communications must be *postpaid*. Communications respecting *Advertisements* must be addressed to the publishers, Messrs. BURNS and LAMBERT.

The Rambler,

A CATHOLIC JOURNAL AND REVIEW.

VOL. VI.

AUGUST 1850.

PART XXXII.

POPULAR EDUCATION : CATHOLIC POOR SCHOOLS AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS.

THAT Education, as such, is an evil, is an opinion which we may at length treat as an exploded fallacy. We say, *at length*; for it is within the memory of most of us that it was believed that the less the intellectual portion of man's nature was cultivated, the more likely he was to do his duty to God and man. Not that the "old school" put forth their theory precisely in these words. They did not literally say that the more deeply a man was sunk to the level of the brutes in stupidity, the better Christian and citizen he necessarily became. Though this was their real assertion, they clothed it in some such phrases as the following: that unless a man was rich, it was dangerous to teach him too much; that reading might perhaps be tolerated, but that writing would infallibly lead to communication for unlawful and revolutionary purposes; that if to writing was added a knowledge of accounts, every poor man would instantly proceed to calculate the difference between his weekly wages and his landlord's income; and that if, by a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*, labouring men should ever be taught the elements of politics, and, still worse, of political economy, every clown in England would desire to be a member of Parliament, and London would be burnt by an organised association of metropolitan shoe-blacks.

If, said the objectors, with an emphasis which implied their conviction that such an hypothesis was eternally impossible,—if the poor could be made religious in connexion with this new learning, the experiment of teaching them might not be so extremely mischievous. But, under any circumstances, it was believed that education of the faculties

of any person much below the rank of a gentleman was, at best, needless, and generally hurtful. Men could not see why those who are born to manual labour should use their minds for any other purpose than saying their prayers and listening to the sermons of the Established Clergy. God has made them poor, it was alleged, and *therefore*—the argument being irrefragable—man must make them stupid. They must work with their bodies, and *therefore* they must not work with their minds. They must toil for six days out of seven in every week, and for ten or eleven hours out of every twenty-four; and *therefore* they must remain for the whole of Sunday, and for all the rest of each day which is not spent in sleeping, eating, dressing, or working, in a condition approaching as nearly as can be managed to that of the cows they milk, the horses they drive, and the sheep they shear. Such was the philosophy and theology of the Protestant Englishmen of the old school of “Church and King.”

It will not be imagined that in holding up to ridicule this monstrous fallacy we are defending any system of education of which religious instruction and training does not form an integral and the most important portion. Nor, indeed, should we treat the extinct, or nearly extinct, anti-educational school with so little respect, were it not clear that their true objection was not to non-religious education, but to popular education altogether. They hated education because they thought it democratic; and they betrayed their real indifference to religious education by divorcing religion from education in their own case. The political party who were loudest in their denunciations of all education *except* religious were themselves brought up in a system, and were continuing the same system for their children, which was as absolutely and purely secular as the most vehement Deist could desire. Until quite recently the instruction given to the upper classes at the public schools, at all large private schools, and at Oxford and Cambridge, was *at the least* as non-religious as that which is now expected by the University of London, or as was contemplated by Mr. Fox’s rejected Education Bill. The aristocracy and gentry of England received no religious education themselves. Christianity was gone, extinguished, forgotten, under the old *régime*, save in some few rare exceptions. And this it was which betrayed the hollowness of the professions of the anti-education school. They did not care for the moral and spiritual training of the poor; they dreaded their intellectual training; and sometimes through sheer dulness, sometimes through sheer hypocrisy, they raised the cry of “No education without religion,” when their only terror was

lest the poor should become politicians, and *therefore* revolutionists.

This strange school has now, however, nearly passed away. It certainly is powerless in the land, and we may ignore its existence wherever it still lingers. At the same time, the error on which it was based, in the case of some of its partisans, is by no means understood and rejected by many excellent persons. For it is not to be denied that this old folly was in some cases upheld on most conscientious grounds, not merely political, but moral and religious. There was many a respectable Tory gentleman who, as far as knowledge went, did his duty to God and man, and whose heart was full of benevolence towards the poor, who was firmly convinced that the highest possible perfection which a labouring man could attain, as a moral and accountable being, would be better and more easily accomplished in a state of ignorance than in a state of intellectual cultivation. And it is to this very absurdity, in the more modified shape in which it is still cherished by a large number of excellent persons, that it is necessary especially to draw attention. The respectable class to which we allude yield now to the demand for popular education *as a painful necessity*. They think that as the poor must be educated, and will be educated, they had better be educated as Christians than as infidels; but that still their education should be kept down to a very low point, and that the great danger consists in educating the poor too highly, and not in teaching them too little. That persons who conscientiously hold this view, or any kindred view, should cordially co-operate with the more hearty promoters of popular education, is clearly impossible; and we shall therefore attempt to shew how groundless are their objections to a high standard of general teaching, or rather, how superficial is that view of human nature from which their apprehensions spring.

That any person who truly believes that all men alike are created in the image of God should deny that the nobler faculties of every man ought to be cultivated *to the highest extent which circumstances will allow*, is one of the most singular in the whole range of popular errors. If it has pleased Almighty God to endow all human beings with similar powers of mind, why, let us ask, are different laws of culture to be needlessly applied to different grades in the social scale? If the intelligence of the labourer is identically the same as that of his master, what right has man to step in and say that all possible education is good for the master, and that all possible education is evil for the labourer? Of course there are different limits set to the culture of different ranks by the circum-

stances of their station. We *cannot* all be educated alike, for two reasons. First, the poor have not as much time to devote to education as the rich ; and 2dly, they have no means to purchase equal intellectual advantages even in their few years or hours of leisure. This is the ordinance of God, who has made some rich and many poor. It is nothing less than the wildest Communism to pretend to raise all classes to exactly the same level in the intellectual republic. And we must do the advocates of popular education, even those who are the most opposed to religious education, the justice to say, that we never heard of any man in England who imagined that the ploughman and the peer ought to rise to an equal height in intelligence and knowledge. But that all men and women should receive the highest culture which differences in individual character and in social circumstances will permit, appears to us, we must confess, almost a self-evident truth. Certainly, since Almighty God has made us all alike, and the intellectual faculties are those very faculties which distinguish us from the brutes, and which with our affections will last throughout eternity, the burden of proof rests with those who deem that thought, imagination, and knowledge are to be the exclusive privileges of those who possess a certain annual income ; and that what is a blessing for one who possesses the elective franchise is a curse to a man who lives on ten or twelve shillings a-week. If it cannot be shewn that the powers which God has given us are not to be exercised, we may safely assume that they are to be exercised, and that man will fulfil his end far more easily and perfectly by the aid of such exercise than when reduced to the lowest intellectual level to which a rational creature can fall.

When any such proof is attempted, it is generally based on one assertion alone, namely, that high intellectual culture will make a labouring man, or a shopkeeper, or a farmer, and his wife and family, discontented with his station in life, and unfit to do his proper duties well. First, then, as to the unfitness thus supposed to be produced. Is an objector serious, when he alleges that *any* work is not better done by an intelligent, shrewd, observing, and thoughtful man, than by a blockhead and a blunderer? Set a couple of clowns to dig potatoes or clean out a dust-bin ; or a couple of housemaids to sweep a room or make a bed ; will it be pretended that they will do their work equally well, without regard to the general quickness of their minds, or that the most stupid will do the work the best? Is a working man a mere machine, who digs and sweeps and carries like a steam-engine, without the incessant use of his brains, by which to guide his hands, and

turn his feet, and use his arms? Can any work be really done *without* brains? And is it not undeniable that if a mechanic or labourer has sharpened his wits by the process of study at school, he will accomplish *any* work to which he is afterwards appointed very much better than if he undertook it with an intelligence just one grade above that of a clever horse or a well-trained dog?

But, it is said, a poor man who has been taught to read, write, and cast accounts, who knows something of geography, history, and political economy, who has a taste for poetry, and even has cultivated a fondness for the fine arts, will be tempted, either by pride or by disinclination for any physical toil, to murmur against his lot in life, and to aim at bettering it by unlawful means. Now, whether or no it be better for a man not even to embrace an opportunity which may present itself of rising in the social scale, we are not called upon to discuss. Every body, except those who are called by a Divine vocation to follow the evangelical counsels of perfection, *will* better his social position whenever he can do so lawfully. It is idle to suppose that a man with eight shillings a-week would not be rejoiced to accept fifteen shillings a-week, or any thing on earth in the way of money, possessions, and rank, if he could get it. Stupidity and ignorance do not convert men into saints. The most grovelling intellects appreciate the merits of pounds, shillings, and pence. Men who cannot read, and who do not want to read, have a lively sense of the charms of fine clothing and good dinners. The squire is envied by the most ignorant of his peasantry even more than by those who are better educated. Rank and wealth are precisely those very advantages which present the most fascinating attractions to the poor in their lowest state. They value nothing else; they can value only those things which rank and wealth will purchase. They do *not* value the cheaper pleasures of the mind. Their animal and grovelling nature is strong and vehement within them; and having no enjoyments and no tastes which are easily and cheaply satisfied, they groan over the miseries of poverty and distress far more than if they knew the sweets of intellectual employment.

That the education of a poor man would be accompanied with serious perils, if only here and there a few scores were picked up and cultivated, we readily admit. Such a practice would foster pride and many an evil passion. But who advocates any such system? What educational scheme was ever propounded which was not designed for all alike in the class for whom it was proposed? Education, when it ceases to be singular, no more fosters vanity and contempt for others than

the study of any mere mechanical art. If there were only half-a-dozen men in any parish who could dig, or perform any of the commonest manual works, these half-dozen would hold their heads as high as if, instead of being the only diggers or ploughmen in the neighbourhood, they were able to calculate the longitude, and could read and speak all the languages of Europe. Even now the present generation of young men and women, and of boys and girls, are wonderfully advanced above their fathers and grandfathers; but we do not find them more restless, more selfish, more contemptuous. They leave school, and betake themselves to the shop-counter, or the factory, or the garden and field, or go out as cooks and housemaids, without the slightest suspicion that these humble labours are unworthy of their capacities. Nay, so changed is the employing class itself, that labouring men and women actually find it easier to find work when they can read, and write, and cipher, and shew a general intelligence and power to do their duty like rational beings, and not like mere animals or machines.

In fact, the labouring poor are in just the same position as all richer persons are who have to support themselves by their own efforts in any rank of life. It is an error to suppose that manual labour, and disagreeable manual labour, is confined to any one class of persons. Men whose employments are the most intellectual are forced to combine bodily toil with mental, and that to a surprising extent. What is the act of writing itself? To an immense number of literary persons it is intolerably odious. We do not mean the mental act of composition, but the manual toil of using the pen. Indeed, it may be questioned whether there is *any* manual work which is so distasteful to those who are compelled to it as the labour of using pen and ink is to those who write for their bread, or even write for their pleasure. The truth is, that bodily labour, as such, is not unpleasant to persons in tolerable health of any rank or class. The act of weaving, the act of digging, the act of driving horses, the act of weighing sugars, and measuring ribbons, and tying up parcels, is not in itself a wholly uninteresting or overwhelmingly wearisome occupation. Just as most women feel no unconquerable aversion to needlework, so there is a certain pleasure in the exercise of skill or bodily strength, and in the performance of the various kinds of labour to which man is devoted, which makes it far more agreeable to work than to be idle. What is wearisome and intolerable is overwork, work without proper wages, work when the frame is exhausted with sickness; and this kind of work is just as terrible to the ignorant as to the cultivated.

One limit, indeed, must be placed to the education of the

majority of mankind, even if poverty and necessity did not place it. The culture of the mind must not be carried to such an extent as to enfeeble the body, or continued to such an age as to prevent a man's habituating himself during his youth to the toils which are to be the occupation of his life. It is notorious that very studious persons are almost always persons of weak bodily strength. When the brain is stimulated in a high degree, the nervous system suffers, and a general enfeeblement of the physical constitution is the inevitable result. Most men who have devoted themselves to study *alone* till the age of four or five and twenty would break down before any great amount of bodily labour. Human infirmity restrains us within certain limits. Just as it is impossible to think, to take violent exercise, and to digest all at once, without injury to the constitution, so we cannot highly cultivate the mind without to some extent weakening the body; and we cannot employ the body in incessant exercise, and yet preserve our mental faculties in full vivacity and power. There can be no doubt, then, that school-education must stop short at such a point as to allow the young to commence the occupations of their life before they are physically unfitted for the peculiar species of toil to which Divine Providence is calling them. A perfect equality in mental acquirements is as impossible as a perfect equality in natural capacities, in bodily strength, or in the features of the countenance.

But we shall have overlooked the most weighty truths, if we confine ourselves to shewing that good popular education will do no harm, and is therefore to be tolerated. It is a necessity, not merely to be yielded to with an ill grace, but to be thankfully embraced and co-operated with, as a part of the dispensations of Providence in modern times. Not only is every Catholic bound to strive for the Catholic education of the poor, because if they are not educated as Catholics, they will infallibly be educated as unbelievers, but we are bound to devote ourselves to this mighty work of our age with a glad and willing heart, as recognising in it the will of Him who controls the circumstances and events of each succeeding century, and assigns to every epoch its own peculiar duty, to be discerned and accomplished, with free, unbogoted heart, by every faithful Christian.

The historical truth, then, of the matter is this: that for about fifty-five centuries the general cultivation of the faculties of all men was *not* a part of the plan of Almighty Providence. It was not a part of it, because it was impossible to man with the means he then had at his command. Mysterious

and awe-inspiring indeed it is that such was the case; as it fills us with reverent wonder to reflect that four thousand years passed away after the fall of man before the promised Redeemer came. The ways of the Almighty are all of them unfathomable; and it is our wisdom and duty not to speculate upon them in a spirit of curious, unpractical criticism, but humbly to study them, in order to act in obedience to them; and neither to repine that our lot is what it is, or to glorify ourselves as though we owed our present blessings to our own forethought or power. Men of a certain natural disposition will always lament over the peculiarities of their own days, and account every change a deterioration. There is a class of minds which is ever grumbling and complaining at what *is*, and wishing the past could return. And these persons, with many merits, ever fail to recognise the meaning and spirit of the age in which they live; and because many people talk insufferable nonsense about this same "spirit of the age," cannot rest without denouncing all that is new simply because it *is* new. Even supposing that our own times exhibited a grievous falling off from the days of our forefathers, what then? It cannot be helped. You cannot mend the age by running directly counter to its necessities. You cannot alter the course of Divine Providence. You cannot be stronger than Almighty God, and do your duty to your fellow-creatures in your own way instead of his way. Whatever, then, we might naturally have preferred, according to our personal likings in the matter of popular education, we cannot change this mighty fact, that a few centuries ago printing was invented, and that the diffusion of knowledge, which until then had been impossible, has in consequence become not only easy, but absolutely unavoidable.

This, therefore, is the doctrine for which we are contending: that as it has pleased Almighty wisdom to permit a certain mechanical invention to be introduced into the world which has wholly changed the laws which governed the cultivation of the mass of mankind, it is our duty to throw ourselves with a willing, unbigoted spirit into the course of events thus commenced, and to regard popular education, not only as forced upon us by man, but as a part of the providential government of the world. When Divine wisdom created the first printers, it foresaw that a complete revolutionising of the social fabric would be the result. The spread of knowledge is not a thing of chance. The Creator of us all sent it into the world when He ordained the invention of movable types, just as He sent labour into the world when He ordained the laws of the present physical universe. And

if it has pleased the same Omnipotent hand to place each one of us on this earth at this particular period, it is not for us to close our eyes to the significance of the events of our time, and to struggle to reproduce a state of things long gone by. We must be Catholics of the nineteenth century, and of none other. Primitive ideas, the ideas of the dark ages, the mediæval ideas, the ideas when printing was in its infancy, will not suit us. They were excellent each in their own day, but they are not excellent in ours. The notion of doing now precisely what they did 500 years ago is simply absurd, and just as ridiculous as it would be to expect our posterity to copy us in all things. Bigotry and boasting are twin evils, which work the most serious mischief to every one who is swayed by them. We are not better than our fathers because we are different from them, and they were not better than we are because we have changed.

Let us, then, as wise, prudent, and humble men, grasp firmly this special characteristic of our age, the demand for the universal education of the people. It is running like wildfire throughout Europe. None are found able to withstand it. They who would oppose it, if they could, are fewer and fewer every year. Come it will, come it must, and come it does. Let us, then, who are English Catholics, open our eyes to its full significance, and remember that whatever else we may do for our religion, we shall do little better than nothing, unless we make the education of the poor one of the very first objects of our labours. Almighty God wills their education, we need not be afraid to say. There they are before us, in ever-increasing myriads; each with faculties capable of ministering to the glory of God, to the happiness of their possessors, and the good of their fellow-creatures. Foes innumerable surround them. Satan knows the spirit of the age, even if we are blind to it. He is well aware that popular education is the great fact of this epoch; and he will leave no device untried, including his ancient assumption of the garments of angels of light, in order to thwart the merciful designs of Providence, and to employ popular teaching to the ruin of unnumbered millions.

But let us turn to the particular advantages which will flow from the extension of a really good Catholic education among different classes.

First, there are the mere secular and social advantages. That a man or woman with an intelligence cultivated by education will do a larger amount of work, and will do it better, than a being who scarcely knows how many fingers he has on

his hand, is self-evident. Anti-educationists used to deny it in theory, but the world in general ever acted upon it in practice. Nobody ever accounted it a defect in a labouring man that he was quick, intelligent, and gifted with some share of general knowledge. But, besides this, there exists a most weighty secular reason for educating the poor in the political circumstances of England and the rest of Europe. Political power is spreading downwards among the masses as surely as water finds its own level. The poor in this country are not only increasing in comparative numbers, but they are incessantly acquiring a more influential voice in the national government, and we believe it impossible (whether desirable or no) to stop short of something very like universal suffrage. Now let any man contemplate the absurdity, not to mention the frightful mischief, which would result from placing political power in the hands of the millions of mechanics and peasants who throng our cities and till our fields, while they remain as ignorant of the nature of all government and political and economical science as they are now. Whether or no it would be possible to educate them to be wise and prudent electors, it can scarcely be doubted that education would make them less incompetent than they are at present. A class of men who had learned only the elementary facts of history, and the simplest laws of social and political science, would be less likely than even our present ten-pound voters to be deluded by the novelties of designing or ill-judging theorists. A plain hard-working mechanic, whose reasoning faculty had received some little sharpening by the studies of his boyhood, would be far readier in detecting the fallacies of Socialism and the plausibilities of more venerable falsehoods, than many a respectable householder who now gives his vote for a county or a borough member. Shall we, then, stand calmly still, and see this tremendous engine quietly passing into the hands of a countless multitude, and make no effort to enable them to exercise their new rights like Christians and like men of one common family? Wo be to this country, great as it still is, if the masses of the people are once organised for revolutionary action, either with or without the elective franchise, through an ignorance of the laws of the social state, and unwarned by that knowledge which makes every educated conscientious man tremble at revolutions as, at the best, a fearful remedy.

But if a sound education is a political blessing, still more is it a religious blessing. Mixed up as all classes of Catholics are with Protestants, it is the height of cruelty not to arm them with fit weapons to fight the battle of the faith against its enemies. We must recollect that religious controversy is

not confined to the pulpit, the platform, and the periodical. It is not the especial privilege of the noble and the wealthy. Its sounds are heard as loudly in the workshop, the kitchen, and the field, as in the halls of a university. Boys and girls begin the intellectual struggle. Even the childish prattle of Catholic infancy is so unlike that of Protestants as to provoke remark and compel discussion. The arguments on which eternity depends are bandied to and fro, sometimes jestingly, sometimes earnestly, from the palace to the cottage. No Catholic can avoid them, even if he would do it; and we may rest assured that very few Catholics of the poorer classes would avoid them if they could. Is it to be endured, then, that these innumerable souls should be placed in all this peril unprepared to defend their faith, and to convert their opponents, if so God may will it? Is it not our manifest duty to furnish them with proper weapons, and, still more, to teach them how to use them? We do not mean—far from it—that the Catholic poor are to be taught controversy. But they ought to be not only thoroughly instructed in what is Catholic doctrine, and in the grounds of their faith, but also their general faculties ought to be so exercised by the discipline of a manly education as to enable them to defend themselves when attacked, and, when necessary, to carry warfare into the enemy's camp.

And think for a moment of the perils that do, in fact, surround them at this hour. Every large city has its associations, its meetings, its books, its servants, devoted to the ensnaring the Catholic poor. Protestant schools of various kinds strive to tempt their children from their religion. Tracts are scattered amongst them, literally by millions. All that ignorance, dulness, and prejudice can do to pervert them is done, and done in every variety of device. Every year finds the intellect of the poor Protestant more cultivated and more competent to deceive the Catholic. And this mixing up of all creeds, and its consequent controversy, will increase rather than diminish. Indeed, the very advance of the Catholic religion will stimulate controversy through every rank in the country. Every convert that is made creates fresh discussions among a numerous circle, and urges Protestants to renewed efforts against us. Every new church that we build arouses them, and awakens a deeper interest even in cases where it does not stir up a perfect frenzy of hatred. And how is it possible that Catholic labouring men and women can withstand this torrent, or do their duty to God and their fellows, if they are unmatched in powers of argument and unfurnished with necessary knowledge? It is idle to suppose that, because Ca-

tholicism is divine and Protestantism human, therefore an ignorant Catholic is a match for a better-instructed Protestant. It has pleased God to make use of human learning and human ability in furthering the spread of the Gospel, and this law extends through all classes and in all circumstances. Learning and ability do not convert the soul of the unbeliever; but they prepare the soul for conversion, by communicating that knowledge without which he cannot believe, and by destroying those prejudices which hinder his believing. And so also no conceivable extent of human acuteness or information will preserve us from apostacy,—grace alone can do this; yet they may diminish the force of temptation to an almost indefinite extent, and render it comparatively harmless. Both for the sake of our own poor themselves, therefore, and for the sake of their innumerable Protestant companions, a vigorous cultivation of the intellect of the young is a first necessity of our times: it is at once our only safeguard, and the surest means we can adopt for propagating the faith in our unbelieving country.

There is, further, another point of view from which popular education must be contemplated. It is an auxiliary to religion, of remarkable efficacy, in supplying the mind with healthy and innocent recreation all through the future life. Every educated person knows, by his own experience, that his literary tastes furnish him with many of his sweetest seasons of refreshment. Without our books, our newspapers, our periodicals, and that conversation which is the result of early education and present reading, how many an hour would pass wearily by, and how powerfully should we feel ourselves tempted to unlawful pleasures, or to amusements unfitted for our sphere in life! If it be only for the sake of affording them amusement, the education of the poor would be an unspeakable blessing. What can a labouring man do, if he cannot read, and has no one to converse with, when circumstances forbid any other recreation when the toils of the day are over? We know what he *does*, too well. He either stagnates, or sulks, or perpetrates mischief, or quarrels, or goes to the public-house, or far worse. There is no amusement which can be available at all times, and to all persons, except reading: it is wonderfully cheap, and may be made cheaper still; it cares not for fine weather, or rain, or storm; it casts its light through the murky smoke of an enormous city as steadily as in a cottage on a mountain's side. Children love it from their earliest years, and it is a fitting refreshment for the hoary head. Combined with other amusements, it gives all that amusement *can* give; and when alone, it can do

more for us than any other single recreation whatsoever. If we would save our poor from vice, we must teach them to read; and not only teach them reading, but so culture their young intelligences as to give them habits of thought and a pleasure in using their faculties, and store them with that preliminary knowledge which, if not attained in early youth, is rarely attainable when the habits of after-life are permanently formed.

That the Catholic religion itself is unfavourable to intellectual cultivation, and that Catholics, as such, care less for education than Protestants, we need not now disprove. As Catholics, we know our own minds, and are perfectly unconscious of that dread of thought and learning which is often imputed to us. The Holy See itself has recently set aside this question altogether; an Allocution of the Supreme Pontiff having urged the education of the poor upon all good Catholics in the strongest terms. We are only afraid of one thing, namely, education without religion; in other words, of an education in that which is evil, instead of an education in that which is good. We are not afraid of trusting our Catholic poor in controversy or companionship with their Protestant friends. We know well that if only they are themselves properly taught, and have their faculties tolerably cultivated, they will be far more likely to convert Protestants than to apostatise to Protestantism. The unbelieving world chooses to assert that Catholics are afraid of the light, but in fact they themselves fly from us and our arguments as if our words were poisoned arrows; and wisely, too, in their generation, though not consistently according to their assertions. Not only has Catholic truth all that awful power which belongs to it as divine, but in matter of fact, Catholic intellects are found to display a most formidable strength and subtlety when employed in defence of their creed. And what Protestants recognise in fear, we recognise with joy. Give the poor Catholic but a tolerable chance; give him *some* education, raise him *nearly* to an equal position with his foes, and that very multitude which Protestants imagine to be sunk in the depths of superstition and servile priest-worship will prove to be an army of apostles sent forth for the conversion of England.

Popular education, then, is the great work of the day, and can no more be justifiably neglected by us than could the use of the printing-press itself. It comes to us in the order of Divine Providence, and like all other providential arrangements may be converted into a most powerful weapon for the advancement of the greater glory of Almighty God. While, therefore, we give a full measure of our time and fortunes to the building of churches, the support of the clergy, the improve-

ment of colleges for the higher classes, the publication of books, and those other duties in which the Church has laboured for centuries, let us not forget that *the* work of the present generation is the Catholic education of the vast multitude. Happily for us the work is already begun, and with extremely encouraging results. The Catholic Poor-school Committee has been established on principles which have enabled it to steer clear of the shoals which have hampered the progress of other kindred Catholic institutions. Officially appointed by the Bishops, and recognised by the secular power as the organ by which the Government will communicate with the Church on the subject of popular education, it stands in a species of authoritative position which no other English Catholic educational body has ever possessed. Its proceedings hitherto have been marked by a united caution and energy which give the best augury for its future course; while it is understood that its firmness in resisting the anti-Catholic devices of the Government have been repaid by complete success, and that henceforth the Committee of Privy Council will transfer to us our due share in the parliamentary grant without encroaching on our liberties. The preliminaries for the establishment of a large Catholic Normal School are completed, and the work is in actual progress; while a small number of pupils have been sent over to be taught by the Abbé Lamennais, at the celebrated French Catholic school at Ploemel, and are reported of by the distinguished superior in most favourable terms.

The report of the Queen's Inspector of Schools, to which we lately referred, gives still further encouragement to rouse us to renewed efforts. Wretched as has been for some time the state of too many of our schools, and deplorable our want of efficient masters and mistresses, Mr. Marshall's report records a very rapid improvement in numerous quarters; and we are assured that the general ability displayed by Catholic children, and by those youths and young women who are desirous of becoming teachers themselves, is not surpassed by those of any sect in the country. The change for the better is, indeed, quite wonderful; and if we can but persevere, and the movement continues to spread as it has already begun, there is no doubt that in the course of another five years it will be hardly credible that the Catholic popular education was ever in the neglected condition in which it was five years ago. Men's eyes are opening to the awful evils which spring from a neglect of the earlier years of life. We are acquainting ourselves with the frightful multitudes of poor Catholic children in London and elsewhere, who—we say only what we know

from the best authorities—never make their first communion. We are pondering over the inevitable character of that demoralisation and ultimate practical apostasy which must flow from a neglect of the seed-time of youth; and mere prudence is shewing to us that it is tenfold easier to preserve a child in the right path than to restore him to it in after-years, when he has fled from it, whether in ignorance or no. We see that the untiring labours of the most apostolic priesthood would bear but little fruit, unless aided and carried out by a proper machinery of schools and teachers. Schools and teachers do for the young what nothing else *can* do. All the churches, all the superb functions, all the popular services, all the confessionals, all the visitations of the sick and dying, will not do that peculiar work which it is the office of the school-master and schoolmistress to accomplish. We are coming to perceive that without that very instruction and training which schools alone can confer, the work of the clergy in after-life, and on more public occasions, is in a great measure frustrated, and has no basis on which to raise a lasting structure. We are learning, too, to understand a little better the difference between rich and poor, and perceive that the school-education of the mechanic and the peasant is wellnigh everything to them. They are not favoured with the same advantages of home-education as we are. If they do not learn at school, they learn nothing. If they are not disciplined at school, they grow up untrained. Their parents are too ignorant or too busy to teach them, or to mould their characters with that watchful, ceaseless prudence, with which persons in a higher station can guide the childhood of their offspring. All these great truths are forcing themselves on our attention, and are taking a hold of the mind of Catholic England, and have already wrought a change which is at once our reward and our stimulus to still wider efforts.

If there is, however, one point to which, above all others, special attention ought to be directed, it is to the formation of a competent race of Catholic teachers. This has been, and still is, our grand difficulty. There is an absurd idea existing in the world, that any body with good intentions can teach the young. Just as a man who has neither capital, abilities, nor character, will often start as a wine-merchant; just as in the Established Church the stupidest son in a family is turned into a clergyman, because he is “fit for nothing but the Church;” so there is a too general persuasion, that when men and women can do nothing else, they can turn teachers. And even when no such rank absurdity is tolerated, it is yet often supposed that piety alone will make a good master or mistress.

If, still further, any one in the shape of a monk or nun can be converted into a teacher, then all is supposed perfect; and the boys and girls thus instructed are expected to grow up with scarcely a trace of human infirmity recognisable in their faultless perfection. Against these fancies we cannot too earnestly lift up our voice. Teaching is an art, a laborious art, a very difficult art. It requires a natural character peculiarly adapted to it; it requires further, a considerable stock of physical strength and activity; and further still, it requires a thorough drilling of the teacher himself or herself in the work that is to be done. Nobody knows what it is to teach, day after day, and month after month, in any school, until he has tried it. A visit to a well-conducted school reveals none of the toil that is expended in producing the captivating result. Children, while in some respects the easiest, are in other respects the most difficult of beings to deal with. If they twine themselves round our affections more rapidly than their elders, they exhaust our strength and spirits with the most unconscious recklessness. If they reward us with a sure return of piety, intelligence, and affection, they require an unceasing watchfulness, an untiring flow of animation, a singular command of temper, a readiness and quickness of thought and application, and a certain special gift of adapting one's self to their various moods and capacities, which are not to be found in every body who is anxious to teach, be he ever so learned, ever so able, or ever so pious. Good teachers require a noviciate as certainly as monks and nuns. Neither zeal, nor learning, nor a taste for solitude, nor a love for souls, nor extraordinary piety, will in themselves constitute a vocation for the religious life. And so not one of the qualifications which a person may *appear* to have for teaching will prove his real capabilities without a noviciate. He must be taught how he is to teach, he must see and feel what teaching is, before he can be depended on to fulfil his noble calling with comfort to himself and benefit to those under his charge. We therefore entreat our readers who have the means to do so, to aid in every possible way the teaching of Catholic teachers. The Normal School now about to be carried out under the auspices of the Catholic Poor-School Committee is one great means for supplying this great necessity; but there are frequently other means coming within the reach of most persons, by which they can aid, either directly or indirectly, in educating good teachers for the poor.

Popular education, again, extends beyond the mere limits of the mechanic and peasant classes. It comprises every rank in the social scale which cannot find education for itself. It

must be provided by the rich and intelligent for all children whose parents have not the means, whether from poverty, occupation, or ignorance, to place them under the control of good Catholic instructors. The little country village-school sustains the extreme limit of popular instruction at one end; the "middle school," as it is called, stands at the other. The middle school is designed for the sons or daughters of the class of tradesmen, or the more substantial mechanics; while it will be found practically to include some children of the more wealthy commercial and professional class. At the same time, whatever may be the social rank of its pupils, it comes within the limits of our present remarks, from its being, in a certain sense, a charitable institution. The "middle schools" of which we speak are not private speculations on the part of certain individuals, established for the sake of gain. They are founded by benevolent persons for the benefit of others, and the funds necessary for their establishment are originally raised by subscription,—as a general rule, not one of those who are to be personally benefited contributing to the funds. They are designed, indeed, to be ultimately self-supporting,—when once established, all the pupils paying a certain quarterly sum; but, nevertheless, in their origin and claims they are purely works of Christian charity, undertaken with the aim of communicating the benefits of a good Catholic education to those who cannot obtain it for themselves. Schools of this kind have been set up by members of the Church of England, and we believe with success. With these, however, we are not concerned, except so far as to point to them as proofs of the self-supporting character of such institutions, and of the eagerness with which they are welcomed by the classes for whom they are designed.

At present, we believe, there are but two Catholic schools of this kind established in England. One of these is in Liverpool, where a large field, and one easily cultivated, lies open for such an undertaking. A public examination of the boys recently took place, when the Bishop of the district expressed himself highly satisfied with their progress. We are not acquainted with the precise pecuniary position of the Liverpool Middle School, but we cannot doubt that it will obtain all the success it deserves.

The London Catholic Middle School, in John Street, Bedford Row, from the less organised condition of the London Catholics, has perhaps had to encounter more formidable obstacles at its commencement; but its success has been so decided, that there is every hope that, in the course of a few months, its establishment as a self-supporting school will be

complete. It has already sixty-six boys, of whose progress the examiner, at the last examination, spoke most favourably; while their improvement in character and intelligence is so marked, as to have elicited frequent expressions of gratitude from their parents and friends. The head master, Mr. Stewart, a graduate of the University of Cambridge, is a man eminently fitted for his post, and has had long experience in teaching; and his assistants are men well qualified for their different tasks. The present income of the school, though of little more than eighteen months' standing, is equal to its expenditure within 15*l.*,—a sum which would be furnished by the addition of two pupils only. There is, however, a debt of 40*l.* for past *necessary* expenses, and the chaplain has declined to receive a considerable portion of his salary. The school, therefore, has still need of the help of any Catholic who has a true zeal for education, and can afford to lend it a fostering hand. But, far more than this, the school needs *to be known*. The difficulty of communicating information to Catholics, even on points on which they eagerly desire information, is far greater than can be imagined by those who have not attempted any similar work. Partly from apathy, partly from their not being in the habit of looking out for information on such subjects in the proper quarters, and partly from the scarcity of persons who are willing to put themselves *to trouble* for any purely charitable purpose, there yet remains a large number of persons whose children ought to attend the London Catholic Middle School who have probably never even heard its name. Great, therefore, as would be the aid of any pecuniary assistance, still greater would be the advantage of a widely-spread knowledge of its merits, and of the urgency which exists for the support of such a seminary in the metropolis.

This urgency will be doubted by no one who has inquired into the past educational advantages of the class of English Catholics for whom these schools are designed. We have scarcely any tolerable Catholic *day*-schools for tradesmen and the upper classes of mechanics; for it must be remembered that these middle schools are not boarding establishments, though arrangements *may be* made for the accommodation of a few pupils whose parents reside at a distance from the school-house. Every word, therefore, that we have said respecting the necessity of supporting schools for the poor applies, if possible, with greater force to seminaries of this superior class. In the difficulties in which the Catholic Church in this country has been placed during the last 300 years, perhaps no grade in society has suffered more severely

in the deprivation of all means of education than that of which we are now speaking. Before the Reformation, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were crowded with the sons of men of this very class, too poor to pay for the whole expense of their children's education and support at a distance from home, but not too poor to supply all that the scholar needed at Oxford and Cambridge, when education there cost little or nothing, and the munificent endowments of the founders were bestowed on those who really needed them.

If, then, we would really imitate the works and act on the principles of the middle ages, such institutions as these schools have the strongest claims on our sympathy and support. They are eminently mediæval in their spirit and object, though necessarily varying *in form* from the institutions which were natural in other times. They are designed to furnish the best possible education which the age can supply to that very class of students who constituted a considerable portion of the students of those glorious and venerable Universities, now ours no more. They will undoubtedly flourish, if only sufficiently known and generously upheld during their infancy. Money and labour bestowed upon them will not be thrown away, nor will they continue to tax our kindness for any long period. They have already *proved themselves* to be all that their projectors anticipated, and are no longer among the number of good works to be wished for and hoped for, but beyond the present power of Catholics to attain. May we hope that the few remarks we have now laid before our readers in their behalf will both interest them in the welfare of those which already exist, and create a desire for the establishment of similar schools in all the large towns of the kingdom?

BRIEF NOTICES OF SOME WRITERS OF THE ENGLISH
FRANCISCAN PROVINCE SINCE THE ERA OF THE
REFORMATION.

[Continued from p. 21.]

DAY, (NICHOLAS) JOHN. — In the first chapter of the restored province, holden at Brussels 1st December, 1630, he is designated as preacher and lector of divinity, and was then appointed definitor, or consulator. On 28th May, 1647, whilst filling the situation of *custos custodum*, he was selected for confessor to the nuns at St. Elizabeth of Nieuport. What the literary productions of this reverend father were I am unable to discover; but Anthony Wood, in the *Athenæ Oxoniæ*. vol. ii. p. 488, says of him: “*This learned friar, born at the mill in the parish of St. Cross, alias Halywell, near Oxon, was buried near the west end of St. Ebbe’s Church, Oxford, near the font, an. 1658.*” His death is unrecorded in the Franciscan Register.

DAVENPORT, CHRISTOPHER, alias FRANCIS HUNT, but called in religion FRANCISCUS A S. CLARA.—The life of this truly great man would occupy a volume. This native of Coventry was converted to the Catholic faith whilst a student of Merton College, Oxford, and shortly after entered the novitiate of the Flemish Franciscans at Ipres. When he had completed his religious profession, he passed over to his English brethren who had commenced S. Bonaventure’s convent at Douay. Before the restoration of the province he had been guardian of that convent and the lector of theology; nay, we learn from the Capitular Register, p. 74, that the general of the order was so impressed with his transcendent abilities in that department, that he created him the first doctor of divinity. For three several times he was promoted to the rank of provincial: on 19th June, 1637; on 10th July, 1650; and again on 4th June, 1665. Wood, the Oxford annalist, in mentioning his works in two folio volumes, printed at Douay in 1665, states how “excellently well he was versed in school-divinity, in the Fathers and Councils, in philosophers, and in ecclesiastical and profane histories” (*Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 486). He was as discreetly zealous as he was very learned. The above-quoted writer adds, “He did very great service for the Roman Catholic cause by gaining disciples,” &c. Amongst other conquests, he reconciled to the Church Anne Duchess of York, in August 1670. At length, worn out in the service of religion, the venerable patriarch closed his days in Somerset House early

on Whitsunday, 31st May, 1680, aged 82; and, according to his wish, was buried in St. John's Church of the Savoy Hospital. In the register above cited, p. 156, it is said that he accomplished three jubilees—of religion, of the priesthood, and of the mission; that to the end he proved himself a most loving and considerate father to his brethren and children, and a most watchful shepherd and faithful labourer in the English mission during the space of 57 years, making himself all to all to gain all to Christ. In Taunton Convent is preserved his English translation from the Portuguese of the "Chronicles of the Franciscan Order;" it was printed at St. Omer, in 4to, 1618.

GENNINGS, JOHN.—This truly great man was born at Lichfield, and was educated a rank Puritan. He is known to the literary world by his rare publication, "The Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Geninges, priest, crowned with martyrdom at London the 10th day of November, in the yeare MDXCI." St. Omer, pp. 110. At the Gordonstown sale this single volume fetched sixteen guineas. He was also the author of "Institutio Missionariorum," Douay, 1651. In the religious world he is celebrated as the restorer of the English Franciscan Province. His conversion reminds us of that of S. Paul. After the execution of his saintly brother Edmund, above-mentioned, he became so unhappy in mind, so deeply affected with remorse and horror, that he vowed to forsake kindred and country to find out the true knowledge of the faith which his brother had sealed with his blood. Admitted an alumnus in the Secular College of Douay—that illustrious school of orthodoxy and martyrdom—he was judged qualified to receive priesthood in 1607, and in the year following returned to England an apostolic missionary. Labouring here with edifying zeal, he received a call from Heaven to embrace the rule of the seraphic Father S. Francis, and he applied to Brother William Stanney, the commissary-general O.S.F. in England, to admit him to the habit. This was done about the year 1614; and, as F. Parkinson relates (Coll. Anglo-Min. p. 262), that holy superior, "observing in him an extraordinary zeal for the restoring of the English Franciscan province, he was transported with joy; and, conceiving great hopes of good success from his piety and laborious endeavours, he delivered into his hands the seal of the province of England."

By wonderful exertions F. G. succeeded in establishing at Douay a house of studies, with a novitiate, under the name of St. Bonaventure. Its first guardian was F. Bonaventure Jackson, who was followed by FF. Jerome Pickford and Christopher Davenport. F. Gennings had been vicar and guardian

for some years, when the general chapter of the order, holden at Rome in 1625, decreed that the English Franciscan province should be revived and restored to its pristine honour and rank as soon as a competent number of members could be collected; but, in the mean, should retain the name of a *separate custody*. On the 6th August, 1629, the minister-general from Madrid, F. Bernardine de Senis, addressed his letters patent "to his beloved fathers and brothers in Christ of our English province," announcing that the prosperous state of their body as to numbers and merits justified him to restore the province at once, and to appoint F. John Gennings to be its first provincial, and to nominate for *custos custodum* F. Davenport, and FF. Jackson and Pickford above-mentioned, with FF. Nicholas Day and Francis Bell, for definitors; but to F. Joseph Bergaigne,* his commissary-general for the provinces of Belgium and Great Britain, he committed the charge of expediting and concluding the business. This commissary-general signified to F. Bell, in his letter dated Brussels, 24th September, 1630, that he had just returned from Ratisbon, and found the letters of the minister-general awaiting him; that he directed him to summon the above-said FF. provincial, *custos*, and definitors, as also the six senior fathers in England, to assemble at Douay the first Sunday of Advent, *n.s.*, that then and there he might declare the wishes of the general, and make all necessary arrangements in that provincial chapter. Circumstances intervened which induced the commissary-general to alter the place of meeting; and on 12th November following he addressed another letter from Alost to F. Bell, in which he states his belief that very few could attend from England, and that he anticipated no great inconvenience would result to the nuns of S. Elizabeth if the first chapter should be celebrated in their convent at Brussels, instead of meeting at Douay, for the first Sunday in Advent; and he begs F. Bell, the director of those nuns, to despatch immediate intelligence of this altered arrangement to those whom it might concern.

On 24th November, FF. Gennings and Davenport arrived at Brussels; F. Heath joined them on the 29th. On the day appointed the chapter was opened in due form; when F. John Gennings was officially declared provincial; F. Davenport, *custos custodum*, and head professor of theology at Douay Convent; F. William a St. Augustino, the second professor of theology there; F. Laurence a St. Edmundo, professor of philosophy, and master of novices; F. Francis Bell, guardian of St. Bonaventure's Convent, and professor of Hebrew; FF.

* This zealous religious was subsequently made Archbishop of Cambray, and died in 1647.

Bonaventure Jackson, Nicholas Day, Francis Bell, Jerome Pickford, definitors; F. Heath to be vicar or vice-president of St. Bonaventure's Convent; F. Giles Willoughby to be confessor to the nuns of St. Elizabeth's Convent at Brussels; F. Peter Capes (*di Alcantara*) to be confessor to the poor Clares at Aire (a filiation in 1619 from the mother-house at Gravelines). F. Gennings was re-elected provincial in the second chapter (which was celebrated in a Catholic house at Greenwich), on Tuesday, 15th June, 1634, for another triennium; and again, in the fourth chapter, at London, on 19th April, 1640. At the congregation, 22d August, 1655, he presented a golden pyx for the use of the provincials for the time being. This venerable patriarch died at Douay on 2d November, *o.s.* 1660, aged about 90; or, as the mortuary bill states, 95. The portrait of this saintly father may be seen at the house of St. Peter's Chapel, Birmingham.

GRAND, LE, ANTOINE (BONAVENTURE A S. ANNA), a native of Douay, but at an early period of life associated to the community of St. Bonaventure's Convent there, where he taught philosophy and divinity with singular credit. For many years he served the mission in Oxfordshire. On 10th July, 1698, this veteran father was elected provincial; but died in office, on 26th July of the following year. Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 620) styles him "a Cartesian philosopher of great note,—author of '*Institutio Philosophiæ secundum Principia D. Renati Descartes*,' &c. much read in Cambridge, and said in the title to be written '*in usum juventutis academicæ*.'" He wrote also "*Historia Naturæ*," a treatise "*De carentiâ Sensus et Cognitionis in Brutis*,"—also "*Apologia pro Renato Descartes*."*

Mr. Dodd attributes to this learned Franciscan a work entitled "*Missæ Sacrificium*," and some tracts against the Rev. John Sergeant.

HEATH, HENRY, born at Peterborough in 1600. Educated at St. Bennet's College, Cambridge, and obtaining the degree of B.A., was appointed librarian of his college. This afforded him an opportunity of searching the grounds of religion, and led to the discovery of Catholic truth. Through the means of George Jerningham, Esq., he was introduced to the Rev. George Muscott, who reconciled him to God and his Church, and procured his admission into that blessed asylum of piety and learning, the Secular College at Douay. His continuance here was but short; for conceiving a vehe-

* This philosopher died at Stockholm in 1650, æt. 54.

ment desire of entering amongst the English Franciscans in that town, his immediate superiors of the college, satisfied that he had a true vocation to the order, kindly recommended him to the guardian of S. Bonaventure's community, who joyfully received him in the year 1623. In religion he took the name of Brother Paul of S. Mary Magdalen. We learn from the register of the convent, that he was appointed vicar or vice-president of his house in December 1630, and its guardian in October 1632; that in the second chapter of the province, 15th June, 1634, he was selected to continue its guardian for three years longer, when he was declared *custos custodum*, with the office of commissary of his English brethren and sisters in Belgium. At the fourth provincial chapter, 19th April, 1640, he was again appointed guardian, and also lector of scholastic theology; but shortly after was allowed to go to the English mission. Like the giant, he exulted to run his course; and aspired to the glory of martyrdom with the fervent zeal of St. Ignatius of Antioch. And God granted him the desire of his heart on Monday, 17th April, 1643, *o.s.*, æt. 43, rel. 20. Just before he left Newgate to walk to Tyburn (for he was not drawn on a sledge), he signed his condemnatory opinion of that oath of allegiance then proposed by the Government, and proclaimed that he was ready to seal it a thousand times with his blood. He was the author of "*Soliloquies and Documents of Christian Perfection*," printed at Douay in 1674, a 12mo, with his portrait. Its impression and publication met the approbation of the intermediate provincial congregation of 12th October, 1672, assembled at Somerset House. Towards the expenses, F. Davenport subscribed 5*l.*; the Provincial F. Nicholas Cross, with FF. Anthony le Grand, Philip Gray, Pacificus Williams, Thomas Benson, and Augustine Hill, contributed 1*l.* each; and FF. Mason and Daniel Clay engaged each to take six copies. The book had become rare, and was priced in catalogues at three guineas and a half. It was reprinted in London in 1844.

Here I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of transcribing a letter which this holy man addressed, on 3d September, 1637, to one of the Poor Clares, at Aire, from a copy given me on 17th February, 1820, by the late Ven. Bishop Collingridge, O.S.F.

"MY DEAREST CHILD,—This day I understood of thy great weakness by Rev. Mother's letter (Catharine Clare Keynes), whereupon I could not but write to thee, being it may be the last that I shall ever write, or speak any more

unto thee in this life ; and this I now do, more for mine own benefit and commodity (hoping that thou wilt be ever mindful of me when thou comest to thy eternal rest) than for any necessity of thy part, who hast so long bethought thyself heretofore concerning this time. And I know thy own conscience doth sweetly recount to thee the former passages of thy life ;—with what zeal, with what contentedness, thou first didst leave the world, thy natural parents and dearest friends, purely and simply to come to Jesus ; and that, not for his comfort and pleasures, for honour and other temporal favours, which He often heapeth upon those that serve Him, but to make thyself his servant, his slave, his vassal—to give thy body and soul wholly unto Him, to be wholly his, as a servant or slave is wholly in his master's hands, to strike him or beat him, to send him or call him, when or whithersoever he pleases. I know thou canst not but remember those sweet meetings, those loving silent night-discourses, which in thy strength and weakness thou hast heretofore enjoyed with thy beloved Jesus, when He has asked thee sweetly, as He did S. Peter, 'Dost thou love Me ?' And thou hast answered Him again, 'Ah, my dearest Master, this is all my sorrow, this is all my grief, that desiring with all my heart to love Thee, I cannot love Thee so perfectly, so steadfastly, so entirely, as I desire to love Thee.'

"The very house and walls of thy inclosure cannot but put thee in mind where and how thou hast lived these many years, as if thou hadst been thus long already dead and buried in thy habit from the world. How sweetly now canst thou say to thyself, 'O happy time, O blessed years, that I have now passed in my Redeemer's service ! O blessed prison ! O happy chains and bonds of my vows, which I have borne for sweet Jesus ! Here I have daily carried my cross, which has taught me the way of true humility and patience. Here have I been broken of my own proper will and judgment, which would have hindered me from being wholly resigned and obedient to the will of God. Here have I been trained up in virtue, in the fear of God, in the way to heaven. Here I sweetly sung the praises of my Redeemer. Here have I followed Him from the garden to the judgment-seat of Annas and Caiphas, from Pilate to Herod, from Herod to Pilate, from Pilate to the cross. Here have I bewailed my infirmities, confounded myself in acknowledging my human frailties. Here have I fought against my appetites, subdued my passions, vanquished mine inclinations. Here have I spent many a groan to come to Jesus, when He has hid Himself from me. And *now* my whole pilgrimage is to be ended ! Now I go

to my sweet Beloved, whom I shall evermore enjoy, and never more be separated from Him, nor evermore be troubled with sin, nor with the temptation to sin.' These things, and the like, I know are familiar with thee, and therefore I need say nothing to comfort or encourage thee in this thy last combat.

"Concerning thy confessions, I will not have thee trouble thyself with those things of which thou hast formerly spoken to me, for they are mere vanities and fancies, and of no moment; therefore condemn them, and die confidently, and I will answer for them.—I am sorry it falls out so, that my present employments will not permit me to see thee at this present. Yet, if there be a necessity of my coming, send word presently, and nothing shall detain me, God willing. And if thou departest without me in body, yet thou shalt not go without me in heart and soul. For I have always, since I knew thee, found an interior particular propensity and inclination of my very heart towards thee, for the wonderful good examples of virtue and sanctity which thou hast given me. And I bless God with all my heart, that He has made me acquainted with the examples of thee and others in that blessed community, that I might learn how to frame my life in this my frail and tedious pilgrimage, that I may once come whither thou art going. And therefore I do earnestly commend my poor soul unto thee, when thou art with blessed Jesus, not doubting but He will mercifully assist me, and help me at thine intercession for me. Sweet Jesus keep thee, and conduct thee to his eternal happiness. And I shall ever pray for thee.—Thy poor unworthy Brother,

"BROTHER PAUL MAGDALEN HEATH.

"Sept. 3d, 1637."

LAURENTIUS A S. EDMUNDO (whose family name I cannot recover), one of the earliest and most efficient members of the province, died in England at an advanced age in 1672. What he wrote I cannot ascertain; but at the intermediate congregation at London, 12th October, 1672, it was agreed "*quod imprimatur liber spiritualis compositus a V. P. Laurentio a S. Edmundo.*" (Reg. p. 118.)

MAGDALEN, AUGUSTINE.—This devout English nun, of the Poor Clares at Aire in Artois, translated from the Latin of F. Luke Wadding (who had died at Rome 18th November, 2 1657, æt. 80) "*The Life of St. Clare,*" which she dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria. It is a small octavo, printed at Douay in 1635, and has recently been advertised at 2*l.* 10*s.*

PARKINSON, ANTHONY,—a man deserving well of his

order and literature for his industry, ability, and judgment in collecting materials to illustrate the merits of the ancient and renowned Franciscan province of England, which King Henry VIII. by slaughter and exile had almost reduced to nothing, simply because its members defended the supremacy of the Holy See. This learned Father's quarto volume entitled "*Collectanea Anglo-Minoritica*," composed in the year 1720, was recommended for publication two years later by Dr. Pritchard, Bishop of Myra and Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District, and the Rev. Francis Kearney,* an eminent professor of theology at Douay. In the 32d provincial chapter, celebrated at London 18th April, 1725, the Fathers requested him to commit to press his valuable compilation "*in commune bonum et ædificationem provinciæ*;" and in consequence it was printed by Thomas Smith, in Silver Street, Bloomsbury, London, in 1726. From the *Statuta Minorum Recollectorum*, p. 63, edited London, 1747, I learn that the "*Collectanea*" was to be sold by Hoyles, a London bookseller, with the consent of the bookseller, for half-a-crown; for many years it stood in Keating's catalogue, marked at 5s.; it then rose to 10s. 6d. In Lackington's catalogue of 1823 it reached the price of 1l. 4s.; and in Dolman's of April 1849 of 2l. 2s., and is well worth the money. I am frequently surprised at the accuracy of the author's conjectures, confirmed in documents published since his time. With the modesty so characteristic of solid learning, he crowns his labours in these words: "I conclude this poor piece of *patch-work*, which, as it has nothing to recommend itself but its good meaning, has no right to a favourable reception but from the charity and patience of the well-meaning reader." We heartily pray that some other equally gifted Father may continue the history of the province to the year 1850.

Deeply do I regret my inability to elucidate the biography of this worthy man. I meet him as missionary in 1693, president at Birmingham in 1698, and of Warwick in 1701; guardian of Worcester in 1704, of Oxford in 1710, and elected provincial on 3d May, 1713. At the chapter, 9th May, 1716, the thanks of the province were voted to him "*pro collectione et impressione Statutorum pro Missionariis Provinciæ nostræ in Angliā degentibus*." On 22d April, 1722, he was re-elected provincial. In an original letter of F. Lewis Sabran, S.J., dated from Rome, 8th May, 1723, I read: "The friars began their general congregation this morning,

* He was an Irish Franciscan Father, incorporated in the English province 13th August, 1710, was declared a Jubilarian 7th May, 1740, and died in the course of the year 1747.

between five and six hundred having a voice in it. The English provincial, F. Parkinson, arrived hither very dangerously ill; but I found him yesterday well recovered, though very weak." He died in England, 30th January, 1728.

N.B. There were two other Franciscan Fathers of his name: one died in 1750, the other in 1767.

PILLING, WILLIAM, younger brother of Rev. John Pilling, O.S.F., who died at Osmotherley,* near Northallerton, county York, on 12th January, 1800, æt. 66, rel. 49, was a well-read scholar, a clear-headed theologian, and an exemplary missionary. After presiding over the literary establishment of his order at Baddesley,† near Birmingham, he departed to our Lord at Lower Hall,‡ near Preston, in Lancashire, on 4th December, 1801, æt. 60. He published: 1. "A Caveat addressed to the Catholics of Worcester against the insinuating Letter of Mr. Wharton,"§ London, 1785, 8vo, pp. 109. 2. "A Dialogue between a Protesting Catholic Dissenter and a Catholic, on the Nature, Tendency, and Import of the Oath lately offered to the Catholics of England." 3. "An argumentative Letter to the Rev. Joseph Reeve, on his View of the Oath said to be tendered by the Legislature to the Catholics of England."

POWELL, DAVID (GREGORY), was appointed superior of the Residence of the Immaculate Conception|| at Abergavenny

* The proper name of the parish is Osmundelea, which had a collegiate church. Bishop Grandisson of Exeter, in a letter dated 15th July, 1338, expressly calls it "*Ecclesia Collegiata de Osmundelea*," Reg. vol. i. 54, 6; and again in his Register, vol. ii. p. 54. The provincial chapter of 4th June, 1665, accepted a property here (the gift of Mrs. Juliana Walmesley, but purchased in the name of Sir Godfrey Copley), for a missionary residence, called *Mons Gratia* (Register, p. 90); and on 15th November, 1666, F. William Shephard was appointed to serve it (p. 94). To its chapel, dedicated to Mary the Mother of Divine Grace, Lady Elizabeth Pierrepont, daughter of Robert Earl of Kingston, gave "a vestment, stole, maniple, veil, pall, and antependiums, of white flowered satin, with flowers of gold laid with gold lace and gold-coloured fringe, and two credences; also an alb, amice, altar-cloth, and corporal of fine linen and laced, all marked E. P." (Reg. 194.) In the sequel it became a retreat for some of the superannuated members of the province; and here they must have kept a school, for on 10th October, 1702, its *restoration* was declared expedient (p. 253). The Government meanly attempted in 1723 to deprive them of this asylum; but the Fathers wisely decided, on 17th October that year, that they would retain possession "*omnibus mediis licitis*" (Reg. 321).

† This mission I think they entered upon in April 1686 (Reg. p. 184). We meet with the school at Edgebaston in 1730, Reg. p. 365.

‡ A mission in the patronage of the Walmesley family. F. Howarden, O.S.F., was there in 1703, as I find in Bishop Smith's letter.

§ This unfortunate apostate, born in Maryland 25th July, 1748, joined the Society of Jesus at the age of 22, and died at Trenton, in New Jersey, with deep remorse, but without repentance, about the year 1833.

|| All clients of the Blessed Virgin-Mother of Jesus must admire and love

as early as 1738; and justly maintained the reputation of a superior classic scholar and a master of the Welsh language. We have collected nothing more of him than that he published a Manual and Catechism in Welsh. He died at Abergavenny on 12th October, 1781.

ROOKWOOD, or ROBERT ROSE, published at Douay the lives of three Capuchin friars, viz. Angelus de Joyeuse, Benedict Cansfield, and Archangel Gordon, whose portraits by Picart are exquisite. The volume is dedicated to Clare Mariana, abbess of the Poor Clares at Gravelines.

STANNEY, WILLIAM.—The treatise of this venerable man, "On the Third Order of St. Francis, commonly called the Order of Penance, for the Use of those who desire to lead a Holy Life, and do Penance in their own Houses," was printed at Douay in 1617. I cannot recover the date of the author's death.

WILLOUGHBY, GILES (A S. AMBROSIO), translated into English the golden treatise of St. Peter de Alcantara *On Mental Prayer*. It was published about the year 1632, whilst he was confessor to the nuns of St. Elizabeth's Convent at Brussels, and was dedicated to Lady Powis. He died early in 1660.

WESTON, JOHN BAPTIST, wrote "An Abstract of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, or the Rule of the Friars Minors literally, morally, and spiritually expounded." Douay, 1718. This Jubilarian died at Douay in 1728.

[To be continued.]

the Franciscans for their constant defence of her Immaculate Conception. Since the revival of the province their devotion to this Virgin Mother is most honourable to them. In the acts of the congregation celebrated at London in October 1632, an order was given that after Complin the brethren should always recite "*Tota pulchra*, &c. in honorem Immaculatæ Conceptionis." At the second chapter, held at Greenwich 15th June, 1634, the convent of York was designated "Conventus Immaculatæ Conceptionis gloriosæ Virginis." On 22d August, 1655, they enjoined "quod sodalitas Immaculatæ Conceptionis promoveatur." And when, in 1687, a new residence at Abergavenny was presented to the F. Provincial John Cross, it was styled, "Immaculatæ Conceptionis B. V. Mariæ." May we not attribute to her powerful interest with her divine Son that so few of the brethren, "rejecting a good conscience, made shipwreck concerning the Faith?" (1 Timothy i. 19.)

Oratorium Parvum.

No. V.

ST. PHILIP AND THE WORLD.

[viii.]

THE world is wise, for the world is old ;
 Five thousand years their tale have told ;
 Yet the world is not happy as the world might be :—
 Why is it ? why is it ? Oh, answer me.

The world is kind, if we ask not too much ;
 It is sweet to the taste, and smooth to the touch ;
 Yet the world is not happy as the world might be :—
 Why is it ? why is it ? Oh, answer me.

The world is strong with an awful strength,
 And full of life in its breadth and length ;
 Yet the world is not happy as the world might be :—
 Why is it ? why is it ? Oh, answer me.

The world is so beautiful, one may fear
 Its borrowed beauty might make it dear ;
 Yet the world is not happy as the world might be :—
 Why is it ? why is it ? Oh, answer me.

The world is good in its own poor way ;
 There is rest by night, and high spirits by day ;
 Yet the world is not happy as the world might be :—
 Why is it ? why is it ? Oh, answer me.

This very world saw Messias' birth,
 And Mary was only a daughter of earth ;
 Yet the world is not happy as the world might be :—
 Why is it ? why is it ? Oh, answer me.

The cross shines fair, and the church-bell rings,
 And the world is peopled with holy things ;
 Yet the world is not happy as the world might be :—
 Why is it ? why is it ? Oh, answer me.

What lackest thou, world ? for God made thee of old ;—
Why, thy faith hath gone out, and thy heart grown cold ;
Thou art not happy as thou mightest be
For the want of Christ's simplicity.

It is love thou lackest, thou poor old world ;
Who shall make thy blood hot for thee, frozen old world ?
Thou art not as happy as thou mightest be,
For the love of dear Jesus is little in thee.

God has sent thee a Saint new heat to impart,
Love is always at high-water mark in his heart ;
He will make thee as happy as thou mayest be,—
'Tis Saint Philip of Rome who is sent to thee.

Thou foolish old world ! kick not at his rule ;
Be content if he send thy grey hairs back to school ;
He will make thee as happy as thou canst be,
For he will bid Mary pray for thee.

Poor world ! if thou cravest a better day,
Remember the Saints must have their own way.
I mourn thou art not as thou mightest be ;
But the love of God would do all for thee.
And Jesus and Mary would set thee free,
Hadst thou ears to hear, and eyes to see,
What good Father Philip has done for me :
For the love of God is the creature's liberty. φ

Rebiéus.

BALMEZ.

James Balmez, his Life and his Works. By A. de Blanche-Raffin. Paris, Sagnier and Bray; London, Burns and Lambert. (Jacques Balmès, sa Vie et ses Ouvrages, &c.).

It is impossible to read the admirable work of Balmez on the effects of Catholicism and Protestantism on European civilisation without feeling a desire to know something of the author of so remarkable a production. Little as the English world knows of Spain and the Spanish Church, the mere fact that such a book should come forth from so unknown a region is in itself sufficiently interesting. We cannot help wishing not only to know the writer himself personally, but to glean what information we can respecting his position in the religious and social state of his country, and to be made acquainted with any other writings that he may have put forth.

M. de Blanche-Raffin has here supplied our want, and has gathered together all that deserves a permanent record. Personally acquainted with Balmez, and ardently appreciating his remarkable merits, he has presented us with a very interesting specimen of literary and religious biography, and in the latter half of his volume has given a critical account of the various publications which proceeded from one of the most vigorous and philosophic of modern writers. We shall endeavour to incite our readers to turn to M. Blanche-Raffin's work itself, by giving them a summary of its contents, including both the life and the general writings of Balmez.

James Lucien Balmez was born at Vich, in Catalonia, on the 28th of August, 1810. His parents were poor, but intelligent, virtuous, and pious. His mother, Theresa Urpia, was especially distinguished for the energy of her character, and devoted herself assiduously to the education of her children. Strict almost to excess, she checked with severity the smallest offences of her son; she inspired him with a profound love for the Blessed Virgin, whom she represented as a mother ever ready to assist us. Every morning she heard Mass in the church of St. Dominic, and before leaving, knelt before the altar of St. Thomas of Aquin, the patron of scholars, and begged of him to obtain for her son learning and piety. From his infancy he was endowed with extreme vivacity of mind and character. The strictness of his mother, and the passion for study which early developed itself, checked or regulated this ardour. He was sent to the seminary at Vich. There

three years of Latin were followed by two of rhetoric and three of philosophy; the ninth year was devoted to the first lectures in theology. During all this time his conduct did not call for a single reprimand. Destined for the priesthood, he subjected himself from his youth to the strictest discipline. "I was not seen any where," said Balmez to M. B., "except at my father's house, at church, at the seminary, at a few monasteries, with which I had frequent intercourse, and in the episcopal library, which I did not leave till the doors were closed." He was extremely obedient and respectful to his superiors. In 1826, having attained his sixteenth year, he was sent to the university of Cervera, where he was placed on the foundation. At Cervera Balmez soon attracted notice. His slender frame, bending under the weight of his heavy mantle; his thoughtful but animated expression; his serious and retiring demeanour; but above all, the wonderful fertility of his mind, made him known throughout the university. His method of study was remarked: leaning on the table, with his forehead in his hands, he read a few pages; then covering his head with his mantle, he remained long absorbed; at length he aroused himself, as if from sleep. In reply to one of his friends, he said: "Read little, choose your authors well, and think much; this is the best method of study. If we were contented with knowing what is to be found in books, knowledge would make no advance; it is necessary to learn what others have not known." It is said that he had adopted this method from his earliest years. At the age of twelve or fourteen, when he was studying philosophy at the seminary at Vich, this precocious habit of reflection had enabled him to make great progress. A man of age and authority having asked him at that time what was his manner of study, "I labour," said he, "to resolve questions myself, before I read the solution." "This is losing much time," said the other; "it would suffice to open the book." The scholar received the advice with respect, but he persisted nevertheless in his custom. His companions only reproached him with one fault, viz. his passion for retirement. He sometimes avoided his most intimate friends; "Pardon me," he would say to them afterwards; "at that moment I could not tear myself from my meditation. You accuse me of ingratitude and pride! God knows me! what proof will you have of my attachment?" This love of retirement was, indeed, only a symptom of that powerful instinct which led him to study. In the second year of his abode at Cervera he had a severe attack of the complaint which afterwards proved fatal. The doctors gave him up for a time, and he received the last sacraments; he

recovered, however, and the whole university returned thanks by attending Mass in the chapel of our Lady del Cami. This festival, which attests his precocious fame, took place in 1828, in his eighteenth year. He remained very weak, and the medical men sent him back to his family, saying, "This young man will never be able to do much, he is very delicate." Having recovered after some time, he returned to Cervera. During this convalescence his moral and physical organisation had made great progress; day by day he became more fit for the vast labours which he meditated. "From my seventeenth to my nineteenth year," he declared, "my mind underwent a sensible change; I saw more clearly." We have said that "to read little and choose his authors well" was one of his principal rules. It is allowed by all that he passed four whole years at Cervera without reading any thing but the *Summa* of St. Thomas, and his commentators Bellarmine, Suarez, and Cajetan. During these four years he made an exception only in favour of one book, viz. the *Genie de Christianisme* of M. de Chateaubriand. St. Thomas was to him an inexhaustible mine; "All," he said, "is to be found there, philosophy, religion, politics. In these short formulæ all these riches are contained." From that time he began to collect, without suspecting the use which he was to make of them, the elements of which he afterwards composed his *Fundamental Philosophy*.

This profound study of the doctrines of the great theologian St. Thomas appears to have been the foundation of all the acquirements of Balmez. On this basis he built the whole edifice of his works. His first abode at the university having extended to seven years, he had leisure, after having studied St. Thomas, to enter upon many other parts of the domain of knowledge. His fundamental method of completely mastering what he learned was again applied. Few volumes in the library at Cervera or Vich escaped his search; he asked for several volumes together, and carefully looked over the table of contents. When an idea, a fact, or any thing new, struck him, he read that part of the book, and took notes of it; the rest, known by his previous studies, was laid aside. His memory was thus furnished with an immense amount of information, and, thus carefully cultivated, its powers were astonishing. One of his biographers relates that at the age of twenty-two he knew by heart the tables of contents of many volumes. "Interrogate me," said he one day to his fellow-student Matthias Codony. The latter took a volume of the *Summa* of St. Thomas; Balmez recited the index without hesitation. He did the same with the second volume of

Don Quixote, and the *Philosophy of Eloquence* by Cupmany. "James," cried Codony, "thou art a magician, or God has made thee a prodigy of memory."

In the year 1833 Balmez was twenty-three years old. The seven years he had spent at the university, while developing the powers of his mind, had left the virtues of his youth in all their primitive purity. He combined a modest deportment with the vivacity of his age. One of his fellow-students, Xavier Moner, who lived in the same room with him for many years, writes thus: "In our room we indulged in the amusements of children. I taught him to play at chess; in a few days he became more skilful than I was; seldom was I able to win a game. How often had we disputes on the subject, and how often was the chess-board thrown out of the balcony! I knew French, and he asked me to teach him; but he was very soon able to teach me. At this time he spoke and wrote Latin better than Spanish." A bachelor, and afterwards a licentiate in theology, he quitted the university at the end of the collegiate year 1833. He was soon after called to the priesthood, having prepared himself for it by a retreat of one hundred days. He was sent back to Cervera to complete his studies; there he delivered conferences, and filled the post of additional professor; he thus devoted two years more to self-instruction.

During these two years Spain made her first steps in the path of revolution. We learn from himself that at this period he imposed on himself a strict neutrality. In 1835 he competed with many rivals for an honorary diploma, decreed every year by the university to the most distinguished of her scholars, and obtained it. It was customary for the successful candidate to pronounce an eulogium on the reigning monarch. Queen Christina was then regent of the kingdom: the civil war about to break forth in the mountains of Catalonia rendered the task of the young doctor a very delicate one. "I did not say a word on politics," says he; "I confined myself to celebrating the re-opening of the universities."

Balmez, having exhausted the resources which the university of Cervera could afford for his instruction, retired to his native town, and passed four years there in study and retirement. This retreat, necessary for ripening his mind and character, appeared irksome to him at first. Some letters written by him a short time after his return from Cervera display an impatience which his friends had the wisdom to check. In one of these, addressed to his friend Don Antonio Ristol, Balmez shews his desire to go to Barcelona. "I have not any occupation here," says he, "but a few lessons ill rewarded;

and I have awaited in vain the end of the civil war. I am like a bird in a cage; my health is in danger of suffering. But what shall I do at Barcelona? perhaps undertake the education of some child." Ristol replied: "I do not approve of your project; at your age, and in your position, it is natural for you to desire to improve your lot. Have patience, you will become a professor of the university, or a publicist." This decided reply, aided, no doubt, by Christian resignation, checked the ardour of Balmez. In 1837, a professorship of mathematics having been founded in the town of Vich, he sought to fill it, and was chosen in preference to his competitors, although he had not as yet acquired much proficiency in the exact sciences. His wonderful activity and application of mind easily mastered all kinds of studies; and besides, the positive sciences had peculiar attractions for him. Before leaving Cervera, Balmez had studied law; Domat, Vinnius, and the rich collections of Spanish legislation, were become familiar to him. In his leisure at Vich he devoted himself to several other branches of study in their turn.

While thus engaged, the civil war was raging around him. Although he devoted the greater part of his time to general studies, he observed with attention the phases of the revolution and the war. With the map before him, he traced all the movements of the armies; and while he formed the judgments which he afterwards pronounced upon these events, every particular scene of the drama, every detail, every date, made a deep impression on his mind.

His friend Ristol, conversing with him in the year 1836, asked him: "What do you think of the war? is it nearly over?" "We are only in the middle of it," replied Balmez, "and Isabella will triumph." Sometimes the noise of arms resounded even to the retreat where he assembled the young students of Vich; suddenly the tocsin of alarm would interrupt his lectures. The most interesting details of the life of Balmez at this time have been given us by one of his scholars, Don Antonio Soler, now an advocate at Vich. "His manner of teaching," says he, "delighted us; he was scarcely less delighted himself. Our attention in listening to and profiting by his instructions was his greatest reward. He gave us lectures not only in mathematics, but in logic, metaphysics, and history; in a word, he taught us to study, and to be men. He was unprovided with books. Every thing seemed to oppose his studies,—political events, the place of his abode, and the condition of his family; but difficulties only seemed to augment his courage. I remember hearing him say that every man who undertook to do any thing great ought to fix on an

object, and pursue it with perseverance even for fifty years if necessary. Such was the strength of his will, and such the secret of his wonderful knowledge. It often happened that he passed several hours of meditation alone and in the dark, especially in the winter evenings. 'The same,' he said, 'as the digestion of bodily food requires a certain time, so every hour of reading should be followed by several hours of meditation and reflection, in order to bear its fruit.' His faith and piety were solid, and arose from deep conviction. In his religious exercises he loved to pass unobserved."

This account of the piety of Balmez is very just; but, internal and veiled as it was, it shewed itself in action. The influence of his mother's lessons left an indelible impression on his mind, and he faithfully observed the practices recommended by the Church. Whilst yet a student at Cervera, he devoted a portion of his scanty funds to the Masses in the church of the Piedad. He had a special devotion to his patron St. Lucian, the martyr venerated in his native town. We cannot doubt that he invoked also St. Thomas of Aquin, the angel of the schools, who was chosen as his protector by the solicitude of his mother, and whom he studied so assiduously and passionately. The *Following of Christ* was constantly in his hands, and he read the ascetical writers of Spain with the threefold love of a Christian, a patriot, and a man of letters. "You know," said he to two of his friends, "whether orthodox doctrines and feelings are deeply rooted within me. Well, I never read prohibited works without feeling the necessity of returning to the Bible, the Imitation, or Louis of Granada."

In the beginning of the year 1839 a journal called the *Catholic of Madrid* announced for competition a treatise on clerical celibacy. Balmez obtained the prize, viz. the insertion of the article in the journal. About this time he closed the eyes of his mother, Theresa Urpia. At this period, 1840, being about thirty years old, he and his brother went to live at Barcelona.

The year 1840 was, in the history of Spain, almost what the third act is in a tragedy. The events accumulate, the passions are developed, and the interest of the spectator reaches the highest point. Towards the close of the preceding year, the treaty of Vergara had caused the Carlist party to lay down their arms, and the revolution now loudly demanded the spoliation of the Church. At this moment of excitement a pamphlet appeared, called *Social, Political, and Economical Observations on the Property of the Clergy*; it came from the press of an obscure town in Catalonia, and the name attached

to it was wholly unknown; but in every page it evinced learning, philosophy, and eloquence of the highest order. It shewed European society gradually emerging from barbarism, and being transformed by the Church; ecclesiastical property was one of the instruments of this improvement. In the middle ages, when every thing was strongly attached to the soil, feudal violence was opposed and conquered by a sort of feudal charity; the Church devoted all to the work of mercy. Possessing property in order to be free, rich in order to be beneficent, she received in turn, from the hands of God and men, all the elements of power, and applied them to realise more and more the ideal of divine justice. The writer shews that in these times society will not be benefited by stripping the Church. He shews that the richest countries are eaten up by pauperism, while Spain, called a nation of sluggards and monks, is not thus situated. In Spain, moreover, certain provinces, where the Church has the same proprietary rights as in the rest of the kingdom, present the appearance of remarkable prosperity, among others Catalonia. The riches of the clergy are not, therefore, a source of misery to society. Instead of stripping the Church, you should promote industry, augment already existing capital, stimulate emulation, sustain rising efforts, repair losses sustained, and console and aid the unfortunate,—in a word, encourage the weak by the aid of the strong, and ameliorate the lot of the wretched without violently destroying the established order of things. “Besides,” said he in conclusion, “the moment is ill chosen to make a first attack on the legitimacy of ecclesiastical property, when Europe already hears the cries of an impatient multitude ready to take up arms against the rights of private property, which are less sacred and less beneficial than the rights of the Church.” This work acquired a brilliant renown for its author, whose name was James Balmez.

In the same year he published his *Political Observations on the Condition of Spain*. This pamphlet was not only a work of remarkable merit, but its publication was an act of distinguished courage. The civil war was just over; Cabrera, the last champion of the Carlist cause, had entered the French frontier; Espartero, at the head of his victorious army, dictated laws to the Regent, publicly insulted the majesty of royalty, and excited the violence of the populace against the court, then transported to Barcelona. A young advocate of the same name, Balmez, carried away by his chivalrous courage, had purchased with his life the honour of protesting against these perfidies; he was dragged through the streets of the town, and stabbed under the windows of Maria

Christina. A month later, the widow of Ferdinand VII. signed her abdication at Valentia. It was on the theatre of these events that Balmez published his *Observations*. The danger which he thus braved gave greater eloquence to his pen. Some of his friends were alarmed at the risk which he was about to incur; but others, on the contrary, encouraged him by the noblest motives. This was his first appearance on the field of politics.

Before composing these two pamphlets, Balmez had commenced, and made considerable progress in, his great work on civilisation. The original plan of this book was very limited. He was not aware of his own powers, and only thought of composing on the subject a mere memoir, such as that which had appeared in a Madrid newspaper in 1839 on clerical celibacy. But when he considered the subject, the comparison between Protestantism and Catholicity in their relations with European civilisation unfolded itself before his mind on a magnificent scale, and it became impossible to limit himself as he had originally intended. There is no doubt that Balmez was led to his undertaking by the desire of refuting some assertions of M. Guizot, universally circulated under the authority of that brilliant writer. The political part played by the French publicist increased still more the danger of the errors to which he had given currency. Few minds within a certain sphere of Spanish society escaped the *prestige* of these paradoxes. Protestantism was thus introduced in two ways: on the one side, by the English influence which supported Espartero; and on the other, by the sympathy which united the *modéré* party in Spain to the *doctrinaire* school of France. We know from his own authority that this work was his day-dream, and his hope in this world. The thought of it was present to him when sleeping, teaching, and walking. In 1840, at the request of his friend the Canon Soler, he had translated and published at Vich *The Maxims of St. Francis of Sales for all the Days of the Year*; and a little later he interrupted his other tasks for fifteen days in order to write an elementary book called *Religion explained to Children*, a sort of catechism, skilfully composed, which is known as far as the Spanish language extends.

At the suggestion of his enterprising publisher, Saulo, Balmez went to Paris to arrange the publication of his *Protestantism* in French simultaneously with the Spanish edition. M. Blanche-Raffin was chosen to translate it, and the author himself assisted in the commencement. Before he returned to Barcelona, Balmez visited England, and was much struck with that country. He admired especially the religious

feeling still burning under the restraint of Anglicanism. In France, on the contrary, incredulity prevailed in every thing. The manners, ideas, laws, every thing was there marked with a levity and want of forecast which inspired him with sinister forebodings. "Your society," said he often to M. B., "is gnawed away by an evil which is not yet seen by your statesmen, but its fearful effects will one day be apparent. Radicalism has passed from the religious order of things to the political. In vain do superficial minds, with you, rely upon the peace which is maintained on the surface by skill, stratagem, and force. Our Spain, agitated as she is by disturbances and war, is at bottom in a far better condition."

Such was the language of Balmez during his first stay in France in 1842. Yet he entertained hopes of that country for the future from observing symptoms of returning Catholic faith and practice among the youth. He arrived in Paris in April 1842, and left it to return to Barcelona in the ensuing October. He made a short stay at Madrid *en passant*. On his return to his own country he was watched by the police of Espartero. His opinions in favour of the royal authority, and his zeal for the interests of the Church, then persecuted by the dictator, made him suspected of having, while in France, conspired with the refugees of the *modéré* party; but this was not the case.

After his return to Barcelona he divided his time between his work on Protestantism and a review called at first *La Religion*, and afterwards *La Civilizacion*, founded by him in conjunction with two friends. This was unquestionably one of the most interesting periodicals which, not the religious press merely, but the whole of the Spanish press produced. After a year and a half's co-operation with his friends, Balmez left them, and undertook a periodical called *La Sociedad*, devoted to those lofty philosophical, political, and religious questions for which his mind was evidently fitted. *La Sociedad*, supported by the writings of Balmez alone, subsisted about a year, and his reputation steadily increased. In its pages appeared the Letters on Scepticism, which were afterwards enlarged and collected in a volume. This work is composed of a series of discussions on the principal difficulties which occur to the mind of an infidel. Vast knowledge of theology is found in them, as well as the most intimate acquaintance with the human heart and intellect. About this time also he composed a work on logic, called *El Criterio*, which is esteemed in Spain as one of his best productions. It is adapted to the least cultivated minds, and at the same time worthy of the attention of exalted intellects.

We have now reached one of the most important phases of the life of Balmez. The fame of his writings had fixed on him the attention of all elevated minds; and his political doctrines, developed in the pages of his review, revealed him as the eloquent interpreter of opinions which had hitherto been without an organ. His object was to unite the royalists of both parties, Carlists and Christinos, in support of the throne; and for this purpose he went to Madrid, and there founded a weekly newspaper, called *El Pensamiento de la Nacion*, in February 1844, six months after the fall of Espartero. His political writings soon became limited to this journal, in which he was assisted by a few friends, and especially by Don D. G. de los Santos.

His programme was this. He desired a government for Spain which should respect the past, be attentive to the present, and provide for the future,—a government which would receive the rich religious, social, and political inheritance bequeathed by their ancestors,—a government solid, just, majestic, devoid of pride, cruelty, and disdain. He demanded the revision of the constitution of 1837, by which he thought the power of the crown had been too much diminished.

Such was the principle upon which his politics rested. He laboured to restore the Spanish monarchy with its ancient *éclat*, but he wished that the nation should share in deciding the lot of the country through the medium of a wisely-elected Cortez. During the course of three years, the principal interests of Spanish society brought under discussion by events and in the debates of Cortez were made the subjects of articles profound, penetrating, and always brought to a practical conclusion. The influence which this paper exercised was great. It had in its favour the deepest instincts of the Spanish character, the dearest traditions, and the most ancient and salutary customs. The interpreter of feelings which were every where diffused, it awakened in men's minds sentiments which were easily excited. In a short time it became the guide, the moderator, the oracle of the great religious and monarchical party. Two sorts of enemies rejected and combatted its influence—the party of the *progressistas*, and lower ranks of the *moderados*. Since the fall of Espartero, the *progressistas* were too weak, too little esteemed, to oppose a sufficient opposition by themselves; but the *moderados* were formidable adversaries. Their conduct towards Balmez is worthy of attention. As we have already hinted, this party was divided into two classes.

The *noblesse* of ancient family and large fortune, engaged in the revolution since the death of Ferdinand VII., had

formed a party of themselves, and although always considered as devoted to the new dynasty, were already privately inclined to a compromise. With these Balmez found supporters. All the rest of the *moderado* party might be likened to that numerous and ambitious *bourgeoisie* which had caused the revolution of July in France, and preserved the crown for the house of Orleans. The opinions of Balmez were doubly odious to this party, because they admitted the Carlists to a share of influence and honours, and because they checked the revolution.

In the summer of 1844 the Marquis de Viluma, then Ambassador in England, was summoned to take part in a ministry formed under the auspices of Narvaez. Before accepting the portfolio which was offered him, he wished to come to an understanding with his colleagues on the government programme. His proposals were bold: it was a plan of counter revolution. M. de Viluma was one of those members of the aristocracy who had given the hand to Balmez. He proposed to reform the state by the royal authority; to suspend the sale of ecclesiastical property; to restore to the Church the domains not already alienated; and to make a concordat with Rome. This plan was resisted by the *moderados*, and M. de Viluma, who would not consent to half measures, withdrew. Since that time he has been regarded as the principal statesman asserting the opinions propounded by Balmez. The recommendations of the latter and the projects of the Marquis are justified by the fact that this programme was soon afterwards executed piecemeal by Narvaez and the different cabinets formed by the *moderados*. The constitution of 1837 was recast, and the revolutionary element to a certain extent removed. The Cortez, it is true, was called to consummate this work, but those who are acquainted with the parliamentary history of Spain know that the part which it played in this matter was merely passive. The reconciliation with Rome also was made nearly on the basis recommended by Balmez; only it was done late and with a bad grace, after new disasters and the course of time had increased the distress of the Church.

El Pensamiento de la Nacion pursued its course quietly but firmly; no injurious language, no personalities, no violations of the law. The age of the Queen now called the attention of all Europe to the question of her marriage; Balmez asserted and maintained with all his abilities the claim of the eldest son of Don Carlos. This union of the two branches of the royal family was the crowning measure of his policy; it was the reconciliation of the past and the future, of authority

and liberty, of monarchy and representative forms. In order to take away all offence, Don Carlos had abdicated; his son took the title of Count de Montemolin, giving up that of Prince of the Asturias, heir presumptive to the throne. Balmez exercised the principal influence on the abdication of Don Carlos, and on the language adopted by the Count de Montemolin. It will be recollected that the manifesto published by the Count contained, prudently expressed, a pledge in favour of the doctrines of liberty; it appears certain that it was corrected by Balmez. It is dated the 23d of May, 1845, and he had been for some days previously in France; he passed the summer of that year in Paris and Belgium.

In this contest *El Pensamiento de la Nacion* had the support of a considerable party in Spain. The masses of the people, in the greater part of the provinces and in some cities, felt then, and feel still, a decided sympathy for the Carlist cause. That party, represented by its leaders, encouraged and assisted Balmez. In receiving advice, guidance, and doctrines from a young author, that party gave a rare example of docility; this obedience was owing to his sacerdotal character and his well-known devotion to the interests of the Church. From the same causes Balmez had succeeded in inspiring many of the partisans of Isabella with the desire of a reconciliation. Not only did *El Pensamiento de la Nacion* find support and great encouragement, but a new journal, *El Conciliador*, founded at the instigation of Balmez, became the organ of a young school of Catholic writers. It was established in 1845 as a daily paper, to aid the efforts of the weekly journal edited by Balmez. Nothing could be more elevated, liberal, or more nobly patriotic, than its spirit. Among the most esteemed statesmen of the *moderado* party, several openly avowed their preference for the match proposed by Balmez.

When the question had been decided by the double marriage, *El Pensamiento* ceased to appear, having had an existence of three years. Shortly afterwards he published his political works in one volume. At this time, 1846, Balmez completed one of his great works, his *Philosophie Fondamentale*. The ten books of which it is composed were written during the most active period of his life.

At the same time, let it not be supposed that the *Fundamental Philosophy* is a book of vague ideality or philosophic reverie. By no means. The Aristotelic mind, that is, the exact and mathematical, prevails there. Such, we know, is one of the characteristics of the philosophy of St. Thomas, a characteristic which in that doctor is accompanied by a power of intui-

tion, resembling, as it were, angelic vision. Something similar is remarked in the philosophy of Balmez. Unlike many other distinguished writers, the author of the *Philosophie Fondamentale* rises to the loftiest contemplations, descends from them, and again rises, without for a moment losing the ease, the simplicity, and the clearness, which are the usual attributes of his genius. Nowhere are his ideas more lucid, or his language more transparent, than in his treatises on metaphysics: an extraordinary merit, which, together with great power of penetration, certainly constitutes a philosophic mind of the first order. The four volumes of the *Fundamental Philosophy* were published in 1846. He composed them principally for the purpose of substituting a sound philosophy for those undefinable systems from the banks of the Rhine, which, adorned by the French Eclectics, penetrated into Spain. The half Protestant, half Pantheistic school of Germany and France was thus combated by the Spanish writer on both the fields which it had invaded, viz. politics and philosophy. Balmez thought, with justice, that this work would be no less useful in France than in his own country. In the year 1845, during his second visit to France, he desired the assistance of M. Blanche-Raffin in translating it.*

Nevertheless, the object he had in view was not yet fully attained. In order to accommodate his doctrines to the use of colleges and universities, it was requisite to reduce them to more simple proportions. Such was the intent of a new work, called *An Elementary Course of Philosophy*. Divided into four parts, logic, metaphysics, morals, and the history of philosophy, this latter volume gives in a short, clear, and methodical form, a complete *résumé* of philosophic science.

In the spring of the year 1847 Balmez had finished the publication of these two works. The collected edition of his political writings was in the press at this time. For six months he had given up his periodical labours, and he enjoyed an interval of leisure. His impaired health demanded the relaxation of travelling. After spending a month in the mountains, he went to Paris; it was the third time he had visited France. He passed rather more than a month there. About the middle of October he returned to Madrid.

We now come to the period of the publication of his work on *Pius the Ninth as Pontiff and as Sovereign*. The appearance of this work caused much sensation in the public, both of Madrid and of Spain generally. The friends and admirers of

* M. Blanche-Raffin states in a note, that with the aid of two friends he is engaged on a complete translation of the philosophical works of our author into French.

Balmez were almost all seized by a feeling which inclined them not to eulogise but to blame him; his strongest partisans and most confiding disciples censured it as untimely only. To the serious Spanish mind the political reforms of Pius IX. seemed imprudent and excessive. This feeling was increased by the praises which, in Spain as well as in the rest of Europe, they received from all the revolutionary party. It is true that Balmez carefully mentioned the reservation which the Pope had himself made in favour of the principle of authority. What he approved was, the more complete reconciliation of liberty and authority.

While his friends mingled their usual expressions of sympathy with their criticisms, some obscure opponents assailed the author of *Pius IX.* with sarcasms, abuse, and calumnies. The list of pamphlets published in different parts of Spain for and against this work is a long one. Some of his zealous disciples undertook to defend him. Before going to Paris, he had said: "The question of the change in Roman politics is the most important and the most difficult in Europe. But I am but little disquieted thereby; for every thing there is bound by a chain of gold, of which the first link is riveted in heaven." "*Pius IX.*," he observed later, "is, in an eminent degree, a man of prayer. This is the reason why I have no fear for his final success. What can the revolution do against a man united to God, who, seated on his throne, says, I will not depart hence? If he be removed, another will take his place. Besides, what are Rome and Italy without the Pope? If he were not there, they would certainly soon seek his return." He avowed that he had never written with so much enthusiasm. Several times he was compelled to lay aside his pen, to avoid being carried away by it. "In publishing this work," says Don Antonio Soler, "he wished to prevent the least sign of disapprobation or mistrust on the part of Spain towards the Pontiff." "He interposed between the Pope and insult," writes another of his friends; "he offered himself as a holocaust for Catholicity." Don Antonio Ristol, an old and faithful friend, also blamed the publication of the *Pius IX.* as inopportune. "Know," replied Balmez, "that I took up my pen in accordance with the dictates of my conscience. My conviction of having done well is so strong, that if I had to write the work over again, I would not add or abridge a single word."

A short time before the great events of February and March 1848, Balmez had quitted Madrid to retire to Barcelona. He there occupied himself with translating his *Elementary Course of Philosophy* into Latin, a task which had

been recommended to him by Mgr. Affre, the Archbishop of Paris, who was so soon to become a martyr.

The malady which was so near proving fatal to Balmez in his seventeenth year, at the University of Cervera, will be in the recollection of our readers. At a later period, in the spring of 1841, he had a new attack of the same kind. This attack was subdued by a remedy which had been often and too unsuccessfully recommended to him, viz. *repose*. During a great part of the time which he devoted to public life he had to contend against sufferings which ultimately proved fatal. When he left Madrid for the last time, says Don Antonio Soler, he bore with him a fatal malady. The end of his labours and day of his reward was come. "On the 14th or 15th of May," said his brother, Don Miguel Balmez, "we were conversing together alone, seated on a sofa; suddenly he was seized with a shivering fit." It was the first symptom of an attack which, from the commencement, was incurable. The physicians advised that he should try the invigorating air of his native mountains. His brother and his family accompanied him from Vich. When he first arrived, a momentary improvement gave hopes. He once was able to take a walk, and visited the places where the studious hours of his youth had been spent. But in vain. "Very soon," says Don Antonio Soler, "his clear intellect understood that his last hour was nigh. He offered the sacrifice without murmuring. Nevertheless, one might perceive a slight wish to live,—a last instinct of our nature, which proves how true it is that death is a punishment." On the 19th of June he was still able to rise, and he loved to see some of his friends around him. The solicitude of his relatives limited the number of these visitors as much as possible. On the 21st he asked for a confessor. The holy viaticum was given him. The next day, the Feast of Corpus Christi, the Host was consecrated in his chamber. "He has just received the Holy Sacrament with much devotion," writes the Canon Soler. Two days later, a famous physician of Barcelona, Doctor Gil, summoned to Vich to a consultation, declared, in conjunction with his brethren, that the complaint was consumption, and incurable, "You cannot imagine," writes Don Miguel Balmez, "how resigned he was amid his sufferings. No one heard him utter a complaint." "What a consolation," writes the Canon Soler, "to see him thus immolated on the altar of the Divine will! He wills only what God wills, and in the manner that He wills it; a happy presage that this great soul, swallowed in the bosom of the Divinity, will very soon begin to fulfil the Divine will for a

happy eternity." A short time before his agony, one of his friends having asked him how he felt, "Thank God, all is well," replied he. "There are two men in me, the one spiritual, the other corporeal: the corporeal man occupies me but little."

The two last days of his life were attended by convulsions, attacks of delirium, and paroxysms. During the calm and lucid intervals, his soul, sustained by the exhortations of one of his friends, was constantly raised to God. The holy viaticum was brought to him for the second time, and he also received extreme unction. "Two hours before he expired," says a letter of Canon Soler, "he made them understand that he wished to see his confessor. The latter came. As soon as he perceived him, Balmez expressed his contrition with the signs of a touching sorrow." An image of the Blessed Virgin was placed near his bed, and the eyes of the dying man were ardently fixed on it. He died on the 9th of July, 1848.

So premature a death afflicted all Spain; for in spite of differences of opinion, every Spaniard was accustomed to regard Balmez as one of the glories of his country. His youth and daily increasing fame made his sudden removal from the world felt as a misfortune by all, and especially in his native town of Vich. Don Antonio Soler speaks thus: "Scarcely had he expired, when we all felt that he formed part of the national glory. . . . His obsequies were worthy of a prince of the Church. Every person of note in the town of Vich, whatever might be his rank or profession, assisted at the funeral. The municipality attended in a body, which takes place only on extraordinary occasions. A general officer, Don Ramon de la Rocha, who was passing through the town, desired to pay a tribute of respect to his memory in the name of the army." Instead of the modest funeral which he had himself asked for in his will, the whole town, the alcalde, the municipal body, the Bishop elect of the diocese, and the chapter of the cathedral, resolved to pay the greatest honours to his remains. A considerable number of the inhabitants of Vich accompanied his bier, bearing funeral torches. The seminary where he had first studied sent its professors and a number of its pupils. The municipality decreed that one of the public places should be named after him.

A venerable canon of the town, in announcing these events to a friend, writes thus: "In the misfortune we are lamenting, I do not so much consider the loss of the precious jewel which adorned our town, as the injury done to society by the destruction of this powerful support of the Church. Happily

the luminous writings of Balmez will not descend with him into the tomb; they will keep his memory fresh. . . . The more his writings are studied, the more will his fame increase. May he repose in peace, and intercede for us!"

It may be said that this was the language of the whole Spanish Church. In a great number of the illustrious sanctuaries of the kingdom, the magistrates and the *élite* of the nation attended at services for him. Many funeral orations, delivered and printed, shew how much interest he had excited in the minds of the clergy. Absorbed by the desire of diffusing the truth much more than by the care of adding to his own reputation, he had never sought ecclesiastical dignities or literary distinctions; however, a few months before his death, he was elected a Member of the Royal Academy of Madrid by the unanimous desire of the academic body.

Balmez had conceived many projects. He had an idea of continuing his journal, for the purpose of publishing the works of Count Joseph de Maistre, for whom he entertained a lively admiration, with commentaries of his own. He also meditated the establishment of a kind of Catholic Athenæum at Madrid, in order to sustain and guide the religious revival in Spain; the *élite* of the nation throughout the kingdom were to have been invited to co-operate in the undertaking, and the society was to have published many works, both ancient and modern, adapted to give a Catholic tone to literature, science, and history. A short time before his death he was about to establish a professorship at Madrid; he was also engaged on the plan of a Catholic review. In fine, he intended at a future time to write a treatise on theology, an abridgment of sacred history, and memoirs on the events that have taken place in Spain since 1833.

Under the title of *Letters to a Seminarist*, he had begun a work, the object of which was to trace out a plan of ecclesiastical studies. Besides the Latin version of his *Elementary Course of Philosophy*, and the fragment on the French Revolution, numerous notes for a book on mathematics were found among his papers at the time of his death. Other writings of an earlier date, especially a memoir on the conduct which ecclesiastics should observe towards unbelievers, have appeared in the collection of his posthumous works. Unfortunately some pages of infinitely more value still remain in obscurity. At the time when diplomatic relations were renewed between Spain and the Holy See, Balmez drew up an account of the religious, political, and social condition of his country. This work, which is said to be of great merit, was addressed to Pius IX.

On his deathbed the Christian publicist received a *Consultum*, in which the Sovereign Pontiff interrogated him on the right to nationality and independence. He did not live to answer it.*

In 1844, Gregory XVI. had accepted the tribute of a copy of the *Protestantism and Catholicity*, and had placed it in his private library. Mgr. Brunelli, the envoy extraordinary of Pius IX. in Spain, called Balmez "a Father of the Church for the present time" (*El Santo Padre de la epoca*). The feeling which was the most predominant during the whole life of Balmez, in his actions as well as in his writings, was his devotion to the interests of the faith. The second volume of the *Fundamental Philosophy* had been denounced to the Sacred College of the Index at Rome as infected with error. "I have read the book again and again," said he to a friend; "I believe that it contains no dogmatical error. Nevertheless, whatever may be my opinion on this point, I shall not take up my pen to defend it. If a single proposition is condemned, I shall withdraw the whole edition, and have it burnt. At the same time, I shall announce in the journals my obedience to the decision of the Church." Happily the scarcely-formed suspicion vanished. The public heard nothing of the affair. Instead of censure, the work received the warmest approbation at Rome. One of the things upon which Balmez depended to preserve him from errors, says one of his biographers, was the great attention which he paid to all admonitions given with sincerity. He charged some of his most intimate friends to point out to him the slightest mistakes in his writings.

At the time when his *Pius IX.* was violently attacked, he wrote thus: "Truth, virtue, conscience, God; these are the points upon which our looks should remain fixed. All the rest passes away."

To the prospect of temporal honours, and the favour of the great, he was insensible. From his childhood called to the ecclesiastical state by a decided vocation, he often repeated that he would always have made the same choice.

Balmez was a little below the middle height, and of weak and slender frame. His pale and delicate complexion indicated a habit of suffering, and even his walk revealed the weakness of his health. At the same time this appearance of languor over his whole frame was combatted by the animation of his looks. His forehead and his lips bore an impress of energy, which was to be seen also in his eyes, black, deep-set, and of an unusual brightness. The expression of

* Vida de Balmez, par Don B. Garcia de los Santos.

his countenance was a mixture of vivacity, openness, melancholy, and strength of mind. Reserved but cheerful with strangers, he was cordial with his friends. His family affections were very strong. The recollection of his mother every day affected him anew. He was very much attached to one of his little nieces; he could not speak of her without his eyes filling with tears. Don José Maria Quadrado, who had the best opportunities of knowing and observing Balmez at the time when he had been matured by age and experience, thus closes his description of his manners and character: "A careful observer of all his sacerdotal duties, he found in the practices of asceticism that vigour which he displayed in his intellectual labours. The distribution of his time was extremely methodical, and his pleasures consisted only of his intimacy with five or six friends. Sincere in his opinions, and full of tact in his counsels, he was profoundly acquainted with the human heart, not only in its sublimest aspirations, but also in the emotions excited in it by the common incidents of life. Independence was more pleasing to him than flattery. He honoured his friends by giving them proofs of the most perfect confidence. His sensibility was exquisite, but controlled by reason; he knew how to conceal it. Desirous as he was of being loved, we have seen him troubled at the idea that the attentions of which he was the object were intended less for the man than the author."

We know that Balmez, in his early youth, was inspired with a passion for poetry. The instinct of his true vocation soon directed his ideas elsewhere. With regard to his verses, he himself, at a later period, repeated the maxim, "The Muse does not tolerate mediocrity." Nevertheless, in the latter years of his life we find him occupied with a design requiring the indulgence of imagination. Under the allegorical forms of a romance, he desired to paint the triumph of Catholic truths over the errors which Rationalism has caused in men's minds, with respect to religion, politics, and social science. This book, in its form, would have reminded us of the dialogues of ancient philosophy, and the lessons of the immortal author of *Télémaque*; but it would have borrowed from the present time both the characters, the subjects of the discourses, and the events introduced. Balmez had not time to execute this design. Other works, especially his two treatises on philosophy, continually led him to more serious thoughts.

NOTICE OF HIS WORKS.

The works of importance left by Balmez are ten in number. Their titles are here given in order of publication.

"Observations, political and economical, on the Property of the Church;" "Considerations on the Condition of Spain;" "Protestantism compared with Catholicity in its Effects on the Civilisation of Europe;" "El Criterio, or Logic for the use of People in the World;" "Letters to a Sceptic;" "Political Writings;" "Fundamental Philosophy;" "Elementary Course of Philosophy;" "Pius IX. as Pontiff and Sovereign;" "Fragments and Posthumous Works."

We will notice first the *Civilisation*, then his political, and afterwards his philosophical works.

Fundamental Idea of the Book on Civilisation.—Balmez was led to the composition of this work by the desire of refuting an opinion which M. Guizot had accredited throughout Europe. The statement of the Protestant publicist seemed to be this: "No doubt the Catholic Church, during the later centuries of antiquity, and during the middle ages, powerfully contributed to civilisation; but, from the sixteenth century, the guardianship exercised by the sovereign Pontiff over the nations of Europe had become superfluous; the age of manhood had succeeded to that of youth. At the period when the Protestant Reformation took place, the human mind was entitled to emancipation."

If we pay attention, we shall find that this historical opinion is connected with the other errors and illusions of the school of which M. Guizot has been the chief. In religion, this school professes a studied esteem and respect for Catholicity, under which is disguised contempt and systematic aversion. The genealogy of this school proves that it is descended from Protestantism.

But what has given to the infidelity concealed in the *doctrinaire* school new character and credit is its skill in avoiding all contest on the ground of theology. A subtle genius formed this conspiracy against the Catholic influence; the qualifications of the leader, his eloquence, his weight, we will add, his good faith, seemed to promise success. After having laid the foundations of its reign under the Restoration, this school had reached the height of its authority some years after under the House of Orleans.

Balmez proves, first, that in antiquity and during the middle ages it required all the inherent force of Catholic institutions to control the resistance of the passions; a system, vague, incoherent, and devoid of organisation, like Protestantism, would certainly have failed in the enterprise. Secondly, at the time when Protestantism appeared, the edifice of civilisation—thanks to the labours of the Catholic Church—only awaited its completion. If since that period this edifice has

received a new degree of perfection, it is owing to the efficacy of the Catholic institutions, which remained standing in spite of the efforts of Protestantism. In all that depended on its influence, the Protestant principle, far from promoting the progress of civilisation, has opposed and retarded it.

In these two assertions, in opposition to those of M. Guizot, is found the *résumé* of the work. Appropriating to himself and modifying the title of one of the most celebrated books of the French publicist, Balmez might have called his own *The History of the Development of European Civilisation by the Action of the Catholic Principle*. After some chapters devoted to the consideration of what is to be understood by the Catholic and Protestant principles, he appeals to history; and he inquires successively what Catholicity has done for the *individual*, for the *family*, and for *society*. He records the testimonies afforded by history on these three points.

Preliminary Chapters.—What is the real nature of Protestantism? and what were the causes which made it break forth? “In accounting for the revolt of the sixteenth century,” says Balmez, “it is an error to attribute too much importance to the abuses which had crept into the discipline of the Church. The abuses thus spoken of had only a fortuitous and secondary influence on this great event. Protestantism, rightly understood, is a fact that appears from the origin of the Church, and always accompanies the existence of the Church.”

This fact, the generic name of which is *rebellion*, insubordination, occurs in all times; but the circumstances amid which it appeared in the sixteenth century gave it a peculiar character, and allowed it to attain proportions which it had not previously done. Indeed, look at the state of Europe at the time when Protestantism arose: the nations are more than ever in close and constant communication; industry and commerce connect the interests of all; the press circulates ideas; the arts revive; the sciences suddenly enter upon paths hitherto unexplored; a new world is discovered; and an universal fermentation appears in men’s minds and feelings: the immense development which Protestantism received in a moment is explained by this condition of the period. But in reality it is nothing but the old spirit of revolt; its very name indicates this: it has been able to designate itself only by a name which implies resistance and negation.

After having exposed this affinity of Protestantism with the perverted feelings of our nature, Balmez passes on to consider the natural inclination which leads our minds towards the Catholic principle, that is, towards obedience. Even in

the natural sciences the majority of minds obey the instinct of faith; in other words, a sort of intellectual authority. With still more reason, with regard to metaphysical truths have our minds need of a revelation from on high to guide them. So true it is that the mind and heart of man are governed by the necessity of belief, that at all times, and especially in the midst of Protestantism during the last three hundred years, fanaticism, that is to say, the exaggeration and aberration of faith, has been one of the greatest scourges of the human race. The Catholic Church possesses powerful means to check this evil, but Protestantism is powerless against it.

If the essential nature of the human mind is thus opposed to that negation which is the foundation of Protestantism, the instinct of civilisation rejects with no less energy the positive doctrines of the Reformation; that is to say, the errors which its doctors have dogmatically taught. Thus with respect to free-will, Luther and Calvin professed principles, the logical consequences of which would have been to paralyse all activity in nations as well as in individuals. Protestant as well as Catholic nations have nevertheless persisted in believing themselves to be free; they have preferred the lessons received from their first instructress, the Church, to the teachings of their new doctors.

The Individual—the Abolition of Slavery.—The preliminary considerations conclude with the thirteenth chapter. What was the condition of the world when Christianity appeared? What were the doctrines professed and practised among Pagan nations touching the individual, the family, and society? How great was the resistance which the Church had to overcome in order to restore primitive truths in the world! And first, with regard to the *individual*, of slavery. The human race had been created free, but the early Church found it in a state of servitude. No doubt, as St. Augustine and St. Thomas teach, there was at the bottom in slavery a mysterious law of justice, since servitude was a punishment of sin. But our Saviour, by destroying sin, destroyed or alleviated the punishment. The Church, from the beginning, by her doctrines and acts, condemned the Pagan theory of slavery, a theory equally false and odious, which is contained in the writings of Plato and Aristotle. The contest which the Church had to fight in order to effect the abolition of slavery, is one of the wonders of history. Balmez describes it in several chapters, accompanied by learned notes. It was necessary to abolish it by degrees, without shocks, without *bouleversements*. In America, in modern times, slavery gives way under the action of an

influence which began much earlier than the sixteenth century. On this subject the apostolic letters of Pope Gregory XVI., dated the 3d of November, 1839, against the slave-trade, may be read, as also the lives of many Catholic missionaries, especially of P. Claver. With regard to the treatment of slaves in their colonies, Protestant nations have no advantage over Catholic ones. In these documents the exquisite prudence of the Church and her persevering charity are equally admirable.

The Feeling of Individuality.—Among the elements which give the most *éclat* to modern civilisation, says M. Guizot, there is one at least in which the Church had no share, viz. *the feeling of individuality*. According to him this feeling was introduced into the civilisation of Europe by the barbarians. It was unknown “both to the Roman and the Christian society.”* Balmez denies this assertion. In his little work on the property of the clergy he had already described in their true colours the passions and the peculiar spirit which animated the barbarian nations. This picture is more sound, just, and elevated than the one given by M. Guizot. Three chapters are devoted to this subject. The personal independence of the barbarian was not in itself an element of civilisation. It is in the conduct of the first Christians that a *reasonable independence* for the first time appears. In professing his faith before the Roman tribunals, the martyr certainly shews as much personal liberty and more heroism than the Goth or Vandal when bearing the torch over the ruins of ancient civilisation. Nevertheless, Balmez does not deny that the barbarians introduced into Europe a certain boldness of disposition, from which arose some striking virtues. But he shews that this disposition required to be corrected; that the spirit of the barbarians, if left to itself, would have produced only barbarism; that the feeling of legitimate liberty arose spontaneously in the primitive society of the Christians; and that the modern world derives its glory, not for the most part from the proud and daring genius of the tribes of the north, but from the all-powerful effect of the doctrines by which the Church was able at once to free and to control men’s hearts. Balmez, who, moreover, does justice to certain of the views of M. Guizot, in his turn shews the grandeur of the feeling of modern liberty, in opposition to the servitude of all kinds which in ancient times fettered even the noblest minds. The country of the ancients was a tyrant; Catholicity has destroyed this tyranny as well as all the others.

The Family—Marriage.—Marriage is the primitive bond that connects individuals. Not only is it a first principle of

unity among men, but, by creating succession, it engenders a second kind of unity, that of time, that of generations with each other. Succession, indeed, is a chain extending from one generation to another, a tie which unites times, and connects the past with the future. Now marriage would not be able to accomplish all its good results unless it were accompanied by the principle of monogamy and that of indissolubility. In order to secure the triumph of these two principles the Catholic Church has been compelled to employ unexampled energy and perseverance. She alone, by her permanent organisation, her unintermitting action, and that independence which is peculiar to her Sovereign Pontiff, could have consummated so laborious a design. Protestantism, fickle and incoherent as it is, could never have done it; and not only is it certain that Protestantism would have been unable to put an end to polygamy, but we know that, having found it destroyed in Europe, it has incurred the disgrace of allowing it to revive. The scandal given by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel is well known. Luther boldly writes that the plurality of women is neither permitted nor prohibited, and that as to himself he does not decide any thing. In fine, it was Protestantism that allowed divorces to invade European society.

The chapter on love contains some of the most admirable pages that reason and the delicate feelings of the heart have ever dictated. They shew at the same time both the elevated mind of Balmez, and the sublime designs of God in the establishment of Catholic institutions. Virginity held in honour, cloisters raised for its protection,—the feeling of chivalry spread over Europe, and substituted for the brutal passions of antiquity,—these are phenomena which can only be explained by Catholic doctrines, and which shew how justly these doctrines answer to the noblest instincts of the human heart.

Society—the Public Conscience.—Montesquieu introduced into the world a maxim which has become celebrated. "Virtue," he said, "is the principle of republics, honour that of monarchies." "Hence it was," he added, "that the republics of antiquity required the institution of *censors* for the correction of morals; in monarchies the office of censors is fulfilled by the sentiment of honour." Montesquieu did not observe that honour, in our days, is found in republics as well as monarchies; and, on the other hand, that this feeling was not better known in antiquity in monarchies than in republics. Hence it follows, as Balmez rightly observes, that honour is an ornament of modern, that is, of Christian civilisation; while ancient society, as appears by the very appointment of censors, was compelled to be content with obtaining a certain tribute of

virtue on the part of the citizens. Now if we consider well the effects of honour and those of virtue on society, we cannot place them in comparison.

While virtue is peculiar to the individual, honour, in Christian nations, is virtue passed to the condition of a social institution. Honour, indeed, is an ideal reward given to actions and sentiments from which society derives advantage. It is a distinction spontaneously awarded by opinion to those same virtues which antiquity endeavoured to maintain by a special magistracy. If we develop this idea still further, we shall see that honour, thanks to certain institutions which were not wholly unknown to antiquity, is, moreover, a reward by which society ensures the continuance of the merit.

The existence and utility of the sentiment of honour rest entirely upon another feeling, which has been rightly called the *public conscience*. Now it is Christianity alone, not this or that form of government, which has raised among us, to a wonderful height, that public feeling by virtue of which the merit of each citizen becomes a principle of emulation to the whole society.

In acting on the public conscience, to purify it more and more, and carry it to a higher degree of perfection, Catholicity possesses an undeniable advantage over Protestantism. The Catholic Church alone has been able to make penance a public institution; with Protestants it has been deprived of those precise and positive forms which render it the fruitful source of social improvement among us. The true censorship of modern nations, both republics and monarchies, viz. Catholic confession, moreover presents a characteristic which scarcely allows it to be placed in comparison with the censorship invented by antiquity. The latter derived its authority from the rods of the lictor, the Catholic censorship is from Heaven. Wonderfully adapted to human liberty, it corrects our morals only with the freest consent of our wills.

Mildness of Manners—Public Beneficence.—There are other phenomena which characterise modern civilisation, and which could have been produced only by a Church strongly constituted, like that of Rome. On this subject Balmez, as he had already done with regard to the emancipation of slaves, gives a long series of acts of Pontiffs and decrees of Councils, the efforts of a charity really superhuman. Protestantism gave a fatal blow to the design previously pursued by the Church. From the schism of Luther, a portion of Europe was withdrawn from the influence of the Pope. Instead of combining their knowledge, industry, and riches, to extend the empire of charity to the fullest extent, we see Christian

nations divided and at variance with each other. What shades still darken the picture of civilisation! How many things would have been ameliorated in this world by the hand of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, if he had every where met with veneration and obedience! It would be easy here to shew the peculiar efficacy of Catholic institutions in promoting beneficence. On the one hand, the sacred Word, which with us has preserved all its authority, reminds the people of the obligation of giving alms; and on the other, the tribunal of penance causes the execution of this law.

The Right of Coercion in general.—What is meant by the word “toleration?” How far is toleration in religious matters allowed? At what period, and in what countries, has unbounded toleration prevailed? These questions are examined by Balmez with great wisdom. As to the right of coercion in general, it cannot be refused to a society without condemning that society to destruction. Protestant nations have used this right of coercion as much as Catholic ones. They have no right to reproach the latter on this point. There is this difference only between Protestantism and Catholicity in this regard, viz. that the latter acts by virtue of a logically-established principle, while Protestantism, by the very fact of its proclaiming the right of private judgment, abdicates all jurisdiction, and condemns its own actions beforehand.

The Religious Orders, their Past and Future Necessity.—The history of the religious orders and of their action on Europe may almost be said to be a *résumé* of the progress of civilisation itself. Without these institutions, created and continually supported by the spirit of the Catholic Church, not only virtues, but ideas, letters, and the arts, would have remained at an immense distance from the point at which they have now arrived. Such was the law during the past; Balmez thinks that this law still rules the present, and will continue to rule the future. He says: “What is wanting when society is in a state of decay, is not words, projects, or laws, but strong institutions capable of resisting the passions, the inconstancy of man, and the destroying power of events. Institutions are required to elevate the mind, to tranquillise the heart, and to excite a movement of resistance and reaction in society against the fatal elements that are about to destroy it.” These few words may serve as a *résumé* of the chapter which closes the account of the religious orders. We find therein both his accuracy and strength of mind. Society, at present under the influence of ardent passions, requires some control; something is wanted to correct men’s minds and manners. The *material* means which still exert a restraining

power will fail in the end. The immense development of the spirit of liberty renders impotent, in the long run, all repression which does not act upon liberty itself. As it is an alarming mixture of progress and decay, the spirit of the world can be restrained, elevated, and guided by the renovated force of those same institutions which have fashioned it from the beginning. The whole of this chapter, the 47th, should be read. Balmez wrote it seven years ago: what a wonderful confirmation have recent events given to his words! This chapter alone would be enough to render the pen that wrote it illustrious.

The Political Doctrines of Catholicity.—Almost an entire volume of the work is devoted to the development of the political doctrines that have prevailed in the Catholic schools. The Church, with regard to political doctrines, has been subjected in turn to accusations the most opposite. Sometimes she has been reproached with favouring to excess the prerogatives of the civil power; sometimes in her maxims men have pretended to find encouragement to rebellion. Balmez undertakes to defend her against both these attacks. To vindicate her from the first reproach it was enough for him to quote the teachings of a great number of doctors with regard to the origin of the civil power. According to the unanimous opinions of the Catholic schools, interpreters therein of the formal text of the sacred Scriptures, the civil power comes from God. But does it come *directly, immediately*, or does it pass through the channel of society? This question has divided, and still divides, the orthodox schools. The Church is content with affirming the Divine origin of the civil power. She lays down, after the Apostle, the strict obligation of obeying authority. Up to a certain point she leaves to good sense, reason, and sound philosophy, the care of determining what is the true authority in each place and at each time. We see even that she allows inquiry to be made what is the exact limit where obedience may cease. Therefore the Church has given no sanction to tyranny.

The contrast pointed out by these doctors between the origin of the pontifical power and the origin of the civil power serves to shew what care the Church takes in every question that interests the liberty of man. Jesus Christ instituted the authority of his Vicar *directly*, by an express command. He said to him: "Be, and I will be with thee to the consummation of ages." Nothing of the kind has been said to the authorities of the civil order. With regard to them, God has been content to arrange all things in a certain order which naturally and necessarily leads to the institution of authority.

But this power never appears marked with one unfailing character. Sacred, because it is the result of a regulation of Providence, the civil power, nevertheless, always remains subject, to a certain extent, to the uncertain and changeable condition of every human institution. The divine character which it possesses is of a conditional, and not of an absolute kind. It is in this sense that it is understood not to emanate from God directly. At the same time, it would be equally false to say that the Church makes light of the duty of obedience towards the civil authority. Balmez proves that submission to this authority remains equally imperative, equally sacred, whichever be the doctrine regarding the origin of power. It matters little that the power of the government may have passed through an intermediate channel; it comes not the less from God on that account. Once established and legitimately in possession, this power has a right not only to respect but to affection; such is the unanimous opinion of the interpreters of the Catholic doctrine. Balmez carefully analyses the consequences of the two opinions on the origin of the civil power, and shews that they both lead to obedience.

On Resistance to the Civil Power.—As we have already pointed out, the Church allows an inquiry in what cases it is permitted to refuse obedience to power. From the earliest times, the good sense of the human race constantly acknowledged that the power of a tyrant, in other words, of a chief or of a royal family who laboured to destroy society instead of to preserve it, *might*, or even, in certain cases, *ought* to be rejected by the subjects. Christianity has not changed this fundamental truth; it has only laid it down, that authority in itself, that is to say, the force which defends and governs society, is marked with a sacred character. Thereby, among Christian nations, power has become a sort of priesthood, environed with respect, mingled with love; sentiments very different from those with which it was regarded among Pagan nations. Thanks to the influence exerted by Christianity, on the one hand, upon the depositaries of authority whom it renders just, and subjects who became docile and affectionate, power has renewed among Christian nations some of those features which distinguished it in patriarchal times.

Thus the cases of tyranny, so frequent in ancient times, and in our days among nations beyond the limits of Christian civilisation, are extremely rare in Europe.

Many Catholic doctors, especially St. Thomas and his commentators, have taken care to define the cases of tyranny. They point out or indicate a certain number of rules proper to guide a resistance against the attempts of a tyranny which has

become flagrant and intolerable. Balmez has repeated these rules, which are so prudent and circumspect, that society will find in them rather an additional security against revolt than an incitement to it. Such will be the effect of the restrictions with which these doctors surround the right of resistance. It is curious to read the parallel which Balmez has drawn between the doctrine of St. Thomas and that which M. de Lamennais has ventured to lay down in his too celebrated writings. We know that M. de L., when breaking his ties with the Church, ventured to place his rebellion under the authority of the maxims of St. Thomas. This part of the book possesses extraordinary interest at this time.

Influence of Catholicity on Letters. Conclusion.—Thanks to the labours which reflect so much honour on many writers of our age, the influence which Catholicity has exerted on the development of science and letters is no longer denied by the candid. Balmez, at the end of his book, developes and completes the work of his predecessors on this subject.

Political Writings of Balmez.—Our author gives an account of the political writings of Balmez under the following heads:—Views of the history of Spain for the last two hundred years—the revolution in Spain a surprise—the opinions of the Carlists—Spain faithful to Catholicity—picture of modern nations—confusion of ideas in France—advantages of religious unity—opinion on monarchy—the monarchical feeling—considerations on unity—unity carried to an eminent degree—important doctrine—aristocracy in Spain—duties of an aristocracy—opinion of democracy—social perfection—two kinds of democracy—doctrine of St. Augustine—royal succession in Spain—state of the question—sentiments of Balmez—observations on the Salic law—Spanish alliances—the family compact—centralisation—parallel between France and Spain—the provincial liberties of Spain not injurious to the unity of the kingdom—speech of the Marquis de Valdegamas—theory of dictatorship—principle of revolutions—two kinds of repression—religion and politics—letters of the same—Catholic and so-called philosophical civilisation—*natural* triumph of evil over good—*supernatural* triumph of good over evil—malady of society at present—work on Pius IX.—quotations—prognostics—the temporal power of the Pope—the Pontificate and modern nations. For the discussion of these topics, we must refer our readers to the work itself. We will give but three extracts; one from the letters of the Marquis de Valdegamas to M. de Montalembert on Catholic and so-called philosophical civilisation; another from the work of Balmez on Pius IX., on the Pontificate and modern na-

tions; and the third containing the political doctrines of St. Augustine and of Balmez.

“Catholic civilisation teaches that the nature of man is fallen and corrupted in its essence, and in all the elements that compose it. Human reason cannot see the truth, unless it is pointed out by a teaching authority. The human will neither can nor will do well, unless under the influence of the fear of God. When the will is freed from God, and the reason is freed from the Church, error and evil reign without opposition in the world. . . . So-called philosophical civilisation, on the contrary, teaches that the nature of man is sound and perfect in its essence, and in all the elements that constitute it. This being the case, reason left to itself will arrive at the knowledge of the whole truth, and the will by itself alone will necessarily attain the absolute good. Hence it is clear that the solution of the great social problem is, to break the ties which confine and limit the reason and the freewill of man. The evil consists only in these ties; it is not found either in freewill or in reason. Perfection will consist in having no ties of any kind. Humanity will be perfect when it shall be free from God, its divine tie; when it shall be free from government, its political tie; when it shall be free from property, its social; and from the family, its domestic tie. * * *

“Catholic civilisation may be considered in two ways: either in itself, as forming a collection of religious and social principles; or in its historical reality, when these principles are combined with human liberty. Considered in the first point of view, Catholic civilisation is perfect. Considered in the second, its development in time, and its extension over space, are subject to the imperfections and the vicissitudes of every thing that is extensive and enduring. In my first letter I considered it in the first point of view; if I now consider it in the second, that is, its historical reality, I will say that, as its imperfections arise only from its combination with human liberty, true progress would have consisted in subjecting the human element which corrupts it to the divine element which purifies it. Society has followed a different course.”

“Protestantism,” says Balmez, in his *Pius IX.*, “has perverted the course of European civilisation. Without this schism, Europe would have been quite different from what it is. It contains two fundamental principles: the one is private judgment in matters of faith; the other, religious supremacy attributed to the civil power. The first of these produced impiety; laid down by Luther, it received its fulfilment in Voltaire. The second principle, established without disguise in Germany and England, contributed, even in Catholic countries, to develop a spirit of insubordination to the pontifical authority—a spirit which was veiled under the appearance of eager obedience to kings. This second kind of rebellion, the seed whereof had already germinated in preceding ages, produced in the eighteenth century that foolish coalition of princes which steeped the vicar of Jesus Christ in bitterness.

"At the same period, the seed of Protestantism bore its last fruits. In place of a religious democracy appeared an impious demagogism. The French Revolution burst forth. Princes, hurled from their thrones, found that religion was not the greatest danger which they had to fear. Hence the famous preamble of the treaty of the Holy Alliance. Unhappily, the evils of the world are not cured by a sheet of paper; and the governments, when they signed the treaty, did not give up their tendencies. It was very soon easy to perceive that the head of Catholicity, the vicar of Jesus Christ, had had little influence on the treaty. At the congress of Vienna the notes and protests of Cardinal Consalvi did not prevent the powers from regulating, according to their tastes, the temporal rights of the churches of Germany. The protection promised by the Emperor of Austria to the deputies of certain dioceses remained vain. The Low Countries, the immense majority of whose inhabitants was Catholic, were given to a Protestant family, the House of Orange. From the year 1815, Catholicity there endured attacks which contributed much to the revolution of Brussels in 1830. The Pope recovered his possessions; but, in spite of all protests, Austria reserved to herself the right of placing a garrison in Comachio and Ferrara.

"As we have seen, the Holy Alliance was not so holy as it might have been supposed. The Emperor of Russia had scarcely been delivered from Napoleon when he became apprehensive that Catholicity would deprive him of his states. In the month of January 1816, alarmed by some conversions, he issued a ukase to drive the Jesuits from his empire. In 1820, when the south of Europe was again disturbed, the Czar redoubles his severity against the same society. We know the rest. The revolution of 1830 in France overturns, over the whole face of Europe, the edifice of 1815. This event, no doubt, destroyed more than one precious hope; but God willed to shew princes that He needed not their power to save religion. As soon as he had mounted the throne of St. Peter, Pius IX. began his reforms in the Church. Every thing in him shews a Pope inclined to reform. The Church, moreover, has always been a reformer. The Councils are a long series of assemblies occupied with reforms. Their decrees are so many reforming codes. While human institutions, devoid of the strength necessary to cure themselves, in the end yield to their maladies, the Church, whatever may be her wounds, always heals them; she is gifted with a faculty which always points out the remedy, and with a vigour which renders her capable of bearing it. This is a distinctive characteristic of powerful beings, and a proof that the Church will live to the consummation of ages.

"The civilised world is intelligent, opulent, and powerful, but it is sick; it wants morality and faith. Impiety labours to create a divorce between religion and material and intellectual progress: this is a serious danger impending over the future of modern nations. Christianity, besides giving man eternal salvation, has

saved the world from complete ruin, and alone can again save it from the evils that threaten it. Will the world be saved by diplomatists, who cannot succeed in preserving even their own countries? Will it be saved by kings, who are swept away like straw by revolutions? Will it be saved by demagogues, who cover the land with blood and ruins? No. Safety will be found only in the harmony of the spirit of progress with religion, and the enterprise will succeed only when it shall be conducted by a Pontiff. . . .

"We must not allow the cry of liberty to be abused, neither must we allow the words 'social order' and 'the preservation of monarchies' to be abused when they shelter a brutal despotism and perverted interests. The revolutionary propagandism prevails in Poland, in Belgium, in Ireland: this is certain. Many invoke religion only as a means of exciting the people: this also is certain. Nevertheless, would it be just always to side with the Russians in Poland, with the House of Orange in Belgium, and the ultra-Tories in Ireland? . . . Revolutionary destruction offers a frightful spectacle; but, certainly, power employed to oppress is not beautiful. Religion needs not either *bouleversements* or oppression. What she requires is order, but order with benignity. What she asks *from* the people is obedience; what she asks *for* them is a light yoke.

"Even in his earthly career man is conducted by Providence towards a mysterious end and by unknown paths. Not to acknowledge the change that takes place in all things is to shut one's eyes to the light. To adhere only to the forms of the past is to trust to a weak plant to save oneself from falling down a precipice. Let us respect the past, but let us not believe that our desires can restore it. While we zealously preserve what remains of it, let us not go so far as to condemn every thing present and to come. Let us not forget that what is passing away now was formerly new. What is now going to disappear has occupied, at another period, the place of things that have long since disappeared. The life of the human race presents a continued transformation; history is a succession of magnificent pictures, in which some surprising novelty is painted at every moment. Let us preserve intact the eternal truths, imperishable because they rest upon the Divine promises; but let us regard the rest as passing, as it really is.

"People of Spain, your confidence in the Divine promises should assure you that the Pontiff will succeed even in temporal things. While drawing the distinction between the human and the divine, you will understand that herein the human is very near to the divine; and that this august chair, from which so many benefits even of a temporal kind have been derived by society, is not occupied by a Pontiff who is destined to disturb the world. Let us look on with calmness at the spectacle which is unfolding before our eyes; let us not lose courage at some passing difficulties; let us not limit our view to the present hour; let us think of the past and of the future. Humanity makes no progress without a struggle—

no improvement without pain. United in heart with the Church, which, throughout the whole world, prays for the Pontiff, let us have confidence that God will give him light and strength, and that difficulties, dangers, and reverses will be recompensed by a superabundance of good in the enterprise undertaken by Pius IX."

"I think I have shewn that the Church has never been opposed to the legitimate development of any form of government; that she has taken them all under her protection; and consequently, that to assert that she is the enemy of popular institutions is a calumny. I have also placed it equally beyond a doubt that the sects hostile to the Catholic Church, by encouraging a democracy either irreligious or blinded by fanaticism, so far from aiding in the establishment of just and rational liberty, have, in fact, left the people no alternative between unbridled licentiousness and unrestrained despotism. The lesson thus furnished by history is confirmed by experience, and the future will only serve to corroborate its truth. The more religious and moral men are, the more deserving they are of liberty; for they have then the less need of external restraints, having a most powerful one in their own consciences. An irreligious and immoral people stand in need of some authority to keep them in order, otherwise they will be constantly abusing their rights, and will consequently deserve to lose them. St. Augustine perfectly understood these truths, and explains briefly and beautifully the conditions necessary for all forms of government. The holy doctor shews that popular forms are good where the people are moral and conscientious; where they are corrupt they require either an oligarchy or an un-mixed monarchy.

"I have no doubt that an interesting passage, in the form of a dialogue, that we meet with in his First Book on Freewill, chap. vi., will be read with pleasure.

"**AUGUSTINE.** You would not maintain, for instance, that men or people are so constituted by nature as to be absolutely eternal, and subject neither to destruction nor change?—**GOODIUS.** Who can doubt that they are changeable, and subject to the influence of time?—**AUGUSTINE.** If the people are serious and temperate, and if, moreover, they have such a concern for the public good that each one would prefer the public interest to his own, is it not true that it would be advisable to enact that such a people should choose their own authorities for the administration of their affairs?—**GOODIUS.** Certainly.—**AUGUSTINE.** But in case, then, the same people became so corrupt that the citizens prefer their own to the public good, if they sell their votes, if, corrupted by ambitious men, they entrust the government of the State to men as criminal and corrupt as themselves, is it not true that, in such a case, if there be among them a man of integrity, and possessing sufficient power for the purpose, he will do well to take from these people the power of conferring honours, and concentrate it in the hands of a small number of upright men, or even of one man?—**GOODIUS.** Undoubtedly.—**AUGUSTINE.** Yet, since these laws appear very much

opposed to each other, the one granting the people the right of conferring honours, the other depriving them of that right; since, moreover, they cannot both be in force at once; are we to affirm that one of these laws is unjust, or that it should not have been enacted?—GOODRUS. By no means.

“The whole question is here comprised in a few words: Can monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy be one and all legitimate and proper? Yes. By what considerations are we to be guided in our decision as to which of these forms is legitimate and proper in any given case? By the consideration of existing rights, and of the condition of the people to whom it is to be applied. Can a form, once good, become bad? Certainly it may; for all human things are subject to change. These reflections, as solid as they are simple, will prevent all excessive enthusiasm in favour of any particular form of government. This is not a question of mere theory, but one of prudence also. Now prudence does not decide before having attentively considered and weighed all circumstances. But there is one predominant idea in this doctrine of St. Augustine. This idea I have already pointed out, viz. that great virtue and disinterestedness are required under a free government. Those who are labouring to establish political liberty on the ruins of all religious belief would do well to reflect on the words of the illustrious doctor.

“How would you have people exercise extensive rights if you disqualify them by perverting their ideas and corrupting their morals? You say that, under representative forms of government, reason and justice are secured by means of elections; and yet you labour to banish this reason and justice from the bosom of that society in which you talk of securing them. You sow the wind, and reap the whirlwind. Instead of models of wisdom and prudence, you shew the people scandalous scenes. Do you say that we are condemning the age, and that it progresses in spite of us? We reject nothing that is good; but perversity and corruption we must reprobate. The age progresses; true, but neither you nor we know whether Catholics know one thing—a thing that it needs not a prophet to tell, viz. that a good social condition cannot be formed out of bad men; that men without morality are bad; and that when there is no religion, morality cannot flourish. Firm in our faith, we will leave you to try, if you choose, a thousand forms of government, to apply your palliatives to your own social patient, and deceive him with fallacious words. His frequent convulsions, his continued restlessness, are evidences of your incapacity; and well it is for your patient that he still feels this anxiety; it is a sure sign that you have not entirely succeeded in gaining his confidence. If ever you do secure it—if ever he fall quietly asleep in your arms, ‘all flesh will have corrupted its way,’ and it may also be feared that God will resolve to sweep man from the earth.”—*Civilisation*, chap. 68.

Philosophical Works.—*Judgments passed upon the Phi-*

losophy of Balmez.—He has himself said of his *Fundamental Philosophy*, that “it is only the philosophy of St. Thomas adapted to the wants of the nineteenth century.” This would be an excess of modesty if we were to understand from it that his philosophical works are wanting in originality. Dr. Manuel Martinez, professor at the Seminary at Saragossa, thus sums up the philosophic doctrine of Balmez: “Philosophy has only one object—truth. All created truth is nothing but a spark of the eternal truth of God. For eighteen centuries the most eminent philosophers have raised their minds towards God by the way of philosophy. Why, then, do so many other spirits, instead of attaining to God by this path, excite, to use an expression of St. Gregory Nazianzen, against God the creatures formed by Himself? Because these frail men, before they reached the goal, have stopped at secondary causes, or, charmed with themselves, have imagined that they found within themselves the principle of truth. These are the half-learned men who are accused by Pascal of upsetting the world. The strong intellect of Balmez every where penetrates to the bottom of things, and every where finds the rules established by the hand of God. The question of *certainty*, a stumbling-block in philosophy, the constant occasion of error, is solved by him with skill and accuracy. Differing from certain philosophers who seem to reject their own nature, and cease to be men, he constantly inculcates this maxim of Tertullian, ‘prior homo ipse quam philosophus.’ Following St. Augustine and St. Thomas, Balmez shews that, even in the natural order, the mind of man is compelled to comply with the obligation of believing. Indeed, what he *understands* is very little in comparison with what he is called upon to believe. Balmez goes over the whole extent of creation; he seeks for the principle of truth; he finds it only in God, the ocean of light, to which he is drawn by an irresistible force of reasoning as soon as he has attained to the idea of a universal intelligence. This demonstration of the existence of God is so much the more conclusive and the more precious, because the philosopher arrives at it by means of the most intimate phenomena of the intellectual conscience.

“After having combated scepticism with great success, he profoundly investigates the senses and the sensations. The sensualist school is condemned by him with the strict justice which it merits. A disciple of the great St. Thomas of Aquin, he carefully distinguishes the *sensible* from the *intellectual* order. Attentive to defining and classifying all the notions relating to ideas, he has the honour of extending the

doctrine of his master, of rectifying it on some points, and of freeing it from superfluous accessories. If the theory of innate ideas taken in a rigorous sense is justly combated by St. Thomas of Aquin, and repudiated by Descartes, nevertheless almost all the masters of Christian philosophy, from St. Augustine to M. de Bonald, have felt a lively sympathy for a theory which presents so exalted a character. These various explanations have not always been exact. To mark the precise spot towards which all these great minds had set out, seemed to be a glory reserved for Balmez.

“The clouds of German philosophy did not repel his examination, and certain doctrines in vogue among our neighbours the French were also scrutinised. . . . Throughout his philosophical career he loses no opportunity of opposing the fatal tendency of our age towards Pantheism. He afterwards enters upon the study of the great metaphysical ideas—extent, space, being, unity, number, time, infinitude, substance, necessity, and causality, in their relations with morality. His vigorous mind analyses, searches into, and decomposes both simple and complicated; he unmasks falsehood, and makes the truth shine forth in all its brightness; then collecting together all the truths which he has found to be pure, he replaces them all in their order, and raises an edifice as simple as it is majestic. Wherever the hand of God is made manifest, he bends before it. Balmez, in his philosophy, was free as Descartes, but more careful to avoid the danger of scepticism; as profound as Malbranche, but more on his guard against lofty illusions. I will go still farther, and say that he presents us with an image of St. Augustine writing in the nineteenth century.

“All human investigation ends in a void—in an abyss. This abyss is filled up by God alone. With Balmez, as with St. Gregory of Nazianzen, God is the culminating point of philosophy. Faithful to that law of sobriety recommended by the Apostle, he preserves wonderful moderation, even in the midst of the seductions of science. His philosophical writings are every where pervaded by a sweet savour of piety. How often, when studying his *Fundamental Philosophy*, have I felt in my soul the truth of the famous words of Bacon: ‘A little knowledge takes from religion, but much leads us back to it.’ It might have been supposed that the rigour of the philosophic spirit would have extinguished imagination and sentiment in Balmez, but this was not the case. His intercourse with books had not prevented him from thoroughly penetrating the practical sciences of the human heart; his gifted pen knows how to clothe the most abstract

ideas in beautiful images; and his language moves the most sensible fibres of the heart. Thus his words have affected the present generation, and will affect generations yet to come."

M. de Mora, his successor in the academy of Madrid, says of his *Philosophie Élémentaire et Fondamentale*: "Balmez conceived a plan of philosophy that, on the one hand, is entirely removed from that of the Germans; and on the other, has nothing in common with the school of the sensualists. The danger which he saw hanging over modern society inspires him with a lively solicitude. On the one hand, ontology carried to excess almost inevitably ends in Pantheism; and on the other hand, the analytic method urges the sensualist school towards materialism. Balmez happily avoids both these precipices. Supported by his belief, he boldly penetrates in the domain of metaphysics to the extreme limits marked out by faith; at the same time, he fears not to attribute to the senses the part which rightly belongs to them in the operations of the mind. His philosophy has the great merit of being adapted to the wants of our country and of our age."

"It is difficult," writes Don J. Roca y Cornet, "to unite in the degree which Balmez does, extent and depth with knowledge of mankind and of the age, of individuals and of society."

Letters to a Sceptic.—French Eclecticism.—In this work he says:

"You dispense with my entering into fuller details with regard to the German philosophy and that French philosophy which came from beyond the Rhine. Receive my thanks for this. I anticipated that your mind, naturally just, truth loving, and the enemy of abstractions, would ill accord with this symbolical language and these fantastic notions for which philosophy is indebted to Germany. But you ask with reason, How does it happen that such a school has found favour in France, a country where men's minds tend to materialism? I will answer, that it was owing to a kind of necessity. In France the philosophy of Voltaire had justly fallen into complete discredit. The men of talent of that country, who sought the reputation of philosophers, were compelled to seek something more serious and majestic. As they had no desire to ascend to the great writers of past ages, it was necessary to look to Germany, and exhibit to a nation always inclined to novelties the marvellous inventions of Schelling and Hegel. Moreover, it is scarcely probable that the French genius would long agree with that of the Germans. Without staying to discuss the *universal and only substance*, the spirit of our neighbours will advance straight to the consequence, viz. atheism. In these mysterious formulas they will find nothing newer than the superannuated doctrine of the eighteenth century.

It will then become necessary to discover a new source of illusions. It will be necessary again to gratify the curiosity of the schools and the vanity of the masters. This is always the history of the human mind—the delirium of every age. You will understand henceforth the worth of those so-called philosophical systems—those pretended *chefs-d'œuvre* of spiritualism, which were said to be so conformable with the doctrine of the Church. Judge now whether the Catholic clergy of France, in raising their voices against certain heads of the University, displayed fanaticism and intolerance, as you have been tempted to think."

Plan of the "Fundamental Philosophy."—

"The title, 'Fundamental Philosophy,'" says Balmez in his prologue, "is not intended to express an ostentatious pretension, but merely the subject of which I am about to treat. I do not undertake to build any thing on the ground of philosophy, but only to examine the fundamental questions of that science: hence the title of my book. In spite of the agitations of our time, men's minds in Spain are being vigorously developed. In a few years the influence of this movement will be felt. It is necessary to prevent certain errors, introduced among us by fashion, from taking root and becoming principles. This calamity can be prevented only by solid and well-directed studies. Repression alone, at this time, will not withstand the evil; it is necessary to combat it with truth."

The first volume of the work treats of *certainty*. The diverse principles upon which human certainty relies are then discussed and compared. Every modern system, from that of Descartes to that of M. de Lamennais, are analysed and judged. At almost every page of the work the German doctrines come under the criticism of Balmez. St. Thomas is frequently quoted in this struggle of the Catholic philosopher against the manifold errors of our times.

The second volume contains two books, the one called *Of sensations*, the other *Of extent and space*. The treatise on *ideas* occupies a portion of the following volume; the ideas of *being, unity, number, and time* constitute the matter of the three other books of it. The fourth volume contains three treatises, one on *infinitude*, another on *substance*, and the third on *necessity and causality*. As we have seen, the whole work is divided into books or treatises, and each of these books is subdivided into chapters, which are generally short.

Bases of Certainty according to Balmez.—

"When philosophy meets with a necessary fact, its duty is to verify it. Certainty is one of these facts. To dispute about the existence of certainty is to question the shining of the sun at noon-day. The human race possesses certainty with regard to a great

number of things. Philosophers and sceptics themselves also possess this certainty as well as the vulgar. It is impossible to arrive at absolute scepticism.

"Thus, certainty is natural, and precedes all philosophy; it is independent of human opinions. This is the reason why all question as to certainty remains, and always will remain, barren of practical results. It is important to be fixed in this regard, since, from the lofty regions of abstractions, nothing injurious should come down to society or individuals. Thus, from the commencement of philosophical investigation, science and good sense become lasting friends. . . . All dispute as to which of the principles of certainty merits the first rank betrays a confusion of ideas. No comparison is possible between things of a different nature. We have three principles of certainty for our use: the conscience or intimate sense, evidence, and intellectual instinct, otherwise called common sense.

"The conscience embraces all the facts immediately present to our soul with the quality of *subjective* facts. The jurisdiction of evidence extends over all *objective* truth on which our reason is exercised. Intellectual instinct is that inclination which naturally inclines us to give our assent in cases lying outside of the twofold domain of conscience and evidence. . . . Now, these three principles are necessary to us, each in its order and in a different way. No one, moreover, is absolutely independent of the others; neither could be destroyed without causing a *bouleversement* in our minds. . . .

"All philosophy which contents itself with considering man under but one aspect is an incomplete philosophy, which runs the risk of becoming an erroneous one. Analyse the sources of truth as much as you will, but when studying them separately take care that you do not lose sight of their reciprocal relations. If deprived of sensations, man would want the materials indispensable for his intelligence; in this state his mind would want the spur requisite to bring it into action. . . . On the other hand, if you admit sensations but take away reason, man is no more than a brute. The different principles of knowledge are thus strengthened and completed in us reciprocally; and it is to be remarked that the truths on which all men are agreed are all together supported, in some way, by each of the bases of certainty. . . .

"It is thus that, without conceding any thing to scepticism, I understand philosophical examination. I do not suppress, but on the contrary extend and complete it. This method affords another advantage, that of cutting short the extravagances of certain philosophers, and of compelling them to adhere to the common rule of humanity. Philosophy, I know, will not be generalised so far as to become popular; but it is not necessary that the philosopher should be isolated like a misanthropist, in consequence of his foolish pretensions. Philosophy in that case would be nothing but *philosophism*. To verify facts, to investigate with patience and good faith,

and explain with clearness—these are the duties of true philosophy, and it will not be the less profound on this account.”—*Filosofia Fundamental*, lib. i. cap. 34.

Error of M. de Lamennais.—

“Man feels himself carried towards human authority by an instinctive faith. This is a fact which experience attests, and which no philosopher can dispute. When properly guided by reason, this faith constitutes one of the bases of truth. . . . A celebrated writer has attempted to reduce all the principles of knowledge to the sole principle of human authority. According to him, the common consent, *sensus communis*, is the seal affixed to truth; there exists no other (see the *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion*, tom. ii. chap. 13). This system, as strange as it is erroneous, has been defended with the eloquent exaggeration which distinguishes him who invented it,—an eloquence, however, which does not conceal his want of philosophic depth. To confide in the authority of others in all and for all is to take from individuals every means of discerning the truth; it is to destroy all the principles of his knowledge without excepting even that which it is pretended to establish thereby. . . . In the first place, how can the testimony of the conscience be supported by the authority of others? Manifestly, this testimony precedes every other *criterium* of truth, since it is impossible to discern and judge without thinking. In a scientific point of view, nothing can be more feeble than M. de Lamennais' attempted refutation of the principle of Descartes. . . .

“A principle which claims to be the only one ought undoubtedly to possess these two conditions,—it should not depend upon an anterior principle, and should be applicable to all cases. Now, this very principle of the common consent is, more than any other, devoid of this twofold condition. We have just seen that the testimony of the conscience precedes it: the testimony of the senses precedes it also. . . . How, indeed, can we know the consent of others without notification of it received by our organs? To what extent, moreover, is the common consent necessary? Would it be necessary to collect the voices of the whole human race? How many human beings would it be necessary to reckon? How many opposing voices would suffice to destroy the legitimacy of the common consent?

“M. de Lamennais did not perceive that he mistook the effect for the cause, and the cause for the effect. This is his error. He observed that certain truths received the universal consent, and he drew therefrom the consequence that the opinion of each one is guaranteed by the consent of all. The individual judgment, he said, derives its certainty from the general consent. With more reflection, he would have seen that this very consent, given by all, is only the result of the consent which each one in particular feels himself compelled to give. In this general consent of the human

race, each vote is determined by a natural impulse; all feeling the same impulse, have voted in the same way. Each one, says M. de Lamennais, has voted in this way, because all have done so; and he forgot that such a vote could have no beginning or end.

"M. de Lamennais attempts to give common consent as the basis of the exact sciences. On this point his opinion is equally fallacious. Some notes in his book intended to shew the intrinsic uncertainty of the mathematics are extremely weak. The use of such an argument by this eloquent writer gives us reason to think that he had but imperfectly studied the mathematics."—*Filosofia Fundamental*, lib. i. cap. 33.

Aspirations of the Human Soul.—

"An attentive observation of the internal phenomena teaches us that the aspirations of our souls go infinitely beyond the domain which the soul actually possesses. The objects which now fall under its immediate vision do not satisfy it; it goes forth in quest of objects of a superior order; and with regard to those which immediately present themselves to it, it is not satisfied with this outside appearance, but seeks to know them as they are in themselves. Fixed on a point in the immense scale of beings, our mind does not limit itself to the phenomena which surround it, or the atmosphere in which it dwells. It aspires to know the beings who precede and those who follow it; it attempts to comprehend the whole, and discover the law which regulates the ineffable harmony of the creation. The purest enjoyments of this spirit exist beyond the fixed boundaries of its powers. Its activity surpasses its strength, and its desires are superior to its being.

"This phenomenon which we observe in the intelligence is found also in the feeling and the will. By the side of affections conformable to his limited nature, man feels loftier sentiments. He is removed, as it were, from his orbit, and feels his individuality absorbed by the ocean of infinitude. Let man place himself in intimate contact with nature, considered in its peculiar essence, and he will experience an undefinable sentiment—a kind of presentiment of infinitude.

"If you sit down on the lonely sea-shore, listen to the heavy roaring of the waves, look up to the heavens amid the silence of the night, and behold the stars fulfilling their courses with a tranquillity which ages have not disturbed, you will feel profound emotions within your soul. You will be raised above yourself; you will be lost in immensity. Your own individuality will seem to disappear. You will perceive the harmony which presides over this immense whole, of which your being is a part.

"This feeling, deep, solemn, strong, and tranquil, is an expansion of the soul, which opens at the contact with nature, like a flower at the morning sun. It is an attraction whereby the Author of the creation raises us above this heap of dust upon which we live for a few years. In this the intellect and the heart are in unison.

Every thing warns us that the exercise of our faculties will not be limited to this narrow sphere here below. Therefore, let us preserve our hearts from the breath of scepticism; let us shield from its icy breath this intellectual flame which is destined for immortal life.”—*Filosofia Fundamental*, lib. iv. cap. 18.

Elementary Course of Philosophy.—The elementary course of philosophy, the completion and summary of the preceding work, published by Balmez in Spanish and Latin, is divided into four parts. The first is a simple and abridged treatise on logic. The second part, called *Metaphysics*, comprehends *esthetics*, *ideology*, and *theodicée*. The third part contains *Ethics*.

Ethics—Theory of Public Authority.—

“Compelled to seek for the source of moral order beyond man and the rest of creatures, we find it only in God, that is, in the source of all being, all truth, and all good. . . . I am obliged to present each moral question of our time under that aspect which is most in accordance with the wants of our time. Theology and psychology are nearly confined to the schools, but the great questions with regard to society, public authority, &c., are discussed every where. It is important for us to have fixed ideas on these points. . . . The relations of men with each other cannot remain limited to domestic society. Without paternal authority there is no stable order among the individuals of the same family; without the political authority no order among the different families. God having made man to live in society, has necessarily willed all that is indispensable for the existence of society. It follows from this that public authority is of natural right, so also is obedience to it. Man feeds, clothes, and shelters himself from the weather; all this under pain of death. Families are necessarily formed, and out of these families societies; the latter are then subjected by necessity to public authority, without which they would be soon dispersed or destroyed. Of what use is it to invent theories to explain facts so natural?

“Yet we must add, that this authority, in its forms, presents as great a diversity as that of food and dress among men. A thousand circumstances—manners, climate, and social condition—contribute to this variety, which, however, proves nothing against the necessity of the fundamental fact. In each country man’s food, dress, and dwellings vary; but it does not follow that these different means of securing their existence are not every where indispensable. The philosopher who, looking at the multiplied forms of government, invents the hypothesis of a primitive contract, has, as it appears to me, equal reason to imagine that men assembled one fine day, and agreed how they should dress and build their houses. How, then, was public authority organised in such society? Like all great things, which are never subjected to the narrow regularity of the proceedings established by men. Paternal power, marriage, riches,

strength, sagacity, treaties, conquests, the need of protection,—such are the causes which have naturally established the supremacy of an individual, of a family, of a caste, and which, this power being founded, have fixed, extended, or limited its functions. . . . Consider how modern states have been formed, and you will understand what was the origin of the states of antiquity. Have the governments of Europe been settled according to a fixed principle and a constant rule? Conquests, successions, revolutions, elections, such are the manifold origins of public authority in modern nations. In their origin, as in their successive development, these governments exhibit a constant mixture of right, violence, and fraud. What changes have been made in our time! Here by diplomacy, there by assemblies; sometimes by bayonets, and sometimes by popular commotions! By these continual changes in societies, these revolutions, God realises in them the destinies which He has marked out for humanity.

“Contemplate society from an elevated point of view, and you will see the futility of these wretched theories, which pretend to explain and regulate the world with the aid of a few fables.”

In a note to a very interesting article on Spain, in the *Dublin Review* for June 1845, which was attributed to the Right Rev. Dr. Wiseman, we find the following notice of the *Pensamiento de la Nacion*:—“As we shall often be indebted for valuable information to this excellent journal, we may be allowed to say a few words respecting it. Its first number appeared February 7th, 1844, and it has continued to be published weekly till the present time. It consists of sixteen 4to pages, devoted to politics (uniformly treated on great Catholic principles), to religious and ecclesiastical intelligence, and to literary articles. Its tone is calm, moderate, and grave; its style pure and elegant; its sentiments noble and fervently religious. It seems to us the very model of an ecclesiastical journal. It is under the direction of Don Jaime Balmez, a young ecclesiastic, whose great abilities, extraordinary learning, sacred and profane, and devoted zeal for the cause of God and his Church, form the admiration of all lovers of order and truth in Spain. Of some of his other works we hope to speak more at length in a future article; but we must here mention another periodical conducted by him, previously to and with this, to which likewise we shall have occasion to refer. This is *La Sociedad*, in 8vo, of which the first number appeared at Barcelona, March 1st, 1843, and closed with the second volume, in September 1844.”

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

The Opinions of Sir R. Peel, Bart. M.P. Hall and Co.

THE political acts of the late Sir Robert Peel, coupled with the position he held in this country at the time of his death, are too remarkable to be passed over by a Catholic journal in complete silence. It is a difficult thing to make a sweeping statement with safety, but we can scarcely hesitate to say, that as a legislative reformer, Sir Robert holds a rank in history which is on the whole unsurpassed. We cannot, indeed, call to mind the course of any British statesman who has carried so many, so extensive, so beneficial, and so enduring reforms. We do not compare him with revolutionists, however disinterested; with constitution-makers, however successful; with the founders of dynasties, however liberal and beneficent. His works are to be placed side by side with those who have taken a government and constitution as it was, and from its existing elements have peaceably educed developments which have at once secured and purified it, and extended its advantages in the widest practicable degree. His office has been eminently that of a prudent statesman and legislator; and as such, and remembering that his personal achievements are not to be contrasted with those of men who, like Napoleon or Justinian, have legislated by deputy, it would be difficult to name his superior in ancient or modern times.

Exaggerated as such an assertion will seem, it will be difficult to disprove it, when the six great acts of Peel's legislative career are recapitulated, and when it is recollected that the greater part of these immense works were accomplished either without or against that mighty power of party which is the ordinary instrument by which vast political changes are brought about. These six acts are, the settlement of the Currency Question, the reform of the Criminal Code, the organisation of the Police of the Empire, the Emancipation of the Catholics, the re-arrangement and consolidation of the Imperial Tariff of Customs, and the repeal of the Corn Laws. Every one of these changes is vast in its operation, and in all probability will be as enduring as any human legislative work can hope to be; and though we are not competent to pronounce any opinion on the first of the series—the Currency Reform—we cannot but view any one of the remainder as sufficient to make the reputation of a minister, and collectively such as are unrivalled by the works of any statesman whom this kingdom has for a long time produced.

Sir Robert, then Mr., Peel was thirty-one years old when the management of the Currency Question was placed in his hands. In the year 1819, the monetary condition of this country had become almost inextricably involved, through the enormous issues of paper-money during the long European wars terminated at Waterloo. Some fundamental change was absolutely necessary, or national bankruptcy must inevitably have been the issue. A Government Committee of Secrecy deliberated on the question, Mr. Peel was appointed chairman, and the result was what was called "Peel's Currency Bill." We need not trouble our readers with the details of the measure; its great feature was the obligation it laid upon the nation to pay its debts in gold, a fixed weight of the precious metal being assigned as the exact amount of each "pound sterling." This act still remains untouched in its principles. In the history of Sir Robert Peel, it is doubly remarkable as the first of the instances in which he conscientiously acted against authorities still venerable and dear to his affections. His own father was amongst the chief opponents of the bill. A writer in the *Morning Chronicle* thus describes what took place :

"On the 5th of April, Mr. Peel introduced a bill founded on the resolution, and the same night, by means of a suspension of the standing orders, it passed the House of Commons. On the 6th of May the report of the committee was presented, when Mr. Peel gave notice that he would call the attention of the House to the subject on the 24th. It was upon this latter occasion, and before Mr. Peel rose to make his speech, that he came into political conflict with his father, whose veneration for the policy pursued by Mr. Pitt urged him to deprecate any encroachment upon the principles which had guided that statesman. Sir Robert Peel, in presenting a petition from the merchants of London, praying the House not to adopt the propositions about to be submitted by his son, addressed the House in evident emotion. 'To-night,' he said, 'I shall have to oppose a very near and dear relation. I well remember, when that near and dear relation alluded to was a child, I observed to some friends, that the man who discharged his duty to his country in the manner Mr. Pitt had done, was the man of all the world to be admired, and the most to be imitated; and I thought at that moment, if my life and that of my dear relation were spared, I would one day present him to his country, to follow in the same path. It is very natural that such should be my wish; and I will only say further of him, that though he is deviating from the right path in this instance, his head and heart are in the right place, and I think

they will soon recall him to the right way.' Mr. Peel could not fail to make a reference to these emphatic words of his father. 'Many other difficulties,' said he, towards the close of his address, 'present themselves to me in discussing this question. Among them is one which it pains me to observe, —I mean, the necessity I am under of opposing myself to an authority to which I have always bowed from my youth up, and to which I hope I shall always continue to bow with deference. My excuse now is, that I have a great public duty imposed on me, and that, whatever may be my private feelings, from that duty I must not shrink.' The bill then introduced by Mr. Peel (which was commonly known as "Peel's Bill") was at length carried into a law, but not without opposition, and many unfounded imputations as to the motives which actuated the proposal—imputations not afterwards withdrawn, but which were boldly met by him on several occasions."

In 1826, Mr. Peel commenced his labours on the reform of the Criminal Code. At that period, the laws of Great Britain were among the most barbarous and absurd in the civilised world. Bloody and passionate in their spirit, they defeated their own ends. Yet the old Tory school clung to them as a palladium of the English constitution; and until Peel undertook their amelioration, it was accounted revolutionary to think of a less punishment than death for stealing a sheep. Rapidly habituated as we have become to our present code, we can scarcely realise the frightful cruelties which, a generation ago, were believed to be essential to good government; and therefore cannot, without an effort, appreciate the courage and good sense with which Mr. Peel by degrees destroyed the laws which deluged the land with blood.

Another measure, of which the benefits are now so universally recognised that we can scarcely recollect the state of things which it swept away, was the introduction of the "New Police." If our forefathers were ready to hang a man for stealing a sheep, they were equally ready to entrust the guardianship of their houses and all their possessions to a class of decrepid and helpless watchmen and constables, who became a byword for all that was useless and ridiculous. Yet the "Peelers" were for a long time as odious in the eyes of loyal and honest men as in those of seditious mobs, and pickpockets and housebreakers. The police force was denounced as a secret standing army, by which the Home Office was to control the free people of England, and establish a continental despotism. Now we have changed our tone, and our only complaints are that the police are sometimes too slow in the discharge of their duties. Nevertheless, not a day or a night

passes when we are not thankful for the security we enjoy under the change.

The greatest of all Sir Robert Peel's works was the Emancipation Act. So marvellous has been the recent revolution in popular feeling, that Catholics now can scarcely recollect the vehemence of those struggles which preceded their recognition as honest British and Irish citizens. That Mr. Peel should have discerned the necessity for bursting through the ties of party and the habits of his youth, and have possessed the courage to face the foes thereby arrayed against him, we must ever consider amongst the greatest triumphs of mere natural moral courage. We do not pretend to claim for him any thing more than a sense of the political necessity of Catholic emancipation. A Liberal in religion, he was superior to the vulgar anti-Catholic horrors of his party, but he was as far as any of them from a recognition of the divine claims of the true Church of God. Still, his public act was as immense in its importance as if it had been accompanied with his private personal conversion; while the moral courage it required was even greater than would have been needed if he had been merely serving a faith which he believed to be true. Amidst the fiercest obstacles, he and the Duke of Wellington carried the measure; and, we are bound to add, with as little grudgingness and ill-feeling towards the cause they *unwillingly* served as could be hoped for from frail and prejudiced man.

The reconstruction of our system of taxation was perhaps that one of Sir Robert's acts in which he encountered the smallest amount of obloquy. The Tories were puzzled, and many of the Whigs were amazed; but though the scheme embraced the once-odious property-tax, with its worst feature of an unequal pressure, the nation hailed its author as the greatest of financiers, and the national Treasury has since survived even a course of many years of Whig misgovernment. The balance-sheet of the last quarter's revenue, after the long no-government of the present administration, is the best proof of the wisdom of Peel's finance.

The abolition of the Corn Law is too fresh in all our memories to need more than a word of allusion. Sir Robert Peel's merit lay in his seizing, as was his wont, the right moment when the change became necessary to prevent revolution, and possible without revolution, and in his courage in avowing and acting on his convictions. The abolition of "Protection" was the victory of common sense in matters of commerce. It was the simple enunciation of the truth, that British agriculture is a branch of manufacturing industry which stands on the same basis as all other productive arts,—that it *can* main-

tain itself, and that it *must* maintain itself. If agriculturists are *bonâ fide* men, and not children, protection is needless; and if needless, is mischievous, alike to the protected and to the rest of the world.

Such were the victories of Sir Robert Peel over ignorance, over party-spirit, over prejudice, and, most of all, over himself. He has now been suddenly called to his account before the Almighty Judge of men; and of all those who most bitterly accused him while alive, not one is found at once hardy and foolish enough to charge him with a want of patriotic singleness of purpose in the whole range of his public life. Unwise, of course, he *may* have been (though we think otherwise); but dishonest and politically selfish it is scarcely possible that he *could* have been. He has passed away, full of this world's gifts, honoured by a higher testimony in the House of Commons than was ever before granted to a subject, and mourned for in heart, we really believe, more than any English statesman in modern times; while the whole Western World joins in sympathetic sorrow for the death of one who, *confessedly*, has left no one near his throne.

That Peel would have continued the same remarkable career, had he lived, is scarcely probable. Events, at least hitherto, no longer present such opportunities as of old; and opportunities were Peel's mightiest instrument. His loss as a restraining and guiding power in the state is doubtless very great; but we question whether circumstances, health, and undecaying mental vigour could ever have combined again, as so often before, to enable him to take the lead among his countrymen, and place his mark, as it were, upon posterity.

Of his private character we can say little. It was ever respectable and correct: more than that can hardly be alleged. He was, we doubt not, a thorough Protestant from his youth, in the true sense of Protestantism. Personally an adherent of the Church of England, he was an adherent, and nothing more. That he had a devout attachment to any dogmatic creed as an undoubted revelation from Almighty God, we think cannot be made probable. Let us earnestly hope that his ignorance of the only knowledge which is really worth possessing was "invincible," and that one so courageous and truthful (though so reserved) before men has been found true and honest in heart before Him who judges his creatures as they really are.

SHORT NOTICES.

THOSE who feel an interest in the past history of a rather notorious character, the *soi-disant* "Doctor" Achilli, will do well to read an article in the *Dublin Review* for July. If the popularity of the self-exhibiting apostle of Italian Protestantism survives this exposure of his antecedents, we shall greatly be astonished. Spiritual lions are, however, *expensive* to feed, keep, and exhibit; and we have little doubt that the dupes of the ex-Dominican are already beginning to tire of their favourite, and are bidding him live by his own wits. The article before us will certainly help Achilli down hill with accelerated speed, and probably we shall soon hear no more of him.

So far as we have been able to examine it, the version of the *Paradisus Animæ*, now just published under its translated title of *The Paradise of the Christian Soul* (Burns and Lambert), seems admirably done. It is as literal as the necessities of the English language will allow; and to those who are not already acquainted with it in the original Latin, we strongly recommend it as a companion whose voice will never tire. The book consists of seven divisions: on the Blessed Trinity and Prayer, on the Veneration of the Saints, on Penance, on Christian Virtues in general, on the Mass and Communion, on the Passion of our Lord, and on Worship of our Lady and a Happy Death. These divisions include colloquies between our Blessed Lord and Man, most beautiful and touching, for the most part in the words of Holy Scripture; Prayers of all kinds; Hymns; Litanies; Devotions for Mass, Communion, Confession, &c.; Aspirations and Meditations. The nature of the book can, however, only be fully known from a careful examination, and its unusual merits from its devout use.

The series of Father Newman's lectures on *The Difficulties of Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church* continues, at short intervals, increasing in interest rather than diminishing.

Three other lectures, recently delivered at the London Oratory, *The Spirit and Genius of St. Philip Neri*, by Father Faber, have also appeared. They are so interesting and important, as to claim further notice than we can at present afford.

Unity and Stability considered in respect to the Anglican Church, by the Rev. R. Sumner, S.J. (Burns and Lambert), is an able sequel to Father Sumner's first sermon on the Gorham case. He brings clearly out one fearful result of what has lately occurred—the inevitable increase in disregard for baptism among Protestant parents. They *cannot* continue to be anxious about the due administration of that rite which is authoritatively declared to be a thing of little moment.

With all our contempt for the hollowness of Anglo-Catholic ceremonialism, we must give its upholders the praise of energy and

zeal amidst difficulties. Two musical serials on "Anglo-Catholic" principles have just commenced. *The Church Hymn-Book* (Rivingtons) is to be completed in eight parts, and is well got up, and sold at a low price. Most of the words are stolen from the Catholic Church, and some, if not many, of the tunes also. The theft, however, is as cleverly applied as it is unblushingly perpetrated. The publication may be of use to real Catholic choirs and congregations, as well as to the shams of the Establishment, and we have no hesitation in recommending it. *The Church Musician* (Edwards and Hughes) is a monthly periodical, conducted with ability, including editorial articles, music, reviews, and that hodge-podge of anti-Catholic and anti-Protestant gatherings, which are the flowers with which this singular school seek to make the dull road of the *Via Media* somewhat gay and lively. Its *repertorium* of cant phrases is evidently on the increase. We are here told that on one occasion "the Rev. H. Evans was *Epistoler*, and the Rev. C. Millar the *Gospeller*!"

Were it not for the awfulness of the subject, it would provoke a laugh to turn from the unconscious comedy of this revivalism to a little fly-sheet called *One Word on the Actual Constitution of the Anglican Establishment* (Burns and Lambert). It briefly and forcibly shews that, whatever may be the visible appearance the High-Church party may put on, the condition of its existence is that Bishops of these principles shall *consent* to commit what they are bound to consider as mortal sin.

The Rev. Father Scully has published a short essay, *England with reference to the Monastic Institute* (Burns and Lambert), in which he enthusiastically contrasts England as it is with England as it might be. May his pious and urgent entreaty to his Irish fellow-Catholics, that they would pray for the conversion of England, be responded to in every Catholic household in Ireland!

More than *one hundred and sixty* pamphlets have been already published on the Gorham case.

Ecclesiastical Register.

DECISION OF THE POPE ON THE SUBJECT OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN FRANCE.

WANT of space prevented our giving the following very important document in our last Number. Our readers are aware that the new French Education Bill was a subject of anxious debate among the French Catholics, and that the Episcopate were divided in opinion respecting it. Many of the Bishops accordingly requested instructions from the Pope for their guidance; and his Holiness in reply has issued the following letter to the whole French hierarchy, through the Nuncio in Paris.

Paris, 15th May, 1850.

My Lord,—The important project of law on education presented to the National Assembly could not but attract all the attention of the Most Holy Father, who has constantly followed, with the most lively attention, all the phases of that long and laborious discussion from its commencement up to the definitive adoption of the law. He has seen, with very lively satisfaction, the ameliorations and modifications which have been introduced into that law; highly valuing the efforts and the zeal displayed by all those who interest themselves in the good of the Church and of society. The Holy Father had, at the same time, the opportunity of remarking the diversity of opinions and views which on the one side heightened the advantages accruing, especially when contrasted with the *status quo*; and on the other, the existing defects and the dangers to be dreaded from certain arrangements of the new law.

It has also been evident to the Holy Father, that in the venerable episcopal body there existed some divergence of opinion; so much the more, as some prescriptions of the aforesaid law are widely removed from those of the Church, such as the surveillance of the little seminaries, and others which appear little suitable to the episcopal dignity, such as the participation of Bishops in the superior Council, in which, according to the law, two Protestant ministers and a Rabbi must sit at the same time. The establishment, at least provisionally, of mixed schools also inspired disquietude in the consciences of Catholic families.

In the midst of these perplexities, his Holiness, penetrated with the gravity of the circumstances in which his venerable brothers are placed, and desiring to calm these anxieties, has judged it opportune in his high wisdom to trace for them a direction. He further felt it a duty, to satisfy the demands which his Holiness had received on the part of venerable and illustrious prelates, who, by a feeling of deference to the supreme Chair of Truth, and of respect for the person of the Sovereign Pontiff, had addressed themselves to the Holy See, to have from its oracle a rule of conduct on the subject of the application of the law definitively adopted.

His Holiness, after a ripe examination of this important affair, with the advice even of a special congregation, composed of several members of the Sacred College, and after the most serious deliberation, has just communicated the instruction of which, by his orders, I hasten to give information to your Lordship.

Without intending, at this moment, to enter into an examination of the merit of the new law on education, his Holiness cannot forget, that if the Church is far from giving her approbation to that which opposes her principles and her rights, she knows on sufficiently numerous occasions, even in the interest of Christian society, how to bear such sacrifice as is consistent with her existence and her duties, not to compromise further the interests of religion, and give it a still more difficult position.

You are not ignorant, my Lord, that France, from the commencement of this century, has given the world the example of sufficiently heavy sacrifices, with the object and in the hope of preserving and restoring the Catholic religion.

The circumstances in which society is at this moment placed are of a nature so grave, that they require us with all our strength to seek to save it. To attain to this salutary object, the most sure and most efficacious means is, first, the union of action in the clergy, as St. John Chrysostom proclaimed it (*In Joann. Hom. 82*) on the subject of the first ages of the Church: "*Si dissensio fuisset in discipulis illis, omnia*

peritura erant." On this ground, the Holy Father ceases not to conjure all good men, not only to make proof of patience, but also to remain united, to the end that the venerable Bishops, with their clergy, may "be one;" that, bound by the sweet ties of evangelical charity, they may "think the same thing," and by the efforts of their zeal "seek the things that are Jesus Christ's." It is only in virtue of this union that we obtain the advantages which it is given to hope for from the new law, and to avoid, at least in a great measure, the obstacles of bad ameliorations. His Holiness loves to think that the good will and the active co-operation of the government will be directed to this same end. He hopes, also, that those of the illustrious episcopal body who, by the choice of their colleagues, shall sit in the superior council of public instruction, by their zeal and their authority, as well as by their learning and prudence, will know how, in all the circumstances, to defend with courage the law of God and of the Church; to maintain, with all the energy of their soul, the doctrines of our holy religion; and to support with all their strength a pure and holy education.

The advantages which, by their pains, they will procure to the Church and to society will compensate for their temporary absence from their dioceses. If, in spite of all these efforts, their advice on some point concerning Catholic faith or morals cannot succeed in prevailing, those eminent Bishops will have all facility in informing thereof, according to occasion, the faithful committed to their care; and they will make it a motive for discoursing to their flock on those very matters on which the necessity of instructing them may make itself felt.

The Holy Father, not being able to underrate the high importance of the first religious education of children,—those new plants in whom we may hope for a better future for society,—although he is glad to express his approbation of the zeal of the illustrious Bishops of France, nevertheless thinks it his duty, by the charge of his Apostolic Ministry, especially to recommend you, my Lord, in cases where in your diocese mixed schools may be found established, not to cease to take all the measures necessary for securing to Catholic children—who, happily, are almost every where the great majority—the advantages of a separate school. For the Holy Father, bitterly deploring the progress made in France, as in other countries, by the *religious indifferentism* which has produced frightful evils in the corruption of the faith of the people, earnestly desires that, on this important point, none of the pastors should cease, as occasion offers, to raise their voice, and sedulously to instruct the faithful entrusted to their zeal on the necessity of one only faith and of one only religion,—truth being one; to call often to the recollection of the faithful, and to explain to them, the fundamental dogma, that out of the Catholic Church there is no salvation.

Such, my Lord, are the considerations and instructions which, by order of our most Holy Father, I had to communicate to your Lordship.

I have no manner of doubt but that you will receive with gratitude this communication of the paternal solicitude of the venerated Chief of the Church; and I have the confidence that your zeal for the salvation of souls, and for the preservation and amelioration of society, will draw from thence new force and new encouragement for the propagation of good principles and sound doctrines.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, with profound respect, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

✠ R. Archbishop of Nicæa,
Nuncio Apostolic.

PRAYERS IN BELGIUM FOR THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND.

OUR readers will peruse with much interest the following extracts from a letter recently sent to Father Ignatius by a zealous English Catholic, who is employed in soliciting prayers for that great work which, *as soon as we all begin to pray for it*, will begin to be accomplished.

Liège, Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 1850.

VERY REV. AND DEAR FATHER IGNATIUS,—I do not know how to begin my letter to you this time, so full am I of many good things to tell you. I really sometimes can scarcely forbear dancing for joy at the glorious spirit which is now spreading to unite one and all to promote the extension of Christ's kingdom on earth. I think I told your Reverence in my last letter that I had taken the resolution of visiting every Sunday some parish of this diocese, to excite the curés to engage their parishioners to pray for the conversion of England, and that this resolution is approved of by the Grand Vicar, who has given me a letter to that effect. My first visit was to Retinne, the birthplace of St. Julienne, the institutrix of the Fête Dieu; I related to your Reverence in my last letter a pleasing incident which took place on the day of my visit thither. On the 16th I visited the parish of Chénée, where the curé entered into my project most ardently, and addressed the people in behalf of my mission in the warmest possible manner. Before going into the church I had briefly and enthusiastically exposed to him my feelings on the matter. I represented to him the vast importance of the work; how, in obtaining the conversion of England, we had the key to the whole world. It is a fact that the sun never sets, but always is shining on some one or another of her Majesty's dominions. If joy is occasioned in heaven over the conversion of *one* sinner, what joy, then, will be experienced on the conversion of such an empire! How happy and tranquil would the Holy Father sit in the chair of St. Peter, if once again protected therein by Catholic England! I had not come from England to ask of them money, badly as the Catholics there want it. I was come to him to beg his influence and patronage to aid in this great undertaking, himself by his prayers and masses, and to excite his parishioners to do the same. I told him, that as I was the only Catholic in my family, he could imagine how sad it was to my heart to hear now and then of some relation, some bosom friend, dying in their heresy. When the curé related this part to his parishioners, an audible sensation ran throughout the congregation. He afterwards himself distributed the little pictures, with the prayer indulged by the Bishop, again familiarly entreating them not to forget *every day* to say at least *one* "Hail Mary" for the conversion of England. The day following he sent for 150 images more (for which, as well as the others that were distributed, he paid), for 150 children who were to be confirmed the Saturday following. His Reverence promised me to engage these young Christians, especially on the day of their confirmation, to pray for the conversion of England. The curé introduced me to a community of *les Filles de la Croix*, which he has in his parish, the superior of which promised me that she would make a point of saying with her community a *dizaine* on the chaplet every day. I found there at the convent a congregation of young ladies of the parish under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who likewise promised to take up this devotion, and pray *daily* for the conversion of England. I assure your

Reverence that it would have done your heart good to have witnessed the ardour with which the curé and people of this parish took up the matter. May God reward them for it! My visit thither was so recent before the confirmation-day, that it formed the subject of much conversation with the Bishop and the clergy of the deanery, all admiring it, and all wanting a similar visit to their respective parishes; for it turns out that these visits not only procure the primary object of prayers for the conversion of England, but stir up also the people, and produce a good effect upon them. Of course I do not forget to relate the glorious "confusion worse confounded" that the Gorham case has brought down upon Protestantism in England, Dr. Wiseman's sermons thereon, your Reverence's long and continued exertions in the cause of religion, &c. &c.

Saturday last being the Feast of St. Alban, the Proto-Martyr of England, I occupied myself the day previous in calling on the several religious communities of this town. There was *but one* that did not respond most warmly to my appeal, the "Sisters of Notre Dame" and the "Daughters of the Cross" more particularly. The latter community has at least twelve hundred children under instruction. The Rev. Mother promised me that she would institute in each class the practice of saying one Pater and ten Aves every day for the conversion of England. And what more acceptable to Almighty God than the simple earnest prayer of children? On the same day I obtained the promise of the Grand Vicar, that he would say his Mass the following day for the same intention; a similar promise was given to me by the Dean of St. Nicholas. I forgot to say that the Daughters of the Cross have also under their charge about 500 old infirm persons, whom they will also engage in the same good cause.

On the eve of the Feast of St. Alban I had a visit from the Rev. Mr. Asperti of Hastings. Early on the following morning we went to a celebrated pilgrimage in this neighbourhood called Chevremont, when the Rev. Father said Mass for the conversion of England. The little chapel which is found there was built in 1688 by some English Jesuits, and it has written over the altar, "*S. Maria, ora pro Anglia. 1688.*"

On the 23d I walked to Beaufays (about three leagues from this place), at the earnest desire of the curé of Chênée. About half the way thither the road is very mountainous; and the heat was so excessive that I was nearly faint on my arrival. I found the curé a respectable, pious, and learned man, formerly a professor of one of the colleges. He had previously received a letter from the zealous curé of Chênée, announcing my intended visit, and recommending the cause I had espoused; but, poor man! he had a rich Protestant English lady in his parish, who was very charitable to the poor, and he did not like to call the attention of his parishioners to the subject without first acquainting this lady of the object of my visit. I begged that he would introduce me to her. Here was a legitimate case for me. I was introduced; and Providence admirably arranged our thoughts, so that the conversation very soon fell on the subject of the disunion of the Anglican Church. The lady very much regretted this disunion. I told her that, seeing this disunion myself four years ago, and finding no unity of faith out of the Catholic Church, I thought it was the duty of one who, like herself, wished for unity in such an important matter, to become a member of that Church wherein unity alone is found, and that it appeared to me the bounden duty of every individual who wished for such an unity,—who desired the universal reign of Christ's kingdom upon earth,—to become children of that Church where unity in faith alone exists; seeing that a

strict faith in *all* the doctrines of Christ, as taught by his Church, is absolutely necessary to salvation. To this end, I told her, I had especially come to Beaufays, to solicit the faithful of this parish, through their curé, to unite with others to pray daily for the accomplishment of this unity, and I hoped she would join in this intention. Whether it was the ardour with which I spoke, or what else it might have been I know not, but my observations seemed to produce an effect upon her which I scarcely expected on my first visit. The lady observed that she had read the works of Dr. Wiseman, and spoke in warm eulogy of his Lordship's talents, and was always pleased to see any new production of his advertised. This gives me an opportunity of sending to her the sermons lately preached at St. George's by Dr. Wiseman. On leaving, I presented her with a little picture of your holy founder interceding for England, with the indulgenced prayer on the reverse side. This lady very courteously received it, and expressed herself, however, as unworthy to receive it or to join in the devotion; but, nevertheless, she promised to do so. May Almighty God shew his mercy to her, and draw her by his divine grace into the true fold! While I was sitting with this lady, the footman entered to receive some instructions for which he had been summoned before my arrival. The instructions were as follows: "Go, John, up to the Mill, for I hear that a sad accident has happened there. Go at once, and see if the accident is a grave one. Whatever has happened, take care that you leave nothing undone to relieve the sufferer." And the man departed in all haste. "God bless you, sister of charity!" I said within myself; "may we soon have the happiness of seeing you in a position that will give additional lustre to such holy actions." The good curé, who was with me, was so pleased with our interview, that he no longer hesitated to take up the cause of inviting his flock to pray for the English people's conversion.

In the afternoon, the curé was kind enough to walk with me to pay a visit to a neighbouring curé about a league off; and on presentation as an English convert, I was asked if I were the same person who had paid a visit to Chênée the week previous. On answering in the affirmative, the curé received me in the most enthusiastic manner, begging that I would come and pay him also a similar visit on an early Sunday. He said that at the reunion of the curés at the confirmation at Chênée last Saturday the mission I had undertaken was warmly applauded, and that I might be assured of being well received every where. The curé who had come with me hearing all this, by that time became quite warm also, and told me that, although he had deferred the appeal to his parishioners until his Protestant parishioner had been made acquainted with the object of my visit, *now* I might rest assured that his appeal should lose nothing in enthusiasm by his having deferred it until the following Sunday.

I go next Sunday by a pressing invitation to Pepinster, near Spa, where there have been lately many defections from Catholicism to Protestantism or Infidelity. The Sunday following, I go also by pressing invitation to Prayon. * * *

Why cannot we have another judicious person in France, another in Holland, another in Germany, another in Spain, another in Portugal, &c. &c.? How can persons consecrate themselves better? It is quite a return to the practices of the early days of the Church. Is not man's soul to be saved now as then? The faith and the Church remain unaltered: why should we not go out in all the simplicity of the Apostles, or of St. Francis of Assisium and his *confrères*? If the world is not accustomed to such doings, what does that matter? Are we to forego

"loving our neighbour as ourselves" because it is not fashionable? God forbid! I am told by certain friends that all my acts are extravagant, *outré*; but to tell me where I am wrong in thus acting they completely fail; and as long as my actions are approved by such a holy man as Monsignor Nevers and by your Reverence, I have no disquiet, and go on with increasing ardour.

As I was going up the mountainous route to Beaufays last Sunday, the heat was excessive. We have just now here what the people call "*the great heat*." I could not help thinking on our poor co-labourers in China. This thought encouraged me; for I had less reason to relax than they, unless, indeed, their probability of martyrdom encourages them. P.

THE MIRACLE AT RIMINI.

No official account of this wonderful interposition of Divine power has yet been made public. The Bishop of Rimini has sent the following letter to an Italian journal which applied to him for official information:

Rimini, 24th June, 1850.

The public testimony of persons of every condition, not only of this village and diocese, but also of several cities of the Pontifical States, of Tuscany, of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, and other places, renders worthy of all belief the movement of the eyes of our holy picture of Mary, Mother of Mercy, a miracle which has not ceased for fifty days up to the present hour.

This extraordinary event is verified by a judicial inquiry pursued in my palace, and the documents and proofs of the fact will be published in due time. You must, for the moment, be contented with the universal testimony, and invite those who refuse to admit the miracle to come here and see it with their eyes, which has been done by many persons who have returned from thence completely convinced.

The following letter is from the *Cattolico* of Genoa:

Rimini, June 20th, 1850.

During the two days I have spent in this marvellous city, I have only been occupied with the prodigy which at this moment agitates all Italy. I have passed my time either in contemplating the blessed image, or in conversing with all classes of persons, with a view of collecting certain and circumstantial details. Yesterday I saw the Madonna, whose eyes are ordinarily turned towards heaven, bend them towards the pious multitude by whom she was surrounded. This took place during the celebration of a Mass, where five parishes communicated at once. They came processionally, notwithstanding the rain, a distance of eight or ten miles. We cannot precisely say that the look descended as far as the people; only it was very evident that the eyes did move downwards, and that, ceasing to direct themselves towards the vault of the church, they fixed themselves perpendicularly on the wall situated opposite the altar. I remarked, moreover, and many foreign priests observed also, that the physiognomy of the Madonna, habitually grave and mournful, had taken, during this Mass, an expression of joy, as if she had wished to signify that she accepted the homage of all this multitude.

During yesterday, the crowd having diminished, I was able to approach the altar so as to touch it, and then I was again a witness of the movement of the eyes. There is not the means, as many imagine,

of any mechanical contrivance, like a statue with springs; but, as far as I could see, the following was the way in which the thing passed. The pupils, which, in their ordinary state, are altogether open, raise themselves so high, that at some moments they seem to disappear, and the eye appears all white, except that the lower edge of the pupils remains slightly visible, after which they again resume their usual position. One might imagine that it is an effect of the lassitude of those who gaze fixedly; for it often happens, they say, that after a long and sustained attention, the object at which one gazes appears to the fatigued eye to move and change. But here what reassures us and forbids all doubt is, that at the very moment when my eyes saw the prodigy, all the persons who surrounded me saw it and witnessed it at the same moment—not before or after. I add, that there are persons who, after having seen the prodigy, have remained for half-an-hour contemplating the picture without observing any fresh movement, which proves that their first vision was not an effect of lassitude.

The picture is on a canvass, the length of which is about sixty centimetres, and the breadth forty. The expression of the physiognomy is sweet, although the painting cannot be one of great value; one need only contemplate it to be moved and softened.

In the evening I wished to examine the picture closely, and having obtained permission of the Reverend Fathers Missioners, I remained until the closing of the church. I was then able to go up to the altar, to observe at my ease, and to touch the picture, as well as the eyes, from which so many marvels are diffused. It is a simple canvass, painted by a certain G. Solari, of Rimini, who died in 1806. During nearly an hour which we spent in observing it, twelve other persons and myself, we no longer perceived any movement.

I visited his Lordship the Bishop, and I learned from him that several times, to render the fact certain, and not to leave any room for doubt, he had caused the position of the image to be changed, as well as the lights with which it was surrounded. Several times going without notice, and with experienced witnesses, to examine the picture, he always acquired a conviction that the prodigy was very real. He then proceeded to a legal and solemn visitation, assisted by two able painters, L. Pedrizzi and A. Agostini; Count Ruggero Baldini, a learned chemist; the Rev. Tomaso Cerveri, professor of natural philosophy; and Jerome Aquelli, doctor of medicine. In the presence of a multitude of persons, and under the very eyes of the Bishop, the triers directed themselves to the most minute investigations, at the close of which they declared that there was neither artifice nor secret contrivance, and that the fact could not be produced by the hands of man. These results are notorious. They have not yet been officially published, because the process is not entirely terminated, but it will be so immediately. This explains why the miracle has not been sufficiently clothed with the official character of authenticity. The Cardinal Archbishop of Bologna, the Apostolic Commissary, Mgr. Bedini, and with him five or six Bishops, have come to examine and witness the fact.

At Rimini, the persons most incredulous at first are now the most convinced. One of the most admirable effects of the prodigy is, that blasphemies and imprecations of every kind, which formerly were common, have entirely ceased, and that the people most abandoned to that disorder have made, as it were, a vow never to fall into it again.

In the evening of the 18th (as several priests and seculars have related to me), a few hours before my arrival, the Marquis Pepoli, of Bologna, not only saw the prodigy with his eyes, but also saw it in a

manner so evident and sensible that his emotion made him faint away. On coming to himself, he took his watch from his neck and suspended it on the picture, where I saw it yesterday.

Here are names and facts. Hell and its agents may parody, insult, and scoff. To their scoffs, to their anonymous injuries, to their incredulity, we oppose all Rimini, seven or eight Bishops, the names of individuals we have cited, defying them to meet us with any answer but scoffs and injuries.

It is true, that up to the present time the miraculous cures have not been so numerous as some reports have stated; that, with the exception of two or three, I do not know if there have been others verified in such a manner as to leave no doubt. The Bishop very prudently considers that he ought not as yet to publish those in regard to which depositions have been collected, because he desires to unite all the proofs by which one could infer with certainty that the diseases were incurable.

THE SYNOD OF THE IRISH BISHOPS.

THE following is the official summons issued by his Grace the Primate:

Paulus, Dei et Apostolicæ sedis gratia Archiepiscopus Armacanus, Primas totius Hiberniæ, Delegatus sedis Apostolicæ, etc.

Illis. et Revmis. Fratribus, Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Hiberniæ et aliis omnibus qui de jure Concilio Nationali interesse debent, salutem in Domino.

Cum consilium a cunctis Hiberniæ præsulibus proxime elapso anno initum de Synodo plenaria totius regni celebranda a Smo. D. n. Pio PP. IX. feliciter regnante fuerit approbatum; cumque nobis idem Supremus Ecclesiæ Pastor (ut ex ejus litteris brevibus die vi. Aprilis datis et huic decreto adnexis constat), potestatem concesseretur, qua ad normam sacrorum canonum eandem Synodum convocaremus, eidemque præsessemus, etiam tamquam Delegatus Apostolicus; nos vi potestatis benigniter sic concessæ Synodum Nationalem totius Hiberniæ in civitate Thurlesia, in ædibus Seminarii, qui locus omnibus hujus regni Archiepiscopis commodus et opportunus visus est, ad xviii. Kalendas Septembres, in festo Bmæ. Virginis in cælum Assumptæ, quæ incæptis nostris sit propitia, incipiendam, et diebus subsequentibus proseguendam, et Deo optimo maximo adjuvante, ad ejus gloriam et laudem, et hujus fidelis populi salutem, absolvendam perficiendamque indicimus et convocamus.

Conveniant itaque prout in brevibus Pontificiis jam citatis præscribitur, prædicto die et loco omnes Hiberniæ Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, et si qui alii inveniantur, qui ex jure hujusmodi conciliis interesse debeant et possint, ut collatis consiliis ea omnia statuantur, quibus fides apud nos firmetur et custodiatur, et pericula arceantur quibus in hac regione exponitur, Dei cultus augeatur, sacramentorum decus promoveatur, ecclesiasticarum personarum munera et onera definiantur, denique omnia præstentur quibus mores emendari, controversiæ componi, vineæque florentes nostræ curæ commissæ latius dare omnium virtutum odorem possint. Singuli porro præsules in suis diocæsibus tempus et locum in quibus Synodus est habenda omnibus significant, ut si qui alii jus habeant ut intersint, notitiam convocationis opportunam habeant, et jus suum tempestive asserant, ut Synodo admittantur. Cæterum toto temporis intervallo quod inter præsentem Synodi convocationem et ejus

celebrationem intercedet, præsules omnes enixe rogamus et hortamur, ut preces privatas ipsi effundant et publicas præscripto Sacrorum Canonum per suas diœceses indicant, ut Pater cœlestis dives in misericordia visitare vineam suam in benedictionibus suis, et consilia actusque nostros aspirando prævenire, et adjuvando prosequi dignetur.

Datum, Droghedæ in Festo Corporis Christi, die 30 Maji, 1850.

Venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis totius Hiberniæ
Pius PP. IX.

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Aplicam Benedictionem. Magno quidem cum paterni animi nostri solatio cognovimus vos in nostræ sollicitudinis partem vocatos consilium iniisse de plenario conventu Episcoporum totius nationis celebrando, ut gravioribus nonnullis Ecclesiasticis negotiis consulatur. Pro certo enim habemus maximas inde utilitates vestras ecclesias esse percepturas. Quod quidem consilium nos vehementer in Domino probantes Armacanum Antistitem totius Hiberniæ Primate virum probitate, doctrina, ac prudentia spectatissimum, attentis etiam peculiaribus adjunctis Delegatum Apostolicum renunciavimus, qui eo quoque nomine Synodum convocet, eique præsit cum facultatibus omnibus necessariis et opportunis. Erit proinde vestrum, Venerabiles Fratres, Armacano Antistiti, hoc munere aucto obsequi; ac volumus imprimis ut facta ab eodem Synodi convocatione, omnes adesse teneamini, nisi legitimum obstat impedimentum ad tramitem SS. Canonum. Licet vero eidem Delegato apostolico peculiare instructiones tradendas curaverimus, vos tamen generatim monitos volumus, ut non modo responsis pro gravioribus nonnullis negotiis datis, quo par est studio inhærentes, sed illam potissimum curam geratis in Synodo ut disciplina decretis et rescriptis ab Apostolica Sede, vel Congregatione Propagandæ fide præposita, pro nonnullis præsertim gravioribus istius regionis negotiis, alias editis consentanea ac uniformis per omnes provincias et diœceses collatis consiliis constituatur. Acta vero, et decreta Synodi ad Sedem Apostolicam transmitti volumus, ut examine de more instituto iudicium de illis feratur, ac si opportunum visum fuerit, suprema nostra auctoritate confirmentur ac roorentur. Cæterum, Ven. Fratres, firma spe tenemur fore ut susceptam hujus celebrandæ Synodi curam sic ad extremum studiose geratis, ut eam in maximam Catholicæ religionis prosperitatem cessisse vobiscum lætari possimus.

Datum Romæ, sub annulo Piscatoris, die vi. Aprilis, MDCCCL. Pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

De speciali mandato Ssmi.

A. PICCHIONI, Substitutus.

Concordat cum originali.

Paul, by the grace of God and favour of the Apostolic See, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, Delegate of the Apostolic See, &c. To our most illustrious and most Reverend Brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, and all others having a right to be present at the National Council, Health in the Lord.

Whereas the purpose entered into last year by all the Prelates of Ireland, of holding a Plenary Council of the entire kingdom, has been approved of by our Most Holy Lord, Pope Pius IX., now happily reigning; and whereas the same Supreme Pastor of the Church has conferred (as appears from his letter, given in form of brief, under date of April 6th, and appended to this decree) on us the power of convoking,

in conformity with the sacred canons, the said Synod, and presiding over the same, even in quality of Apostolic Delegate: we, by virtue of the power thus graciously conferred, hereby proclaim and convoke a National Council of all Ireland, to be commenced in the city of Thurles, and in the seminary thereof (which place has seemed fitting and convenient to all the Archbishops of this kingdom), on the xviii. of the kalends of September, the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (and may she be propitious to these our undertakings!), there to be continued on the days subsequent, and, through the aid of the most great and good God, be finished and concluded to his honour and glory, and the salvation of this faithful people.

Therefore, as it is ordained in the above-mentioned Pontifical briefs, let there assemble together, on the day and place aforesaid, all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, and whoever else there may be who of right may and ought to be present at such councils, so that, by their collective advice, all such regulations may be made as may confirm and maintain the faith amongst us; drive away the dangers to which it is exposed in this country; increase the worship of God; promote the glory of the Sacraments; define the offices and duties of ecclesiastical persons; supply, in fine, whatever is required for the emendation of manners and the settlement of controversies; and enable the flourishing vineyards committed to our care to diffuse the more widely the odour of all virtues. Further, let each of the Prelates, in their dioceses, signify to all the time and the place in which the Synod is to be held, so that whatever other persons have the right to be present may have opportune knowledge of the convocation, and may, in good time, assert their right to be admitted to the Synod. Meanwhile, in the whole interval of time that will intervene between the present convocation of the Synod and its assembling together, we earnestly pray and exhort all Prelates themselves to pour forth private prayers, and, according to the prescript of the sacred canons, proclaim public prayers throughout their dioceses, that our Heavenly Father, rich in mercy, may deign to visit his vineyard with his blessing, and by his inspirations prevent, and by his aid further, all our counsels and actions.

Given at Drogheda, on the Feast of Corpus Christi, on the 30th day of May, 1850.

To our Venerable Brothers, the Archbishops and Bishops of all Ireland.
Pius P.P. IX.

Venerable Brothers, Health and Apostolic Benediction. It was indeed to the great consolation of our paternal heart that we understood that you, being called unto a part of our solicitude, had conceived the design of holding a full assembly of the Bishops of the whole nation, to consult concerning certain weighty ecclesiastical matters. For we are well assured that your churches will derive from them very great advantages. And this design of yours we very strongly approving in the Lord, whereas the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, is a man most honoured for his probity, learning, and prudence, regard also being had to special circumstances (*attentis etiam peculiaribus adjunctis*), we have declared him Delegate Apostolic; and on that title he is also to convoke a Synod, and preside at the same with all the faculties necessary and opportune thereto. It will therefore be your part, Venerable Brothers, to be dutiful (*obsequi*) to the Archbishop of Armagh, invested with this office; and we will, in the first place, that when he shall have convoked the Synod, you all be bound to attend it, unless there be any legitimate impediment in the way conformably to the sacred canons.

But although we have taken care to deliver special instructions to the above-mentioned Delegate Apostolic, we will that you be generally admonished, not only to cleave with fitting zeal to answers that have been given on certain weighty matters, but also, above all, to use your diligence in the Synod, that, by your united deliberations, discipline may be settled conformably to decrees and rescripts on other occasions issued by the Apostolic See, or the Congregation charged with the Propagation of the Faith, especially on certain weighty matters pertaining to that country, and may be made uniform throughout all provinces and dioceses. But we will that the acts and decrees of the Synod be transmitted to the Apostolic See, that the customary examination being instituted, judgment may be given concerning them; and if it shall seem convenient, they be confirmed and strengthened by our supreme authority. Meanwhile, Venerable Brothers, we are impressed with a firm hope that the care with which you have undertaken to hold this Synod you will so zealously maintain unto the end, that we may be enabled with you to rejoice at its having led to the very great advantage of the Catholic religion.

Given at Rome, under the ring of the Fisherman, on the 6th day of April, MDCCCL. in the fourth year of our Pontificate.—By special order of his Holiness,

A. PICCHIONI, Substitute.

Conformable to the original.

PROHIBITED BOOKS.—DECREE OF THE HOLY CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX.

Saturday, 23d March, 1850.

THE Holy Congregation, &c. condemns the following works:

Pictures of the Italians, by I. H. Willmann, M.C. *Decr. 23 Martii*, 1850.

Comfort for Italy; or, Preparations for Insurrection. *Decr. eod.*

Philosophical Letters of the Marchesa Marianne Florence Wadlington. *Decr. eod.*

Le Christianisme Expérimental, by Athanase Coquerel, one of the Pastors of the Reformed Church of Paris. *Decr. eod.*

The Excommunication of the Italian People to the Pope and his Ministers, written by Carlo Arduini. *Decr. eod.*

On the Roman Constituent Assembly: a Discourse Preparatory to the Election, or a Programme of Wishes, by the Advocate Francesco Cavancini, President of the Court of *Première Instance* at Ferrara, addressed to the People's Club of Recanati, his native place. *Decr. S. Officii*, 21 Feb. 1850.

The Recovery of the Two Supremacies, a written Speech to the Roman Assembly. *Decr. S. Officii*, 21 Feb. 1850.

The Author of *Die Kirchlichen Zustände der Gegenwart*, i. e. "The Present State of the Church, by I. B. Hirscher" (prohibited by Decree of 25 Oct. 1849), has laudably submitted himself, and disapproved of the work.

The Author of *Das Kirchliche Synodal Institut*, i. e. "The Ecclesiastical Institution of the Synod, by D. F. Haiz" (prohibited by Decree of 25 Oct. 1849), has laudably submitted himself, and disapproved of the work.

The Author of "The Nature and Effects of the Temporal Dominion of the Popes, a Discourse by Domenico Morgana" (prohibited by Decree of 12 Jan. 1850), has laudably submitted himself, and disapproved of the work.

The Author of "The Concord of Reason with certain most important Catholic Verities, or the Propagation of Original Sin, and direct Proofs of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Virgin, Illustrations on the Freedom of the Human Will, on the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, &c., a Discourse, of the Canon Pietro Cavalieri." Bologna, 1849. Prohibited by Decree of the Holy Office, Dec. 19, 1849. The author has laudably submitted himself, and disapproved of the work.

FINANCES OF THE PAPAL STATES: TAX ON RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS.—Cardinal Patrizi, Vicar-General of Rome, has published a notification, dated the 2d, in which, after reciting that his Holiness had, on the 10th of May, 1849, consented to the mortgage of certain ecclesiastical property, to the amount of 1,700,000 scudi (8,500,000*l.*), in order to meet the extraordinary financial difficulties of the moment; but that the payment of so large a sum by the clergy in the space of six months having been found impracticable, his Holiness had afterwards accepted the offer of the clergy to pay the sum of 4,000,000 of scudi (20,000,000*l.*), by instalments in the course of fifteen years, on the condition of being freed from the obligation of extinguishing the Treasury Bonds. The Cardinal further states, that the untoward events that ensued not only rendered it impossible to put this plan into execution, but even subjected pious establishments to further extraordinary forced contributions, and that consequently the Holy Father has deemed it meet to reduce the contribution of the Clergy to 100,000 scudi (500,000*l.*) a-year, to be levied not only on the property of the regular clergy, but upon all religious and pious foundations, benefices, commandships, nunneries, hospitals, monts de piété, orphan asylums, &c. All such corporations, none excepted, are in consequence summoned to send in within twenty days an exact detailed account of all their liabilities and assets, in order to enable the Government fairly to distribute the charge each establishment will have to bear.

IMPRISONMENT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF TURIN.—The *Times* newspaper thus describes, in its own way, an event which has aroused the sympathies of every devout Catholic:—The Catholic world has found a fitting occasion for a great manifestation of its principles. It is very generally known that the Archbishop of Turin, Monsignor Fransonì, has been mulcted and imprisoned for his refusal to renounce the clerical privilege of immunity secured to the clergy of Piedmont by a convention stipulated between the courts of Rome and Turin; it having been arranged some years back by Gregory XVI. and Charles Albert that the clergy of Piedmont should not be cited before the civil tribunals. This regulation was lately abolished by the legislature of the country, without the consent and against the earnest remonstrances of the other contracting party,—the Holy See. The resistance of the Archbishop to a law so passed, and his consequent imprisonment, have aroused the religious sympathy of all religious Italy. A second Thomas à Becket, he strove for the rights and privileges of the Church against the encroachments attempted by the rulers of the State. It may be supposed that nowhere has more sympathy been felt, or more strongly

manifested, than at the head-quarters of Catholicism. While France attested her admiration of the Archbishop, and approbation of his conduct, by sending him the memorial which was destined for the heroic Archbishop who fell at the barricades of Paris, Naples is preparing an episcopal ring, Piedmont a pastoral staff, and Rome a chalice. If one may judge from the beginning of the Roman subscriptions, this gift will not be outdone in magnificence by any other donation.

THE TRAPPISTS IN TOULOUSE.—In the canton of Cadours, in the diocese of Toulouse, is a vast waste, which can only be reached by narrow by-ways and through woods. In it is situated an humble chapel, dedicated to Mary, built within a few years on the foundation of another ancient structure which the impiety of the revolution of 1793 had profaned and destroyed. This is, at certain festivals of the Blessed Virgin, a place of pilgrimage for the faithful of the neighbouring parts. Some priests of Toulouse have taken to heart to endow part of the country with a monastery of Trappists, and already their cares and efforts have been crowned with the happiest results. Previously assured of the excellent dispositions of the inhabitants of the vicinity, of a benevolent approbation and high protection, they have, for this purpose, applied to the reverend superior, the Abbé de N. D. de la Aiguebelle, in the department of the Drôme, who has accepted their proposition with favour, and consented to send a colony of his religious fraternity to Sainte Marie du Désert, as soon as the necessary arrangements for their reception can be made. This happy moment will not be long in arriving. Already a generous person of the parish of Garac, anxious to assist in so meritorious and useful a work, has just ceded to them, by an authentic document, a large extent of land which she possessed around the chapel. No more is now wanting for the important object than the construction of a modest dwelling, for which, during some days past, a subscription has been opened.

THE SYRIAN ARCHBISHOP IN FRANCE.—The Archbishop of Keri-atim, in Syria, Monseigneur Nakar, has been some few weeks in France: he came to solicit alms on behalf of his diocese. His Grace was formerly the schismatical Archbishop at Moussoul, in Lebanon, and was converted to the Catholic faith by a Lazarist missionary. His conversion to the true faith has subjected him to many persecutions on the part of his old co-religionists, but he has endured them all with exemplary patience. Yesterday his Grace arrived at Havre; and to-day (Sunday), at twelve o'clock, he is to celebrate Mass at Notre-Dame, with ornaments, and according to the Syrian rite. He is to visit the neighbouring towns—Saint-François, Ingonville, Graville, &c. Mgr. Nakar has made abundant collections in every place through which he has passed, and his visit to Havre will not be less profitable for the benefit of his Church.

Father Newman begs to acknowledge the receipt of 15*l.* from an anonymous correspondent; 10*l.* of which he has put to the Fund for the erection of the Oratorian Church at Birmingham.

The Rambler.

PART XXXIII.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
RELIGION AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY	185
CELEBRATED SANCTUARIES OF THE MADONNA	204
BRIEF NOTICES OF SOME WRITERS OF THE ENGLISH FRANCIS- CAN PROVINCE SINCE THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION	222
POETRY: THE SACRED HEART	237
REVIEWS: THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE: PROTESTANT PREACH- ING.—Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Summa Theologica.—Præ- lectiones Theologicæ quas in Collegio Romano Societatis Jesu habebat J. Perrone, e Societate Jesu, in eodem Col- legio Theologiæ Professor. Accurante J. P. Migne	238
THE PAPAL STATES: MILEY AND GAUME.—The History of the Papal States, from their Origin to the present Day. By the Rev. John Miley, D.D., Author of "Rome under Paganism and the Popes."—Les Trois Rome; Journal d'un Voyage en Italie. Par l'Abbé J. Gaume	251
SHORT NOTICES.—Monuments inedits sur l'Apostolat de Sainte Marie Madeleine en Provence et sur les autre Apôtres de cette Contrée, par l'Auteur de la dernière Vie de M. Olier, publie par M. l'Abbé Migne.—The Emblems of Saints by which they are distinguished in Works of Art, by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth.—Mr. Gib- son's Descriptive and Historical Notices of Northumbrian Churches and Castles.—Fourth Series of Cottage Con- versations, by Mary Monica.—Canon Schmid's Tales.—The Catholic School.—Catholic Lending Libraries;	264
ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.—Elevation of the Right Rev. Dr. Wiseman to the Cardinalate.—Plenary Indulgence in the form of Jubilee.—Government Aid granted to Catholic Schools.—Rome.—Canada: Circular of the Bishops.— Piedmont: Arrest and Imprisonment of Monsignor Fran- zoni.—The Miracle at Rimini	266

To Correspondents.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All communications must be *postpaid*. Communications respecting *Advertisements* must be addressed to the publishers, Messrs. BURNS and LAMBERT.

The Rambler,

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PART XXXIII.

RELIGION AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

No. I.

THE true religion is one capable of penetrating the whole of man,—his mind, his heart, his life. The whole soul becomes saturated with it. Therefore a truly religious man cannot be in contradiction with himself; all his faculties, the feelings of his heart, the philosophy of his intellect, the practical principles which direct his life, his business, and his pleasures, are all equally subject to the sway of religion.

A false religion, or even the true when hypocritically professed and not obeyed from the heart, never penetrates a man thoroughly. He may have deep religious feelings, and talk touchingly on the subject, while both speculatively in his philosophy and practically in his life he denies God; or he may be perfectly convinced in reason of the truth of religion, while his heart is far from it, and his life repugnant to it; or he may, like the Pagans of old, interlard every action of his life with religious observances, yet his religion may be one that is utterly opposed to all the best feelings of our nature and the dictates of religion and conscience; or he may entirely renounce all religion. There is a civil, domestic, and animal prudence which may enable a man to live very comfortably with himself, his family, and his neighbours, without much exertion of his reason, and without any care for religion. Thus it is a characteristic of false religions, that they cannot penetrate, fill, and satisfy the whole of a man's nature,—his heart, his reason, his will. Lactantius* attributes the weakness of Paganism to the separation of reason from religion. "The worship of the gods has not wisdom; not only because

* De Vera Sapientia, cap. iii.

it degrades the divine animal man below earthly and fragile things, but because it has no moral precepts to give, no model of life to propose, no inquiry after truth, but only a form of worship requiring no exercise of the mind, but only the use of the hands. And so it cannot be the true religion, because it does not instruct men in the precepts of justice and virtue, nor improve their lives. . . . Philosophy and religion are completely distinct; the professors of wisdom make no attempt to lead men to the gods, the priests do not think of teaching wisdom. . . . Therefore neither could their philosophy comprehend the truth, nor could their irrational religion give any rational account of itself; but when wisdom and religion are inseparably united, both must necessarily be true."

The Catholic religion alone will bear the trial of this test. She alone bears no rival; like her Founder, she is "jealous." She requires the heart, and the whole heart—she will not allow the affections to prefer any thing to herself; she requires the reason, and the whole reason; she offers the most convincing proofs of her authority, and shews the strictest conformity between her dogmas and the teaching of sound philosophy, and then she will never allow the mind to divide its allegiance, and go to buffets with itself, by clinging to any theory that is in any way incompatible with the truth of her doctrines. Moreover, she requires the life. She is not a religion which visits a man diplomatically on special occasions, for baptism, wedding, or funeral, and never interferes with him for the rest of his life; but she accompanies him all day, alone or in society, in his thoughts, in his pleasures, in his business. She proposes the life of her Divine Founder, and those of her saints, as the models for her children to live by. Then she has her laws respecting fasting, hearing Mass, observing festivals, her use of the sign of the cross, her badges, habits, and scapulars, her popular devotions, her pilgrimages, her confraternities and guilds, her educational establishments, her cautious provisions for liberty of worship, all of which are intended to mould and characterise the life of a Catholic. Indeed, she will have the union between life and religion to be so strict, that she would have us do nothing—not even eat and drink—except to the glory of God. She appropriates all the relations of life: she makes marriage a sacrament. Whatever is joyous and festive in the religions which she displaces, so far as it is innocent she turns to her own uses. She wishes to use in her services all that is beautiful or sublime in art or in nature. She acts on the maxim, that whatever God has made is good, and that God ought to be glorified in the use of it.

But there are always morose spirits in the world, who, as

they do not enjoy internal harmony within their own breasts, cannot endure this external harmony of religion and life ; they are offended with the splendid and almost jocund appearance which religion presents to them. Oppressed with gloomy thoughts and Manichæan scruples concerning the inherent evil of every thing material, they cannot see how religion can endure such pageantry, gaiety, and triumph—religion, which appears to them nothing but a dismal struggle with the powers of evil, or a proud indifference of spirit to matter. Not that such men would do away with eating and drinking, with festivals and dances, with pageantry and pomp : not they ! Only they would have these things divorced from religion—let life be one thing and religion another ; let material splendour be appropriated to material powers,—to the prince and the rich, to club-houses and theatres, to exchanges and banking-houses,—but let religion appear outwardly that which it is to them inwardly, a gloomy terrible subject, to be rigidly separated from all other subjects, never to be thought of but with serious face and knit brows, never to be spoken of but with hollow voice and measured words, never to be exhibited but with the greatest possible nakedness of ceremonial, in temples as monstrous and depressing to the senses as can be devised. Such are the feelings of the first fanatics of all heresies ; of men like Montanus, Tertullian, Manes, Novatian, Luther, Calvin, Knox, Latimer ; men whose great study it was to destroy that which scandalised them so much, the connexion between religion and every-day life. And too well have they succeeded ; they separated religion from life, fondly supposing that they thereby made it more *spiritual*, more rational, less a matter of the hands and more a matter of the heart and tongue,—that in destroying the “mummery” they left vital religion untouched. But what is the real result ? Religion, when it has been violently separated from life, is soon found to be also irrecoverably divorced from common sense, science, and reason. Look at the Evangelicals, the Anglicans, and the Rationalists, who make up the bulk of the religionists around us ; is not religion divorced from reason in each of them ? The Evangelical’s principle is enthusiasm, as Brownson says, and its fruit fanaticism, alike repugnant to faith and reason. The Anglican is essentially a formalist ; he is a man of half ideas, half principles ; he never dare carry out an argument to its logical conclusion ; he says “two and two,” but dare not finish the formula by adding the words “make four ;” and in this pruning of reason consists his *via media*. The logical result of Rationalism is avowedly either no religion, or else a mere transcendentalism, the deification of the

feelings and sentiments of the individual, on the ground that the reason has no insight into the realm of religion ; thus it overrides reason, and breaks its neck. In speaking to these people you will soon find that you are not to suppose religion to be any certain practical principle—they will not be dictated to—religion is a matter between the individual and his God ; it is too delicate a plant to be exposed to the air ; to bring it forward in public, as applicable to business or politics, is to make yourself and it ridiculous. Object to any theory on religious grounds in a scientific assembly, and you will excite great laughter. To say that the practice of the respectable classes is contrary to the law of God, is an absurdity and an insult. So little is it to be supposed that religion ought to penetrate all the faculties of man, that the formalist openly derides both the fanatic and the Catholic, for applying terms of human endearment and affection to the object of their worship. Again, it is thought a dreadful crime to dedicate an action, a writing, or a place to the Blessed Virgin or to a Saint, to think of them or speak to them in words of love and reverence ; yet monuments are erected to the memory of our deceased friends, books are dedicated to them, they are addressed in terms of affection, and this is only natural and good. Thus is religion divorced from the heart. And to shew how it is divorced from the reason, we need only observe that a man may be an edifying member, in full communion with the Church of England, or any other Protestant sect he pleases, and at the same time hold theories in geology, astronomy, phrenology, and the like subjects, utterly irreconcilable with all that he understands of the Mosaic account of the creation, but also with the belief in God as Creator of heaven and earth—irreconcilable even with the belief in the existence of souls and spirits. Thus your good orthodox Protestant finds no difficulty in praising Humboldt's *Cosmos* as the great production of the age, though he never loses an opportunity of giving a sly blow to the authority of Moses and the religions founded on him, and of inculcating a philosophy which every one must own to be essentially antichristian.*

This *comprehensiveness* of mind which is indifferent to contradictions is natural in a religion which binds a man to nothing and nobody, and gives him a choice of contrary doctrines, allowing him to teach which he pleases ; but the Catholic religion utterly eschews and abhors it. She will never allow her children to countenance theories which are manifestly irreconcilable with the inspired documents and doctrines of

* Proof of this will be given in a succeeding article.

Christianity. As for scientific doubts, she neither fears nor checks their fair examination, sure that the results of *true* science will never contradict what she teaches as the word of God. In such cases it is not enough for a man to run away from doubts, to leave them where they are, and simply to blind himself to them, as the ostrich is said to hide its head in the sand, thinking itself safe from its pursuers when it can no longer see them. In the warfare of the flesh, as St. Philip Neri tells us, cowards come off victorious; those who will not look at nor argue with the temptation come off best. But in the warfare of the reason the case is different. When a difficulty or doubt comes into the mind, it must be met fairly and openly, combated and turned out by force of reason. The temptation of the flesh ceases of itself in a few minutes; turn your mind for a little while to an indifferent occupation, and it will be gone. Not so a doubt; it must be met and fought with, otherwise it will occupy a position in your mind, and take root, and gradually overgrow the whole garden of your soul. Such is the fundamental difference between the proper treatment of a doubt and of a temptation against purity; and the reason of this distinction is, that the temptation against purity occurs in an irrational and merely instinctive part of our nature; a part that is neither rational itself, nor can understand reason. It is but a slave, and for the reason to treat it as a friend or companion is to destroy the equilibrium of our being. Therefore no parley can be allowed, no explanations can be entered into, for "the slave knoweth not what his lord doth;"* "to make all things known" to any one is to treat him as a friend. But a doubt occurs in the rational part of the soul, and must be overcome rationally; to introduce blind force, inattention, forgetfulness, even moral feelings and charitable actions, as the guardian and arbiter of the reason, and the resolver of doubts, is an equally fatal destruction of our internal equilibrium. A rational doubt must be met on rational grounds. Not that every one is bound to meet every doubt with its specific solution; time, talents, and erudition are requisite for this; but authority is an equally rational ground with scientific argument, for the human mind is so constituted as to yield a rational assent, and give a rational credit, to the witness of others. To the Catholic, then, the infallible authority of the Church is a rational solution for every possible doubt in all subjects connected with faith and morals, in all cases in which she has thought fit to speak. But those who have *not* sub-

* John xv. 15.

mitted to this authority are bound, as reasonable beings, to find another rational solution for their doubts. This shews the folly of the advice which some of the lights of the Anglican body are said to give to those who consult them concerning doubts and difficulties of a Romeward tendency. They are said to recommend them not to allow themselves to think on the subject, but to turn all their energies to their known duties, to their schools, the poor, the sick, their families. Yet in spite of all their cowardice, the doubt will meet them at every turning, interwoven and interlaced with every religious thought, so that either the doubt will grow into conviction, or they must consciously play false with themselves, and shut their eyes to religion, and thus become gradually indifferent and infidel. Indeed, this acquiescence in doubts is substantially scepticism; not the Gospel of Christ, which commands us to prove all things, and to be able to give a reason of our hope, but the gospel according to Hume, which affirms the necessity of doubt, and the absolute inherent uncertainty of all ideas, and supposes that the goodness or truth of our actions is quite independent of the truth of the speculative principles by which they are directed. And its logical end is Pyrrhonism, which professes to release men from the yoke of opinions, and so to deliver them from all duties, placing their happiness in the liberty of the soul to follow its simple instincts.

It is not precisely doubts of a Romeward tendency that we wish to discuss in this and some following articles, but doubts which unhappily are far more widely spread, and have taken deeper root,—doubts whose tendency is not upwards, but downwards; not towards Catholicism, but towards irreligion and infidelity. And although the separation between religion and philosophy may prevent persons from seeing all the consequences of their theories, yet it ought to be plain enough that a man cannot be at once a good Bible Christian and a follower of the modern philosophy of Humboldt, Combe, or Emerson. Yet with what avidity are the works of these men bought up and read! How prevalent must be the secret sympathy with philosophers of this kind! And this secret sympathy will soon become avowed partisanship, if we are afraid to look difficulties in the face, and to treat them rationally. Let us, then, state fairly and openly the conclusions to which many professors of various forms of Christianity seem to be fast arriving.

An infidel duly imbued with modern science would probably hold some such language as this to a Catholic:—"Christianity is false if the Bible is false; and the Bible is false if any integral portion of it, such as the Mosaic account of the

creation, is proved to be untrue. Now any common reader of Genesis may see that Moses was imbued with all the vulgar errors of his age: we find heaven and earth opposed to each other as an upper and lower portion of space; a solid firmament spread out like a skin or curtain, with waters above it answering to the ocean or waters below it; the sun, moon, and stars, set like gems in this firmament, which must have been supposed to revolve round the earth. Such are the ideas of Moses; and if you say that this *need* not be his meaning, I must remind you that your Church forbids you to put any new meaning on Scripture; you must receive it in that sense in which she holds and has held it, nor may you interpret it otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.* Now has not the Church condemned the theory of Copernicus, calling it 'that false Pythagorean doctrine, altogether adverse to the Holy Scriptures?'† And do not the Fathers especially favour the idea of solid spheres, cycles and epicycles in the heavens?‡ Does not the tradition of the Church, on the whole, tend to the exaltation of this earth and its inhabitants to be the moral and physical centre of the universe? Every thing is made with reference to it; the sun, moon, and stars wheel round it as ministers; then the earth is filled with organic creatures, simply and solely for the use and enjoyment of man; and at length Christianity comes and tells us that the Creator of this system joined Himself personally with the nature of man, so that the one God, Creator and Governor of the world, is henceforth also man. Then Jerusalem, the scene of the life and labours of the God-man is naturally made the centre of the earth, as the earth is the centre of the universe, the pivot on which the whole material and moral system revolves. Thus Christianity is nothing but a further development of that human pride which could not imagine otherwise than that this earth was precisely the most important spot in the universe. Like Judaism, Buddhism, Mahometanism, it is but the deification of man, the exhibition of the ideal humanity, the necessary and structural action of the human mind.§ No wonder, then, that the Copernican theory was scouted as heresy; no wonder that Christians should look with such suspicion on the science of astronomy, which demonstrates that this earth, instead of being a centre, is only one of the smallest of a series of orbs that revolve round the sun; and that the sun itself is only one, perhaps by no means the

* Creed of Pope Pius IV.

† Congregatione dell' Indice, decree of March 5, 1616. (Cosmos, p. 692.)

‡ Cosmos, p. 697.

§ Cosmos, p. 365. Emerson, Representative Men, Lecture i. p. 2.

largest, of a countless host of other suns, all probably, like it, the centres of systems of planets, all of which in their turn may be, and probably are, the seats of organic animal and perhaps even rational life. All this, while it may certainly be used as an argument in favour of natural religion, is surely repugnant to the central idea of Christianity, the Incarnation and Humanity of God. Then, again, look at the plain words of Moses, repeated in every catechism, that the creation was the work of six days, and that it was only commenced about six thousand years ago, whereas both astronomy and geology shew us agencies at work which appear to have been in operation for millions of years. Thus, though you tell me that your God is infinite and almighty, yet you limit his operation to such narrow bounds of space and time, that when I begin to study astronomy, or the wonders of organised nature, I cannot help feeling that I am in the presence of something more vast than your Infinite God, something more powerful than your Almighty. If the Mosaic records contain an adequate description of the operations of God, then the God of Israel is a much more limited being than the One who could have created and ordered the unfathomable abyss of motion and life which modern science reveals to the bewildered imagination. If, on the other hand, the description there given is not adequate, is not true, then the religion which presupposes the truth of those records must fall with them; or if it survives, it must live in darkness and mystery, 'in the superstitions of the people, and the prejudices of the ignorant.'*

We sincerely hope that none of our readers will be scandalised by our putting forward these objections so openly; we can truly protest, in the words of Tertullian, "We have heard, God is our witness, sayings of this sort, lest any one should think us so abandoned as to moot of our own accord, in the wantonness of our pen, questions which may excite a doubt in others."† Such doubts are prevalent, and are eating their way into many a mind; and we state them thus openly because we feel perfectly convinced that if they are well sifted and discussed, the result will be not merely a negative apology for our religion, not a mere evasion of absolute defeat by a diversion to other subjects, but a brilliant confirmation of its truth, a positive argument for its infallible certainty.

In successive articles we shall inquire: First, How far Christians are interested in the Mosaic account of the creation; whether the Church can have given any authoritative explanation of it. And secondly, we shall inquire whether in fact

* *Cosmos*, p. 2.

† *De Bapt.* § 12.

the progress of modern science invalidates or confirms the accuracy of the Mosaic account when properly understood. In this part of our subject we shall almost exclusively make use of Humboldt's *Cosmos*, as a work, on the one hand, of acknowledged scientific authority, and, on the other, as above (or rather below) all suspicion of any bias towards religion.

Our first question is, How far are Christians interested in the Mosaic account of the creation; whether any thing there propounded was intended to exercise an influence over science; and whether in consequence of it we are required to hold any particular views in natural philosophy.

With regard to the formation of the universe, every Christian is bound to believe and confess that God created out of nothing all things visible and invisible. But he is not bound to any particular theory concerning the mode or time of the formation, provided he does not explicitly or implicitly contradict any dogma of faith,—as the denial of the unity of origin of our race implicitly contradicts the doctrine of original sin, and the redemption of all men by Christ,—and provided he does not purposely accept theories which he sees to be opposed to what he considers the plain and certain meaning of Scripture, because it is obligatory on all Christians to admit the holy Scriptures; however, in all doubtful questions he may suspend his judgment on what this meaning may be, and whether his theory is really contradictory of the true meaning.

But it may be objected, that this implies that the Church does not impose on her children any particular interpretation of Scripture, but only the profession of certain dogmas, whereas the Catholic has to accept Scripture in a definite and fixed sense. “Item sacram Scripturam juxta eum sensum quem tenet et tenuit sancta mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione sacrarum Scripturarum, admitto: nec eam unquam nisi juxta unanimem consensum patrum accipiam et interpretabor.” Now, it will be said, is not the unanimous consent of the Fathers all ranged in support of theories of cosmogony which, however well grounded on Scripture, are utterly refuted by the most certain discoveries of modern science?

But what is the sense of the Church and the universal consent of the Fathers in the interpretation of Scripture? In answering this question we will follow the guidance of Möhler, who has devoted a section of his great work, the *Symbolik*,* to the discussion of the relation of the ecclesiastical

* Cap. v. § 42.

interpretation of Holy Writ to scientific exegesis. First as to the interpretation of the Church, "it extends only to doctrines of faith and morals,—*Ecclesia errare non potest in fidei et morum disciplina tradenda.*" As she has not deduced her dogmas from Scripture, but had her perfect life and form before a single book of the New Testament was written, she cannot seek her life therein; she gives us with one hand her faith, and with the other her Scriptures, telling us to expatiate as we like in this ample field, only taking care neither to introduce a formal contradiction between faith and Scripture, nor to pretend to find a new doctrine of faith therein; for the Church lives in and by her faith, and to attempt now to furnish her with a new principle of life is to deny her antecedent life. With this sole restriction, every thing else is allowed; the Church seldom imposes any particular interpretations of passages of Scripture. "Antiquities, in the largest sense of the word, fall not within the domain of her interpretation."* And secondly, as to the unanimous consent of the Fathers, "except in the explanation of a very few classical passages, we know not where we shall meet with a general uniformity of scriptural interpretation among the Fathers, further than that all deduce from the sacred writings the same doctrines of faith and morality, yet each in his own peculiar manner." Therefore the phrase "universal consent of the Fathers" simply means, "the faith of the Church as made known and handed down through them," the authority belonging not to them as individuals, but to tradition. Hence in certain subjects a Catholic is quite free in his interpretation of Scripture, so that he need feel no anxiety though he find his scientific theories opposed to the commonly received opinion and traditional interpretation, provided he has satisfied himself by a rigid scrutiny that they are not subversive of any principle either of faith or morals.

In insisting on this truth few writers indeed who are not Catholics guard themselves from exaggeration. Thus Dr. Whately says, "Some there are who sincerely believe that the Scriptures contain revelations of truths most distinct from religion. . . . If we appeal to the Scriptures on any point of physical science, it should be merely as an ancient book, not in reference to its sacred character, in short, not as Scripture."† Now although this is true in great measure, it is evidently wrong to insinuate that the Scriptures contain no revelations of truths distinct from religion. What, for instance,

* Mühlher, *ubi sup.*

† Lectures on Political Economy, pp. 29, 36.

is the prediction of an historical fact, given as a *sign* of the inspiration of a prophet? If it could be shewn that such sign had never been accomplished, would not the veracity of the prophet be compromised? Again, if it could be shewn that Pontius Pilate had never been governor of Judea, or that any one fact which the Evangelists mention in direct connexion with their history, such as the darkness and the earthquake at the crucifixion, was false, would not their inspiration fall to the ground? All these empirical facts are related or predicted as a sign of proof of revelation. This is the very challenge of Isaias to the priests of the false gods. "Let them come and tell us all things that are to come; tell us the former things what they were . . . shew the things that are to come hereafter, and we shall know that ye are gods."* This is, then, precisely what Moses does in the first chapter of Genesis. He tells us "the former things what they were," that we may know him to be sent by the true God. His cosmogony was intended to serve for an evidence of revelation in all respects like prophecy. We may suppose him to say to us, "*Amodo dico vobis priusquam fiat; ut quum factum fuerit, credatis quia ego sum.*" Before the existence of physical science I have given you a description of the genesis of the universe; go, then, form the sciences, inquire as deeply as you please, sift facts to the bottom, believe any thing that you can really prove, and then look into this book, and you shall find the great outlines of your science written here,—in dark mysterious characters, indeed, such as would not assist you in your search, but clearly enough to shew you, when you have found the truth, that I was in possession of it before you or your science were ever thought of; and that, seeing my præternatural knowledge of physical things, you may believe that the moral and religious truths I utter are also supernaturally revealed." Every one who has the slightest acquaintance with the subject must know that the intention of Moses was somewhat of that kind; that it was not simply to give a scientific treatise on the production of the world, nor to preserve old national traditions as historical curiosities. Both religious men and scoffers are fully agreed that his dicta on physical subjects were intended in some way to support and enforce his religious authority.

"It seems to me," says Humboldt, "that a like degree of empiricism attaches to the description of the universe and to civil history."† Prophecy of historical events, and anticipations of scientific discoveries, are equally appeals to the experience of future generations. Though (with a few excep-

* Isaias xli. 22, 23.

† *Cosmos*, p. 30.

tions, such as the stability of the Church, the day of judgment, and the creation) they form no portion of the dogmatic teaching of the Church, yet, as signs of the veracity of her inspired teachers, it is of the very utmost importance to her that they should prove to be correct; still, God has removed these predictions and anticipations from the sphere of her infallible interpretation, as he has removed the events of history and the inventions of science from the sphere of her action, and has reserved them for his own providence. It is only so far as they are necessarily connected with faith or morals that there is certainty in the meaning she attaches to them. In all other cases her explanations of them are not authoritative interpretations, but only general opinions. Up to the time of Origen, millennarian views were held by many writers. From the time of the Apostles to that of St. Gregory the Great, a large number of Christians were in expectation of the immediate advent of Christ in judgment. So also the Ptolemaic theory of the heavens was universally accepted by Christians (and Arabs also), and the idea of solid spheres, cycles and epicycles was especially favoured by the Fathers of the Church. The Church does not interpret authoritatively either unfulfilled prophecy or scientific anticipations. If she in some cases appears to have committed herself to exploded physical theories by the condemnation of the correct ones, as for instance that of Copernicus, it is only in the same way as she condemned the "sinful reading of works on physics by the monks"* of the middle ages; the reading of science was then abused to purposes of magic and astrology; so also we may well believe that, in 1616, when Copernicus's doctrine was condemned, it was called false, not in itself, but as being the occasion of falsehood in its supporters, and leading them into heresy and infidelity. Not all true knowledge is beneficial at all times. If it is right in Christianity to require us to sacrifice property, children, and life itself to save our souls, it would be a great folly to make an exception in favour of scientific pursuits. If legitimate enjoyments may be refused to persons when they become an occasion of sin to them, why not also certain branches of study? But with regard to such theories, *viewed only in themselves*, the Church has no supernatural guidance. With regard to the particular interpretation of prophecy, our Lord said to his Apostles, "It is not for you to know the times or moments which the Father has put in his own power."† It is clear, then, that, in the interpretation

* *Cosmos*, p. 396.

† Acts i. 7.

of such passages, we have no reason to regard the usual opinion in the Church, or the unanimous consent of the Fathers, as of more than human authority; therefore, except in cases of faith or morals, we need not be in any anxiety to make our interpretations agree with their traditions.

Such are the limits of the infallibility of the Church in its interpretation of Scripture. But now another and a much more difficult question occurs: What are the limits of the inspiration of Scripture itself? The subject is a most important one, and must be met, and that speedily, for infidels are fast undermining the authority of Scripture on the ground of its erroneous statements on scientific subjects; and unless the limits of the inspiration of the sacred book are accurately defined, a great load of unnecessary trouble and anxiety is thrown on the Catholic apologist. He is prevented from openly stating views which may be necessary to his argument, because he fears they are opposed to Scripture, while perhaps the *intention* of the inspiring Spirit was to give no information whatever on these subjects. In attempting to come to some decision on this point, we may find great assistance from the principles laid down by Catholic theologians. In the first place, they distinguish between inspiration and revelation; the object of the latter being only things which could not be known except supernaturally; the object of inspiration being *also* things which may be known otherwise, or found out by common means of inquiry. Hence it follows, that in revelation not only the things are revealed, but also sometimes the very words in which these things are expressed are dictated by God. But in simple inspiration, a person may be only writing what he knows, and expressing it in his own language, under the impulse, and with the assistance, of the Holy Spirit, who directs him in such a way as to render a mistake impossible in any of those things about which He intends to speak. Hence, as Origen observes,* we cannot put all the inspired writings upon a perfect equality. There is a great difference between the phrase of the prophet, "Thus saith the Lord," and the phrase of St. Paul, "This I say, and not the Lord." Again, there is a great and manifest difference between the history of the creation in Genesis i. and Job xxxviii., where God's object is to reveal to man the otherwise unsearchable way in which He made the universe; and such passages as Psalm ciii., where the object of the inspiring Spirit is not to reveal any new truth concerning the universe, but simply to teach man to recount before God the wonders of his creative

* Comm. in Johan. tom. i.

power and his providence as motives of gratitude and love, praise and thanksgiving. Passages of the former sort contain direct revelations, and must be true in every word, and every slightest detail. Passages of the latter kind contain only human ideas of the universe, in themselves limited, partial, and inaccurate, but put together in the best possible way for effecting the purpose of the inspiring Spirit, which is to excite man to the praise and worship of God. This is the very account which Scripture itself gives of the many inspired canticles which it contains. Praise never can go far enough. "Who shall see Him, and declare Him? and who shall magnify Him as He is from the beginning? There are many things hidden greater than these: for we have seen but a few of his works."* Men who speak even the language of inspired praise have the same partial view of the universe which others have: there are greater things hidden than those that are seen. The subject of inspired praise is only so much as man can see naturally; therefore inspired praise in general speaks only the rough and inaccurate language of sensation, not the precise and scientific language of intimate knowledge. It is the same when facts of which science takes cognisance are asserted incidentally as illustrations of a subject of faith or morals; as when Solomon, writing against sloth, tells the sluggard to imitate the ant, which lays up provision against the winter. The object of the inspiring Spirit is here evidently not to give us information concerning the ant, but to use the general notion concerning it as a motive for a certain line of moral conduct: the illustrative fact may be true or false without in the slightest degree affecting the real point of the argument. It is the same with regard to the history of the Bible. "All critics confess," says Liebermann, "that the historical books cannot be rejected simply because discrepancies may be found in some of the circumstances they relate;"† and again, "No one refuses credit to the facts related by Herodotus and Xenophon, although there are contradictions in their chronology."‡ And speaking even of the fulfilment of Daniel's prediction of the time of the coming of the Messiah, in which case the chronological question seems at first sight to be mixed up with the very essence of the prediction, the same theologian says, "Though there were some slight difficulties in the calculation of the chronology, it would not affect the force of our argument; for our proof does not depend on uncertain questions of chronology." Such doubtful points, says St. Jerome, are rather subjects for an idle

* *Ecclus.* xliii. 35, 36.† *Vol.* ii. p. 63.‡ *P.* 83.

than for a studious man. Whatever may be their theory, the practice of theologians is to follow the ordinary rules of science when they speak simply on scientific subjects. At the same time, it must not be supposed that in their *contents*, and their *intrinsic authority*, there is any difference between the different portions of the inspired writings.

In the next place, theologians seem to be agreed that Scripture is inspired only so far as the things and doctrines (*res et sententie*), not so far as the words, are concerned. The words, or the signs which stand for the ideas, are merely human; the ideas themselves are from God, or at least authenticated by Him. If the sacred writers use the word 'bowels' for 'compassion,' we cannot therefore say that God bears any testimony to the truth of that philosophical system which places compassion in that part of the body. If Josue says that the "sun stood still," we cannot therefore conclude that the Holy Ghost meant to support the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. The logical noun, "standing still of the sun," is, in the language of Josue, the proper expression for the idea he wished to indicate, namely, a supernatural lengthening of the day by the sun appearing longer than usual above the horizon.

Again, the inspiration of the Scriptures does not even require that the writer should understand the meaning of what he is impelled to utter. Caiphas was inspired, yet did not at all understand the drift of his prediction. If the sacred writer was the sole author of the Scripture, then if we knew his meaning, we should know the whole meaning of the Scripture; for its meaning would be only the meaning of the author. But if a person has compiled a book out of memoirs left by another of vastly superior attainments, it would by no means follow that the meaning which the compiler gave to different passages was the meaning of the original author. Scripture itself distinguishes between the gift of tongues and of prophecy and that of interpretation. There would be, then, nothing to stagger us, or shake our faith in the inspiration of Scripture, were we to find that God sometimes inspires a man to convey a message to the world which he does not understand, and even to shew by his words that he does not understand it. There is nothing absurd in the supposition that God even inspired David to write the hundred and third Psalm as a kind of comment upon the first chapter of Genesis, and to speak of the heaven being spread out as a skin, in order to shew that the true meaning of Moses was not understood in that age, because it might be necessary, in order to strengthen the argument for the direct revelation made to

Moses, to shew that even after he had spoken, the state of science was such as that it was impossible to understand his meaning.

The main conclusion of all this is, that the Church is by no means bound to the scientific theories that have been prevalent among her teachers in past ages. The men of science of those times had come to their own conclusions, and in all their pride of knowledge were as dogmatising and overbearing as their successors of the present day, and refused to listen to the Church till she had shewn that her documents and teaching were not inconsistent with their theories. What could she do? Natural science was out of her province; she had no supernatural guidance in respect to it; she was obliged to entrust her defence to such men of science as were devoted to her cause, or else take scientific theories on trust from the philosophers of the day, and adapt her language to the common opinions, which have thus become, to a partial and superficial observer, an integral part of her dogmatic teaching. But indeed, the time was not then, nor are we sure that it is even yet, ripe for the interpretation of the sealed book of scriptural science; and Christians who, with imperfect knowledge of nature, try to fix for ever the true meaning of these passages, fall into the same absurdity as those who fix the date of the last judgment or of the fall of the Papacy from the Apocalypse: both parties are equally sure of being refuted by the event.

In the next part of our subject we intend to make no such foolish attempt; we only wish to inquire whether the progress of modern science invalidates or confirms the accuracy of the Mosaic accounts when properly interpreted; and by the word 'properly' we do not mean that we are certain that our interpretation is the true one, which settles the question for ever, but simply that we intend to follow the rules of grammar and logic, without sophistically straining words to fit into a preconceived theory.

But there is a controversy as to *what* rules of exegesis are to be applied in the interpretation of the scientific parts of Scripture; it is disputed whether in these parts the language of sense is used, or the language of science. The language of sense describes phenomena as they appear at first sight to a common beholder placed on the earth; the language of science describes them as they would appear to a beholder placed in the centre. The language of science is only the language of sense corrected by calculations and more accurate observations; and the language of sense is a loose attempt, a first trial, after scientific accuracy. F. Schlegel seems to take it for granted that Moses describes the creation of the world in the language

of sense; he gives the following comment on the work of the first four days:—"The first four days of work . . . serve for giving to the earth that arrangement which it requires as the habitation of man. No sooner were light and darkness separated" (which he elsewhere attributes [p. 366] to the commencement of the present rotation of the earth, which before had always, as he thinks, the same disc turned to the sun), "when the murky volume of clouds opens and disparts also, the firmament of heaven vaults itself in its bright clearness over the earth, sea and land divide and gain a firm boundary, and from out the watered earth herbs and plants mount towards the light. Before it was yet day upon earth, before the beginning of light, in the old night, when the earth was still dark, sun and moon could not act upon it, were not present for it; but now the star of day and the lesser one of night appeared and acted; they warmed and vivified the excited earth, and the glancing heavenly bodies began their sidereal revolutions."* Thus he makes the first possible appearance of the firmament and of the sun and moon to a beholder on the earth equivalent to the creation of these objects; this, however unscientific, is perfectly correct according to our definition of the language of sense; the first manifestation of the sun through the clouds of vapour which had hitherto concealed it would have appeared to a beholder to be the moment of its coming into existence.

But it seems most unlikely that God would go out of the way to adapt the language of sense to that which is out of the sphere of the sensation of man. "We were not present," as St. Chrysostom says, "when God was engaged in the work of forming and creating all things; nor, had we been present, could we have known how they were being made, the power that disposed them being invisible."† When man praises God for his glorious works it is quite natural that he should use the language of sense; but when God describes to man "the former things what they were," as a sign of his infinite wisdom and knowledge, we seem naturally to expect scientific accuracy. Now the Genesis professes to relate *how* the heavens and the earth were set in order; the relation could not have come from a human eye-witness, for no man then existed; it must therefore have come from God, who sees not as we see, and therefore uses not the language of loose human sensation, but who sees all things from the centre, and therefore uses language the most scientifically precise.

* Critique on Rhode's *Beginning of our History*, appended to Bohn's edition of *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 365.

† Hom. ix. on Statues.

Yet the language, though accurate, must necessarily be figurative or symbolical; it refers to a state of things long past away, of which we can have no experience; either, then, new words must be coined to express these unknown things, and they would constitute a jargon as unintelligible as the tongues of the Irvingites, or else the words which we now employ for matters of daily experience must be used in a different but analogical sense; and then the problem is, to find out the true meaning of the figurative expression. For instance, *to speak* signifies to form articulate sounds with the mouth; what, then, is the meaning of the expression "*God said?*" How did He speak? what did He say? did He literally *speak* the words attributed to Him in any imaginable language? Or are we only to interpret this expression by the dogma that all things were made by the personal Word of God? Again, in the first verse of Genesis we read of the heaven and the earth; yet the production of that which is now called heaven and earth is recorded in subsequent verses. Therefore it is evident that the meaning of the words in the first verse is something analogous to, but still quite distinct from, their present meaning;—what, then, is this meaning?

Nor can it be said that this figurative use of words destroys scientific accuracy; "for it stands to reason that the use of figures in a composition is not enough to make it figurative as a whole,—we constantly use figures of speech whenever we speak; we talk of a cutting wind and threatening sky, yet in spite of these figures we mean what we say, as to the general run and drift of our sentences."* Even scientific men use this kind of language; Humboldt begins his *Cosmos* with apologising for his figurative expressions; what is it but a figure to talk of *nebulae*, oceans of *æther*, of laws of the three atmospheres of forces that surround each molecule of matter? Yet it never enters their mind to suspect that their language is vague and inaccurate.

Hence it follows, that in examining the meaning of the scientific parts of Scripture we must be very careful to weigh the true meaning of each word as used in that place, and to use the utmost logical accuracy in preserving the same sense of each term, till a reason is apparent for giving it a new meaning: that is, we must treat the first chapter of Genesis as a precise scientific account, not as a loose sensuous description.

We must say a word on the version of the Scriptures which we intend to use. We have undertaken to shew that the pro-

* Newman, Sermons on Subjects of the Day, p. 209.

gress of modern science has not invalidated the authority of the ancient documents of the Church; we have nothing to do with the documents of Jews and Protestants. The Church is committed to the Vulgate version, which the Council of Trent* declares to be authentic, and orders to be used in all controversies; we shall have occasion sometimes to refer also to the venerable Septuagint version, which the Church authorises in her congregations of the Greek rite. We have no intention here of entering into any discussion on the canon of Scripture. It will be sufficient to say, that the same motives which induce the Church to rely rather on the ancient versions than on the modern pretended Hebrew Verity for the enumeration of the books of the Old Testament, induce her to rely on the same authority for their interpretation; and in this she is amply borne out by the admissions of learned Protestants, such as Jeremy Taylor,† who says that “the Christians have had so much reason to suspect the Jews, that when Aquila had translated the Bible in their schools, and had been taught by them, they rejected the edition many of them, and some of them called it heresy to follow it. And Justin Martyr justified it to Tryphon that the Jews had defalked many sayings from the books of the old prophets;” and then he goes on to enumerate the common causes of error, such as negligence and ignorance of transcribers, malicious endeavours of heretics, inserting marginal notes in the text, and the similarity of words. Bishop Lowth also, in his preface to his translation of Isaias, owns that the Masoretic edition is merely the modern Jewish version, and that modern Protestant versions are only versions at second hand, translations from the Jews’ interpretation of the Old Testament. He owns that the notion of the “Hebrew Verity” is all moonshine, and that, on the contrary, we must often look to the old versions for the right reading, in opposition to the authority of the present Hebrew printed text, “thus giving a new evidence of the fidelity of the ancient versions, and setting them upon a footing of authority which they never could obtain before;”—that is, among Protestants, who had rather trust the Jews than the Church. Besides this, it will generally be found that where the Jewish version presents insurmountable difficulties, the Septuagint and Vulgate give an easy and harmonious meaning. This is very apparent in several passages of Job xxxviii., upon which we shall have occasion to make some remarks, in connexion with the first chapter of Genesis, when we enter into the second part of our subject, and inquire

* Sessio iv. Dec. de Editione et Usu sacr. Librorum.

† Liberty of Prophesying, sec. iii. § 4.

whether in fact the progress of modern science invalidates or confirms the accuracy of the Mosaic account of the creation properly interpreted.

In saying all this, however, we must by no means be understood as running into any excessive depreciation of the Hebrew text. The best Catholic theologians deny that the Council of Trent intended literally to *prefer* the Vulgate to the *genuine* Hebrew text. Salmeron and Vega, who were present at the Council as theologians, have declared that no such preference was in the mind of the Tridentine Fathers.* The Council has thrown no obstacle in the way of consulting the original text for additional light; and on this very principle the correction of the Vulgate by the Popes has been carried out. The comparative merits of the original Hebrew and the Vulgate is one question; the genuineness of the Hebrew text is another.

CELEBRATED SANCTUARIES OF THE MADONNA.

No. I.—STATES OF THE CHURCH.

SIR,—I do not know whether, in any record of the Pope's doings at Naples that has reached England, the solemn coronation of an image of the Madonna was thought worthy of being chronicled. The coronation took place on Quinquagesima Sunday in the cathedral (whither the image had been removed from its own church a few days previously), in the presence of the King and Queen and all the royal family, of many Cardinals and ambassadors, and an immense concourse of people. The ceremony was short and simple. Having first said Mass, and afterwards assisted at another said by one of his private chaplains, the Pope proceeded to bless the crown, and to place it upon the head of the image, repeating the appointed form of words, wherein he prays that as by our hands the Madonna is crowned on earth, so, through her help, we may hereafter be crowned with glory and honour in the heavens by Jesus Christ her son. The *coup d'œil* just at this moment was exceedingly fine. The sovereign Pontiff, accompanied by a few of the Cardinals and other prelates, stood beside the image on a raised platform above and behind the high altar, so as to be distinctly visible throughout the whole length

* See Bellarmine, lib. ii. *de Verbo Dei*; Pallavicino, *Storia del Concilio di Trento*, lib. vi. c. 17; and Perrone, *Prælect. Theol. de locis Theologicis*, vol. ii. c. 4.

of the church, whilst a brilliant foreground to the picture was provided by the gay dresses of those who were in attendance upon the court, and who stood in various groups upon the steps leading up to the sanctuary. A burst of music from the military band stationed within the cathedral, and a discharge of artillery from the different castles of the city, announced the act of the coronation to those who were not in a position to see it for themselves.

After all, however, there was nothing in the outward circumstances of this ceremony particularly worthy of description—nothing that would arrest the attention of those who were already familiar with the more splendid Papal functions in Rome. Its interest was of a wholly different kind. The Neapolitans crowded to witness it because it provided them with a lasting memorial of the residence of Pius the Ninth amongst them, such as Pius the Seventh had left more than thirty years before to the inhabitants of Savona, by crowning, shortly before his departure, the image in their famous sanctuary of our Lady of Mercy. Meanwhile the stranger who chanced to be present found ample food for meditation not only in the historical parallel thus naturally suggested to him, but still more in the attestation which was being thus solemnly given to the celebrity of one particular image over another. For the crown was not in the present instance, as in the case of Pius the Seventh, merely a personal offering from the Pope himself, and an act of his own private devotion: it was an offering from the Chapter of St. Peter's in Rome; or rather, it was awarded by that body in their capacity as trustees and executors of the will of a certain Roman noble, of the family of Sforza, who, about two centuries ago, left a considerable sum of money to be expended every year in offering a golden crown to some celebrated statue or picture of the Madonna—celebrated, that is, either by some supernatural circumstance supposed to be connected with its origin and history, or by the extraordinary number and magnitude of the blessings which have been received by those who, in its presence, have poured forth their prayers for help to that heavenly Mother whom it was designed to represent, or, at any rate, by a more than usual fervour of public devotion towards it, and concourse of worshippers at its feet.

Thus the stranger who witnessed the ceremony which I have described, and, abstracting his thoughts from all the accidental circumstances of the particular occasion, fixed them only upon the general principle which was being exemplified, found himself involved, before he was aware of it, in a consideration of the whole subject of what are commonly called

"miraculous images." The handling of this most delicate topic in all its bearings, theological and philosophical, must be left to more able hands, and to the pages of some professed theological treatise; but it has occurred to me that a short historical sketch of a few of the most remarkable of those pictures and statues, whose celebrity has been thus publicly attested by one of the first capitular bodies in the world, would not be out of place in the columns of your magazine, and would probably prove interesting to many of your readers. I would confine the selection, for the present at least, to the sanctuaries of Italy, and to those which I have myself visited; but I believe it will be found that this selection does in fact include the most famous, and those whose histories would be most acceptable to English readers, as well on their own account as for the weight of the evidence by which they are supported.

1. *Santa Maria Maggiore.*

We will begin, then, as in duty bound, with the Eternal City, where ancient writers enumerate no fewer than one hundred churches dedicated, under various titles, to the honour of the Queen of Heaven. Sixty or seventy of these yet remain; and of most of them, had we time to unfold their history, or even merely to explain their titles, the record would be found full of tales of interest. Some, indeed, are named merely after this or that particular mystery of her life, or attribute of her power—the Annunciation, for instance, or the Purification, or *Sta. Maria della Consolazione, delle Grazie, della Sanità, &c.* But of others, which owed their origin to public or private vows, to visions, to miraculous cures, and the like, their titles are by no means so simple and telling their own tale; on the contrary, each would require its own separate comment, thus: *Santa Maria della Pace, della Vittoria, degli Angeli, &c.* Others, again, have the titles of famous sanctuaries of the Madonna in other cities or countries, some memorial of which the Romans were anxious to have within their own city, such as *Sta. Maria di Loreto, Monserrato, della Quercia, &c.*

The basilica of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, however, stands forth in proud pre-eminence above them all to claim the earliest notice; not that it holds the first place in point of antiquity, for in this respect it must yield the palm to *Sta. Maria in Trastevere*, if to no other; but in historical interest, as connected with the devotion of the Church to our Holy Mother, and under that particular aspect in which we are now considering her sanctuaries, it must be confessed that it is

is *facile princeps*, at least in Rome. Indeed, its fame extends throughout the whole Church; for the feast of its dedication is everywhere commemorated on the 5th of August, and the miraculous circumstance attending its foundation is indicated to all by the very title of the feast, *Stæ. Mariæ ad Nives*.

About the middle of the fourth century, a wealthy Roman and his wife, being now of an advanced age, and having no children, determined to consecrate their wealth to the honour and glory of God, and specially they desired to dedicate it in some way to our Blessed Lady, but they found it difficult to decide on the best mode of carrying their purpose into execution. They were urgent, therefore, in their prayers to God, that He would be pleased to vouchsafe them some special token of his will, some direct guidance; and at length their prayers were answered. In the same night they both dreamed a dream, in which the Blessed Virgin bade them build a church to her honour upon that part of the Esquiline Hill which they should find on the morrow covered with snow. The morrow came, the 5th of August, just at that season when the heat of an Italian summer is reaching its culminating point. The good Roman, however, nothing doubting of the reality of the vision, hastened to communicate it to the Pope; and there, to his great surprise, he found that he had been anticipated in his intelligence, for that Pope Liberius had already received the same revelation in the very same way; just as in the case of St. Peter and Cornelius, a vision was vouchsafed to each that they might be assured of God's will in a matter in which they were required to co-operate. The Pope then, accompanied by several of his clergy, and by this John and his friends, at whose expense the church was to be built, proceeded forthwith to the Esquiline, where every thing appeared exactly as had been foretold to them. Not only was the ground covered with snow, spite of the heat of the weather, but this strange phenomenon was confined within certain limits; it covered a piece of ground of the form and size necessary for a church, and no more; just as in the signs vouchsafed to Gedeon, "there was dew on the fleece only, and it was dry on all the ground beside;" and again, "it was dry on the fleece only, and there was dew on all the ground."

Such is the ancient story of the foundation of this basilica; and although it does not enter into our plan to institute a minute examination into the evidence upon which the story rests, nevertheless it may not be amiss to shield ourselves from all rash criticism by the authority of Benedict XIV., who says distinctly, in his account of the festival in which it is yearly commemorated, that "it must be acknowledged that

nothing is wanting to enable us to affirm with moral certainty that the prodigy of the snow is true." The Romans have a very pretty mode of perpetuating its memory, which is worth recording: a shower of blossoms of the jasmine is made to fall from the roof of the basilica during the celebration of the First Vespers, and again during the High Mass, and allowed to remain upon the pavement until the feast is ended. By such means as these, pious traditions of this kind live among the Roman poor, and are "familiar to them as household words," instead of being buried in the lessons of the Breviary, or known only to curious antiquarians.

However, to return to our history, the foundations of the new basilica were immediately laid, and before the end of that pontificate the whole building was completed, so as to be known for many years as the Basilica Liberiana, after the name of its consecrator. In the early part of the following century was celebrated the General Council of Ephesus, and Sixtus III. took occasion of that memorable decision of the Church, whereby the Blessed Virgin was declared to be truly the Mother of God, to rebuild this basilica to her honour on a scale of much greater magnificence, whence it was afterwards called Basilica Sixti. At the same time he enriched it with numerous silver patens and chalices, lamps, thuribles, and other articles of church-furniture in the same costly material, with houses also and lands of considerable extent. The tribune of the new basilica was ornamented with very large and elaborate mosaics, representing various subjects, historical and symbolical, and all more or less commemorative of that mystery of the faith which had just been vindicated from the blasphemous attacks of heresy. These add greatly to the interest of the basilica, and even to its importance considered merely as a sanctuary of the Madonna; nevertheless, as our space is limited, we must refer our readers elsewhere for a description of them, *e.g.* the first volume of the Abbé Gerbet's *Esquisse de Rome Chrétienne*, where they are ably and carefully explained. For the same reason we hurry over the famous relic, the manger in which was laid the infant Jesus in the stable at Bethlehem, and which, being brought hither somewhere about the middle of the seventh century, once more changed the title of the church, and gave it that of *Sta. Maria ad Præseppe*. Neither does it belong to us to describe the later gifts of pontiffs and others, whereby the church was more and more embellished, until it attained its present magnificence; the first gold from Peru, wherewith the roof was enriched during the pontificate of Alexander V., the highly ornamented chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, which

was erected two centuries later by Pope Sixtus V., the additions of Benedict XIV. in the last century, &c. &c. That which more immediately concerns our present subject is the picture which stands, set in a frame of lapis lazuli and precious stones, in a niche over the principal altar of that most magnificent chapel, so well known as the Cappella Borghese. It is one of those portraits of the Madonna which tradition assigns to St. Luke; and it is said to have been brought from Jerusalem by the Empress St. Helen, and placed in this church by Pope Liberius himself. Anyhow, it is of very high antiquity, and has always been revered with singular devotion by the Roman people. It was this picture which St. Gregory the Great was bearing in solemn procession from St. Mary Major's to St. Peter's, deprecating God's wrath, and imploring the interference of his mercy to stay the plague by which the city was being depopulated, when choirs of angels were heard around it, singing—

“ Regina cœli, lætare,
Quia quem meruisti portare
Resurrexit sicut dixit,”

to which the holy Pontiff immediately subjoined, *Ora pro nobis Deum*; thus forming the whole of that triumphant antiphon, wherewith, amid her own exultation at the glad tidings of Easter, the Church still celebrates the joys of the Mother of her risen Lord, and prays her intercession. At the same time was revealed to the eyes of St. Gregory, over the Mausoleum of Hadrian (for the procession was just then about to cross the Tiber), the Archangel Michael sheathing his sword, and thereby declaring, what the fact afterwards confirmed, that the plague had ceased; that God had had pity on the affliction, and, as in the days of David, had “said to the angel that slew the people, It is enough; now hold thy hand.”

This picture was most carefully preserved and had in reverence by all succeeding Pontiffs and by the faithful generally, until at length, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Paul V. determined to build a chapel expressly for its reception. The ceremony of translating it from its old position in another part of the basilica to this new and most splendid chapel was celebrated with extraordinary pomp, and amid an immense concourse of the people, on the 27th of January, 1613; and in a brief, dated in the autumn of the following year, the Pope sufficiently indicates the motives by which he had been influenced, when he says, “*Imaginem hanc Christi fidelium religione semper claruisse, pluraque et insignia ex eâ miracula prodiisse antiqua monumenta testantur.*”

It would take me too long to enumerate instances: these

must be sought in books which treat expressly of the subject. And, after all, no individual examples that might be alleged could furnish so satisfactory a proof of the assertion as is to be found in the persevering devotion of the faithful, more especially of the sovereign Pontiffs themselves. I cannot vouch for the truth of a report which was common in Rome about two years and a half ago, and which, I remember, seemed at the time to rest upon good authority, that the present occupant of St. Peter's chair might have been seen more than once, in the silent hours of the night, walking barefooted, and attended by a few faithful companions, to pour forth his prayers for help amid his multiplying troubles in this favoured sanctuary. But whether this be true or not, at any rate the devotion of his immediate predecessor to this picture is sufficiently notorious. What was done in the days of the first Gregory was repeated in the days of the last; and twice within the space of four or five years the inhabitants of the Eternal City saw the very same picture carried along their streets which their forefathers had seen and revered more than twelve centuries before, and for the very same purpose—to implore the Mother of God to intercede with her divine Son, and remove from among them the plague of sickness. On the last occasion—the cessation of the cholera in 1837—the Pope made an offering of two golden crowns, richly ornamented with precious stones (one for the Mother, the other for the Son), to replace the crowns of silver which had been offered by various Pontiffs in former times, from Clement VIII. downwards, but which had all been lost during some of the numerous political disturbances to which the whole city has been so often subjected.

In concluding the account of this first and most famous sanctuary of the Madonna, deservedly called St. Mary Major (*"quia major dignitate non solum Romanis, sed et totius orbis Ecclesiis,"* as Canisius says), it is worth while, perhaps, to notice the remark of a recent Protestant traveller, that "the people of Italy are not much influenced by a taste for the arts in their religion; that they not unfrequently select the very ugliest Madonnas and the most hideous crucifixions"—(we are using *his* words, not our own)—"as the objects of their worship;" and that the *spiritual* history, so to speak, of any image "has far more to do with increasing the number of devout pilgrims and pious worshippers than the most exquisite handling of the pencil, or the most perfect finishing of the chisel." The latter part of this remark is undoubtedly true—and who, indeed, could wish it to be otherwise?—but as to the former part, whatever may be its general accuracy, at least in the

present instance it is quite inapplicable. This picture of the Madonna is quite as beautiful as it is famous. Those who have had the privilege of contemplating it at all closely bear uniform testimony to its extraordinarily pleasing and even entrancing character; and the same impression has been left upon my own mind also, after seeing an exact copy, executed with great care, and in a spirit of devotion rather than as a mere work of art.

2. *Santa Maria in Portico.*

Another very ancient picture of the Madonna in Rome, to which there has always been great devotion, sanctioned and encouraged by the examples of numerous Pontiffs, is that which is preserved in the church of Santa Maria in Portico di Campitelli. Its origin dates from a very early period in the sixth century; yet still within the last four hundred years it has seen nearly twenty of the successors of St. Peter lying prostrate before it, or accompanying it, barefooted and with uncovered heads, and every other token of humiliation, in solemn procession through the streets of Rome during the pressure or immediate anticipation of some great public calamity.

It is said that one day, the 17th of July, A.D. 524, as St. Galla—that noble Roman matron, whose widowhood was consoled by the letters of St. Fulgentius, and her holy death immortalised by the pen of St. Gregory the Great—as St. Galla was entertaining, according to her wont, twelve poor people at her table, and waiting upon them herself, she was hastily summoned by one of the servants into the adjoining room, where a dazzling globe of light, too brilliant to gaze upon, had suddenly made its appearance, and filled the attendants with anxiety and alarm. St. Galla, whose piety and Christian charity had been most exemplary even from her tenderest years, did not hesitate to recognise at once in this strange phenomenon some token or message sent from heaven; and deeming herself unworthy to receive it, she despatched a messenger to inform the Pope of what had happened, and to beg him to come and see, just as that other Roman noble did who formed the subject of our last history. The Pope, St. John I., lost no time in obeying the summons; and after he had contemplated for a few moments the supernatural brightness which filled the chamber wherein he was, he fell on his knees, and, like Daniel of old, “asked mercy at the face of the God of heaven concerning this secret.” Immediately the globe of light divided, and two angels came forth, bearing a picture of the Madonna, which they placed in the Pontiff’s hands, and then disappeared.

I have called it a picture; but, in truth, if we may trust the description given by Father Matraia, the second general of the Congregation of Clerks Regular of the Mother of God (to whose church it was removed, as we shall presently see, about two hundred years ago, but where its position does not enable us to examine it very closely), the name is scarcely applicable. It is, he says, a tablet of about nine inches in height, seven inches in width, and one inch in thickness, having every appearance, spite of its extraordinary size, of being a sapphire. In this is inlaid in gold a likeness of the Blessed Virgin, bearing on her arm her Divine Son, who with his left hand is holding a book, whilst with his right hand He gives his blessing to the world, and a cross of gold is suspended from his neck. These figures are under an arch of onyx-stone, supported by two pillars of the same; the corners on either side above the arch are of emerald, in which the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul are inlaid, likewise in gold, each with a cross at its side in the same material. Finally, it is surrounded with golden roses and a border of amethyst, which serve as a frame or cornice to the whole of this costly treasure.

Such is the picture of the Madonna in Santa Maria in Portico; and such is the history connected with its origin, as told in the Lessons of the Second Nocturn of a Proper Office granted in 1679 to the religious whom we have already mentioned; and if any of our readers be disposed to exclaim, "*Quis hoc credat nisi sit pro teste vetustas?*" we must again refer them to the authority of Benedict XIV., who tells us that, when the history was examined by the Congregation of Rites on that occasion, it was found to be supported not only by immemorial tradition, but also by a short inscription in mosaic, still extant, and by some referred to the eighth century, by others to the eleventh, which clearly alluded to something or other supernatural in its first appearance:

"Hic est illa piæ Genitricis Imago Mariæ,
Quæ discumbenti Gallæ patuit metuenti."

The story was told more distinctly and at greater length, he says, in three manuscripts, preserved in various libraries in Rome, and which were then produced; two belonging to the very age in which it was alleged to have taken place, and the third to the days of Martin V.

To this must be added the certain facts, that St. Galla abandoned her palace to go and live in a convent in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's; that the palace was transformed into a church under the title of Santa Maria in Portico,—so called from the Portico of Octavia, which Augustus had added to

the theatre of Marcellus, and to which the palace of Galla was immediately adjacent,—and that this church was consecrated by St. John himself, and enriched by him with certain indulgences, to be gained between the 17th and 24th of July, which were afterwards confirmed by St. Gregory the Great, Alexander II., and other Pontiffs; that this same St. Gregory, Calixtus III., Adrian VI., and Alexander VII. had recourse to it during the ravages of that pestilence which devastated the whole of this peninsula with such terrible fury at various periods in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; that Paul II., Leo X., and Paul III., about the same time, all knelt before it (the last-named more than once), and called upon the faithful to come and do the same, when they desired to invoke with more than common earnestness the assistance of Heaven for the protection of Christian Europe against the growing power of its Eastern enemy; and finally, that during the last two centuries, of the seventeen Popes who intervened between Paul V. and Pius VII., more than half the number, at some period or other of their pontificate, poured forth special vows and supplications at the feet of this same Madonna.

Such warmth and perseverance of public devotion is worthy of the origin which has been assigned to it; and whether or not tradition has preserved to us the exact truth of the circumstances which attended its original appearance, at least we cannot doubt that its celebrity may justly be referred to that class under which Benedict XIV. has named it, "*prodigiis cœlestium apparitionum.*" In a word, we may venture to say of this history (*mutatis mutandis*) precisely what the blessed Peter Damian has said concerning the sanctity of some servant of God, of whom no certain contemporary evidence could be found, "*testis antiqua traditio, quæ sanctitatis ejus insignia celebrat; testis moderna devotio, quæ piam ejus memoriam in benedictione frequentat.*"

It only remains, therefore, that we should mention the removal of the picture from the church which had been built on the site of St. Galla's palace, to its present position in Santa Maria in Campitelli. The original church, consecrated by St. John, had been rebuilt by St. Gregory VII., and again restored and embellished by different titular Cardinals of the Church; but it was in a most inconvenient situation, and the picture appears to have been not well placed in it. In the year 1656, when the plague was raging with unusual virulence, such crowds frequented the church from morning to night, that it was thought necessary to close it altogether for awhile. The people offered no resistance, but they besieged the closed doors so earnestly upon their knees,

and blocked up all the narrow streets and passages that led to it in the same attitude, that at length the civil authorities, excited by the general devotion, met officially in the church on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, and made a public vow, binding themselves to undertake some work for the providing of a better shrine for the picture if the plague should cease from among them. Within a day or two afterwards the Pope also visited the church, solemnly ratified the vow, and bound himself to unite in the fulfilment of it. In a few days the plague ceased; and immediately Alexander VII., with all the Cardinals and prelates, princes and magistrates, went in procession from the church of Ara Coeli on the Capitol, to offer up their thanksgivings before this picture for the deliverance which had been vouchsafed to them, and to renew their vow. The church of Santa Maria in Campitelli was not far distant, but much more conveniently situated; moreover, it belonged to the same congregation of clerks regular, and admitted of improvement and enlargement far more easily than Santa Maria in Portico. It was determined, therefore, that the picture should be removed for awhile to this church, where it should remain over the high altar until a sanctuary of fitting magnificence could be raised for its reception. Of this sanctuary the Pope himself laid the foundation-stone; and subsequently the whole of the church was rebuilt, so as to include the sanctuary as a part of it. At the same time, the title of the church which had lost its precious treasure was ordered to be changed, and together with all its privileges, even that of giving a title to one of the Cardinal deacons, to be transferred to the new building, which henceforth received the double name of Santa Maria in Portico in Campitelli, whilst the ancient Santa Maria in Portico revived the name, which it still retains, of its original foundress, St. Galla.

3. *Santa Maria del Buon Consiglio, Genazzano.*

And now, if we would deal fairly by the other states of Italy, we must turn a deaf ear to the claims of every other church, picture, or image within the precincts of the Holy City, and hurry forwards on our pilgrimage. But whichever direction we may take in attempting to leave the States of the Church, our steps are arrested before we reach the frontier by sanctuaries whose claims upon our attention can in no way be overlooked or set aside. If we move northwards, the far-famed Casa di Loreto awaits us; if southwards, the sanctuary of Genazzano, whose history, if it be less generally known, is certainly not less marvellous, and moreover is at-

tested by a still stronger amount of contemporary and collateral evidence. For these reasons, then, we prefer for the present to turn our backs upon the House of Loreto, and moving southwards towards the kingdom of Naples, to pay a short visit by the way to this sanctuary of the Madonna del Buon Consiglio at Genazzano.

Genazzano is a town of some importance in the diocese of Palestrina, very prettily situated on the left of the high road to Naples, at a distance of about thirty miles to the south-east of Rome. From time immemorial, the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist was celebrated there as a very special holiday; in fact, it was the day of the great fair or market of the year. Moreover, there was a very old church in the city, dedicated to the Madonna of Good Counsel, built, as it would appear, upon a part of the territory that Pope Sixtus III. had conveyed as an endowment to St. Mary Major's in Rome, on the occasion which has been already mentioned of his rebuilding that basilica. In the middle of the fifteenth century this church was in the hands of the Augustinians, to whom it had been given, in the year 1356, by some member of the Colonna family, the feudal lords of the place. It was neither large nor handsome; and about the time we have named, a devout old woman, named Petruccia de Jeneo, a native of Genazzano, and a member of the third order of St. Augustine, declared her determination to rebuild it on a scale of greater magnificence. Her means were wholly unequal to the task; nevertheless, such as they were, she devoted them entirely to the work. She went and sold all that she had, and the undertaking was begun. Her friends and neighbours laughed her to scorn, as one who had begun to build without "having first sat down and reckoned the charges that were necessary, whether she had wherewithal to finish it." Her relations—not without some suspicion of a selfish regard to their own interests as the motive of their interference—rebuked her sharply for her improvidence, in thus voluntarily depriving herself of those means of support with which God had blest her in the time of her greatest necessity; she was old and infirm, they said, and who would undertake the burden of her support, since her impoverishment had been the result of a foolish indulgence of her own fancy? Her answer to these objections was always the same: "The work will be finished, and that right soon, because it is not *my* work, but God's; the Madonna and St. Augustin will do it before I die;" and she continually repeated, with an air of confidence, what may have seemed the ravings of madness to those who heard her, "Oh, what a *gran signora*, what a noble lady, will soon come and take possession of this place!"

Meanwhile the work proceeded, and the walls had already risen high above the ground, close to the old church which they were intended to enclose; but by and by the builders ceased, and now there arose a far greater obstacle than the mere insufficiency of means. Petruccia had in fact declared that she had begun her undertaking, and was encouraged to persevere with it, mainly in reliance upon some secret inspiration, vision, or revelation (it does not clearly appear which), that she believed herself to have received from God; and the Church, in order to guard against abuses which had sometimes arisen from giving heed to pretended supernatural messages of this kind, had now issued a law forbidding such things to be attended to, unless they were corroborated by some other external and independent testimony; the mere assertion of a dream, a vision, or a revelation, was on no account to be obeyed. (*Quæ per somnia et inanes revelationes quorumlibet hominum ubicumque constituuntur altaria, omnino reprobentur.*) Petruccia's work, therefore, was not only suspended for want of means, it was also canonically prohibited. Her own substance had been exhausted, and an appeal to the assistance of others the ecclesiastical authorities could not permit. Matters were in this state in the spring of 1467. On Saturday, the 25th of April, in that year, the usual fair had been held; crowds of people had passed and repassed the old church, and the imperfect walls of the new; and we cannot doubt but that some at least amongst those who saw them had begun to mock, saying, "This woman began to build, and was not able to finish." Evening was fast approaching, the gayest, brightest hour of the fair, when, business being ended, the pleasure of the day began: all were devoting themselves to amusement, each in his own way, when presently some who stood in the piazza saw something like a thin cloud floating in the air, and then settling on one of the walls of the unfinished building. Here the cloud seemed to divide and disappear, and there remained upon the wall a picture of the Madonna and Child, which had not been there before,—a picture which was new to all the bystanders, and which they could not in any way account for. At the same moment the bells of the church, and of all the other churches in the town, began to sound, yet no human hand is seen to touch them. People ran from their houses to ask the cause of this general alarm; and indistinct rumours spread rapidly amongst them that something wonderful had happened in the Piazza della Madonna. Those who were nearest to the spot arrived just in time to see the aged Petruccia come out from the church, come out like the rest to inquire what had happened. When she had seen

the picture, she threw herself on her knees and saluted it with outstretched arms; then she rose, and turning round to the people, told them with a voice half choked with tears of joy and gratitude, that this was the *Gran Signora* whom she had so long expected, that she was now come to take possession of the church that ought to have been prepared for her, and that the bells were sounding in this miraculous way only to do her honour. At this intelligence the people fell upon their knees, and began to pour forth their prayers before this marvellous painting, which they knew not how otherwise to designate than as the *Madonna del Paradiso*.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, alarmed by the unusual sound of the bells, accompanied (as is still the custom in many parts of Italy on all festive occasions) by the discharge of fire-arms, imagined that some disturbance must have broken out in the city, and began to feel no little anxiety for those of their relations and friends who were absent at the fair. Some, indeed, had already returned, but these were as much at a loss as the rest; for when they came away they had seen no symptoms of a riot, neither had they heard of any extraordinary cause of rejoicing. Others, again, had left the city, and were in the act of returning homewards, when their steps were arrested by these noises; and of these, some whose prudence was stronger than their curiosity only hurried home the faster, whilst others turned back to investigate the cause. These, however, tarried so long to gaze at the wondrous sight, to hear its history, and to see the marvellous effects that followed, that the public anxiety of the neighbourhood was still unrelieved. At length, at a very late hour of the night, some few stragglers returned, and told so strange a tale, that long before daybreak on the following morning multitudes of the country people might be seen taking advantage of the day of rest (it was the fourth Sunday after Easter), and hurrying towards the town to see and to inquire for themselves. And not only the strong and the active, but even the aged and infirm, the dumb, the blind, the lame, the maimed, and many others, came or were brought to this new pool of Bethsaida; for it was part of the intelligence which reached them that many persons had been miraculously healed of their infirmities in the presence of this Madonna. So great was the number of these miraculous cures, that with a methodical caution and prudence most unusual in a Catholic country, and at a time when Protestantism was unknown, a notary was appointed to register the principal cases, and to have them attested by the signatures of competent witnesses, and of the very parties themselves. This register was begun on the

second day after the apparition, *i.e.* on the 27th of April, and continued until the 14th of August. It contains the narration of a hundred and seventy-one reputed miracles, which had taken place during this period of a hundred and ten days; and it was stopped at last, not because the marvels had ceased, but because enough had now been done to silence the mouths of the most obstinate of gainsayers, and to establish the right of this picture to be considered an *Immagine miracolosa*.

But it is time that we should inquire somewhat more particularly whence this picture had really been brought, and by what means. The inhabitants of Genazzano would fain assign to it the same origin that tradition has assigned to Sta. Maria in Portico, and for this reason they had given it the name of the Madonna del Paradiso. It was no welcome news to them, therefore, a few days afterwards, to be told that two strangers from a foreign land had just arrived from Rome, who professed to know the picture, and to be able to tell its history. One of these strangers was a Slavonian, the other an Albanian; and the story which they told was this.

They had been resident together in Scutari, a city of Albania, on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, distant about twenty miles from the sea. On a little hill outside that city there was a church, in which this Madonna, painted upon the wall, was well known, and much venerated as the Madonna del Buon Officio. It was a picture to which there had always been a very great devotion; and latterly, in the disturbed miserable condition of the country, the inhabitants had been more than usually frequent in their visits to it, entreating the Madonna's interference to defend them from their dangerous enemies, the Turks, who, they had reason to apprehend, were meditating a fresh invasion, and who, as a matter of fact, did, not many years afterwards, lay waste the whole country, and destroy many cities with fire and sword. Numbers of the citizens had already fled from the impending calamity; and, as contemporary historians tell us, took refuge, some in Venice, others in different cities of Romagna. Amongst the rest, our two strangers at length determined to expatriate themselves like their neighbours; but before doing so, they went out to bid a last farewell to their favourite shrine, and to pray the Mother of God that, as she with her divine Son had been forced to flee from the face of one of the kings of the earth, who was plotting mischief against them, so she would vouchsafe to guide and to accompany these, her humble clients, in their no less compulsory flight. Whilst they were yet praying the picture disappeared from their sight, and in its stead a white cloud seemed to detach itself from the wall,

to float through the air, and to pass out through the doors of the church. Attracted by an impulse which they could not resist, they followed; presently they found themselves caught up in some mysterious manner along with it, and carried forwards in its company. The manner of their transit who shall explain, save He who alone can tell how the angel of the Lord set Habacuc in Babylon over the lion's den where Daniel was imprisoned, "in the force of his Spirit," and how he presently set him again in his own place in Judea; or how, when Philip and the eunuch were come up out of the water, "the Spirit of the Lord took away Philip, and the eunuch saw him no more. And he went on his way rejoicing, but Philip was found at Azotus?" The men themselves could only testify that they had been transported, they knew not how, from one place to another; that they had been taken across the Adriatic, whose waves had borne them up, as the sea of Galilee had borne St. Peter, when Jesus bid him come to Him upon the waters; that, as evening drew on, that which had seemed a pillar of a cloud by day became as it were a pillar of fire; and that finally, when they had been brought to the gates of Rome, it entirely disappeared.

Entered into the Eternal City, the travellers sought diligently for traces of their lost guide; they went from one church to another, inquiring for the picture which they had watched so long, and then so suddenly lost sight of; but all their inquiries were in vain. At length, at the end of two or three days, they heard of a picture having appeared in a strange way at Genazzano, and that its appearance was followed by many miracles. Immediately they set out to visit it; recognised, and proclaimed its identity. The people of Genazzano lent no willing ear to this strange history; it detracted somewhat from the heavenly origin which they would have assigned to their newly-gotten treasure; and it gave them some uneasiness too as to the ultimate security of their possession of it; for, should this story be authenticated, the picture might one day be reclaimed and carried away. In the course of a few days, however, as the story got noised abroad, other Albanians, who were scattered abroad in different parts of Italy, came to see it; and these too confirmed its identity. At a later date, this fact was still more clearly ascertained (as in the somewhat similar case of the House of Loreto) by the testimony of persons who spoke upon oath, not only to the exact shape and size, as corresponding to a blank that was then still to be seen upon the walls of the church at Scutari, but also to the colouring and style of art, as precisely the same with that which charac-

terised all the other parts of the church. For it must be remembered, that this was no painting executed upon board or canvass, and thus capable of easy removal, and leaving no trace behind it; it was a mere fresco upon a very thin coating of plaster, which no human skill could have detached from the wall in a single piece, still less have transported from one place to another without injury.

But to adhere more closely to the chronological order of our facts, it is necessary that we should return to Rome. It was scarcely possible that so marvellous a story, circulated in the immediate neighbourhood of the Holy See, should fail to attract the attention of that ever-watchful, jealous tribunal. The translation of the picture is said to have taken place late on the evening of the 25th of April; on the 15th of May, and following days, the names of certain Albanians appear in the register which has been already mentioned, as having received remarkable *grazie* at the shrine, and these were they who confirmed one part of the strangers' tale by identifying the picture; and before the middle of July, we find Pope Paul II. sending two Bishops to examine upon the very spot into all the circumstances of the case. The Bishop of Palestrina, whose duty it would naturally have been to institute this examination, was Cardinal Cortin, a Frenchman; but as he was absent at Avignon, the Pope appointed in his stead another French Bishop, who happened to be in Rome, and must have been well known to the Cardinal, being Bishop of Gap, in Dauphiny, Monsignor Gaucer; and with him was joined Monsignor Niccolo de Crucibus, Bishop of Lesina, one of the islands in the Adriatic near the coast of Dalmatia, whose familiarity as well with the language as with the localities could not fail to be of the utmost service in the investigation of this matter. The mission of these Bishops is not only recorded by contemporary writers, it is also curiously attested by the records of the Papal Treasury, which are still extant, and where we read, under the date of the 24th of July in this year, an item of twenty-two florins and sixty bolognini "paid for the expenses of two Bishops sent to Genazzano."

It is much to be regretted that the report which these Bishops presented upon their return to Rome has nowhere been preserved to us; its general character, however, is unmistakeable, if we consider the facts which followed. Had not their report been favourable, the register of miracles would not have been continued, as we know that it was, until the middle of the succeeding month, and then its separate sheets collected together, and the whole copied *de novo* into a single volume by another notary, with a title in which the

miraculous appearance of the picture is expressly mentioned. Again, had not their report been favourable, those two strangers, who would then have been convicted of imposture, could not have dared to establish themselves, as they undoubtedly did, in the very town which they had attempted to deceive. (The family of the Albanian still remains; the other has been long extinct.) But above all, had not their report been favourable, the work of the new church would not have been resumed; resumed and completed in less than three years; and then bearing among its ornaments inscriptions, paintings, and sculptures, many of which still remain, and all distinctly commemorate the same wonderful story.

The entire history of this sanctuary, and of the miracles which have been wrought there—of the devotional visits of Popes, Cardinals, and other princes—and of the offerings which they have sent or left behind them, is most interesting; but we have already let our paper run on to too great a length. We will only mention, therefore, the visit of Pope Urban VIII., that Pope who set his face so resolutely against the sanctioning in any way of miraculous stories resting on no sufficient foundation, yet who came to this church in 1630 on purpose that he might pray before this picture for the averting of the plague, then raging in other parts of Italy, from his own dominions. We may add also that in 1777 the Congregation of Rites approved a proper office, commemorating this history, to be used by all the Augustinian order; that the devotion towards the picture is very far from having died away, as sometimes happens, by the lapse of years; and that numerous copies of it may be seen not only in the churches of Rome and other states of Italy, but in Spain and Portugal, in Istria and Dalmatia, and even in Africa and America. As to its title, it was for some time a subject of considerable dispute, some wishing to retain that which had been given at first by the devotion of the people, the *Madonna del Paradiso*; others, again, advocating the more historical description, *Madonna da Scutari*. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, the revival of the ancient title has universally prevailed; and those of our readers who are familiar either with the picture itself or with any of its numerous copies, will agree with us, we think, in considering it a most happy selection. There is something in the attitude of the Mother and Child, something in the relation between them which that attitude suggests, that renders such a title (to ourselves at least, and, we have reason to believe, to many others also) peculiarly appropriate and impressive.

BRIEF NOTICES OF SOME WRITERS OF THE ENGLISH FRANCISCAN PROVINCE SINCE THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION.

[Concluded from p. 119.]

SUFFERERS AND CONFESSORS FOR THE CATHOLIC FAITH, O.S.F.

WE have already mentioned that God and his Church were glorified by the martyrdom of FF. Bell and Heath, and by the death of F. Christopher Coleman; we have now to add several others who either sealed their faith with their blood, or bore testimony to it in their chains and prisons.

1. The first that I meet with is F. COLLIER, who died in prison in the year 1590. He was an intimate friend of F. John Jones, the next sufferer in the order of time.

2. JOHN JONES, *alias* BUCKLEY, *alias* GODFREY MAURICE, of a good family in Caernarvonshire. Of his early life little is recorded. He was certainly an imprisoned priest in Wisbich Castle in 1587; and after his escape or banishment, for he left England about the year 1590, he became a conventual friar at Pontoise. Subsequently he proceeded to Rome, and there joined the Observantines, or Reformed Friars, in the celebrated monastery of Ara Coeli. After remaining with them for a twelvemonth, he was directed by his superiors to return to England to assist his afflicted countrymen in the way of salvation, and to enlighten such as sat in darkness and the shades of death. Before he quitted Rome he waited on his Holiness Clement VIII. to obtain the pontifical blessing on his future labours, when the father of the faithful embraced him, saying in Latin, "Go, for I believe that you are a true religious of St. Francis; and pray to God for me and his holy Church." On reaching London, F. John Gerard, S.J. provided him with an asylum in his house, kept by Mrs. Ann Line,* for several months, during which this zealous man did good service to the Catholic cause. Thanking F. Gerard for his kind hospitality, he retired from London to benefit other souls. From the beautiful Latin letter which F. Hen. Garnett addressed from London, 15th July, 1598, to F. Claudius Aqua-

* This blessed matron was executed at Tyburn on 27th February, 1601, for harbouring a priest! Who would not prefer her lot to that of her sovereign, Queen Elizabeth?

viva, fifth general of the Society of Jesus, we learn other details of this apostolic missionary. For nearly three years he had continued to labour in the vineyard before he was apprehended and committed to gaol; but his twelvemonth's incarceration did not prevent him from exercising his beneficial ministry to many Catholics who resorted to him for his advice and consolation. At length the notorious Topcliffe—that virulent persecutor of Catholics—was informed by a traitor that the priest, before his apprehension, had visited Mr. Robert Barnes and Mrs. Jane Wiseman, a most respectable lady, who had two sons* in the Society of Jesus, that he had tarried with them for two days, had said Mass for them, and had been relieved by them. In the beginning of July 1598, Topcliffe managed to have all three arraigned for high treason: they all three were condemned, and Mrs. Wiseman, for refusing to plead, was sentenced to be pressed to death. On hearing the sentence the venerable and generous heroine exclaimed, “Thanks be to God.” However, the priest alone was led to execution.

On 12th July F. Jones was drawn on a sledge to St. Thomas' Watering. Here it was discovered that the executioner had forgotten his halter, and a messenger was despatched for it, whilst the victim stood for an hour at the gallows. At length the messenger rode back with rapidity, when a cry was raised among the crowd, “Here comes a reprieve.” On the messenger being asked if he had brought a reprieve, “Ay, ay,” was his answer, and, producing his halter, “here it is.” To mark the Queen's clemency, as Topcliffe boasted, the holy priest was permitted to hang until he was dead before his body was dismembered. The quarters were fixed to trees in St. George's Fields and the vicinity, “*in agris Georgianis et vicinis*,” the head surmounted the pillory in Warwick Lane. F. Garnett adds, “Such was the most happy end of this saint. May God make us all partakers of his merits. Your paternity will be pleased to communicate all these particulars to those pious fathers of the convent in which he once lived, and to commend us to their prayers.”

3. THOMAS BUTTAKER (JOHN BAPTIST). He was the only son and heir of a leading physician at Chichester. At the age of nineteen, whilst a student at St. Alban's College, Valladolid, God vouchsafed to call him to the holy Institute

* These sons were Robert, who passed by the name of Standish, and died at Rome in 1592; and William, who adopted the name of Starkie, and died at St. Omer in 1596.

of St. Francis. In due time he was promoted to the priesthood, when he offered himself for the Indian missions, but his superiors preferred his being devoted to the cultivation of the vineyard in his own country. The will of this fervent religious was identified with theirs, and he embarked at Bourdeaux for Plymouth. On landing there he was arraigned and consigned to its filthy gaol for eight days, and thence was transferred to the county gaol in Exeter, which at that period might be considered as the very worst in England. Here he was doomed to pass the winter of 1630; and his constitution never recovered from the effects of the fever which attacked him during that term of his confinement. At the following Lenten Assize, as no sufficient evidence of priesthood appeared against him, he was removed by the interest of friends to London, and there discharged. This worthy son of St. Francis consecrated the eleven following years to the care and instruction of the poor, and of Catholic prisoners for the faith. On hearing of the martyrdom of the Rev. William Ward, he felt a vehement desire of glorifying God in his blood; and as Père Chiflet relates in his *Palmæ Cleri Anglicani*, he exclaimed, "Quid hic latemus?" &c. About a year later, viz. 11th September, 1642, whilst celebrating Mass in the house of Mrs. Powell, the daughter of Sir Henry Brown, of the Montague family, and during the recital of the *Gloria in excelsis*, he was apprehended and brought before the sheriff of London. The 12th of the following month witnessed his execution at Tyburn, æt. 38, rel. 19, sacerdot. 14. One of his arm-bones is respectfully preserved in St. Elizabeth's Convent at Taunton.

4. MARTIN WOODCOCK, *alias* FRANCIS FARRINGTON (MARTIN A ST. FELICE), a native of Clayton, county of Lancaster. I have seen his letter of 28th September, 1630, to F. Thomas Fitzherbert, S.J. at Rome, thanking him for the many civilities he had received from him. He states that he had then put on "the habit (Capuchin); I praise sweet Jesus almost now a quarter of the year." But in the following year he exchanged it for that of the Recollects' at St. Bonaventure's, Douay. From their Register, p. 18, I gather that on the 11th November, 1638, he was appointed to succeed F. Daniel Yates as confessor to the English nuns of St. Elizabeth's Convent, removed from Brussels to Nieuport; and it appears that he served them in that capacity till the fourth general chapter, celebrated at London 19th April, 1640, when F. Bernard of St. Lewis succeeded him. Unfortunately the acts of the intermediate congregation, as well as of the fifth chapter in 1643, are missing. But he was sent to the mission, and was

butchered alive at Lancaster on 7th August, 1646, æt. 44, rel. 15.

5. Three unknown Franciscans perished in gaol before April 1653. Their names are not given in the Register, p. 56; but they are written in the book of life.

6. Two other Franciscan missionaries had died in prison before 22d August, 1655, but their names are not recorded in the Register, p. 60.

7. Three other anonymous Fathers were incarcerated before 14th July, 1656. (*Reg.* p. 63.)

8. JOHN WALL, *alias* FRANCIS WEBB or JOHNSON; in religion Joachim à S. Anna. Of a worshipful family in Norfolk. He was born to an estate of 500*l.* per annum, which he cheerfully relinquished to become a Franciscan. Dr. Challoner was misinformed in stating that he performed *all his studies* in the English College at Douay; for the fact is, that he reached the English College at Rome from Douay on 5th November, 1641, and quitted the Eternal City, after being promoted to priesthood, on 12th May, 1648. (*Lib. Rub. Colleg. Angl. Romæ*, No. 793.) On 1st January, 1651, he joined the Franciscans at Douay, and two years later was appointed Vicar of St. Bonaventure's and Instructor of Novices and Juniors. In 1656 we find him acting as a missionary. Worcestershire appears to have been the theatre of his zealous labours; and there, at the breaking out of Oates' Plot, the holy man was apprehended, and after five months' confinement in the county gaol was arraigned before Justice Atkins on Tuesday, 15th April, 1679. He suffered death at Worcester on 22d August, 1679, æt. 59, rel. 28. At the congregation of the brotherhood in London, 12th October, 1684, F. John Crosse was commissioned, "in honorem Dei et Provinciæ decus," to write and publish his life (*Register*, p. 177). Have any of our readers seen a copy? The martyr's head was privately conveyed to his friend F. Randolph,* to be transported to St. Bonaventure's Convent

* Randolph, in religion Leo of St. Mary Magdalen, a most able and exemplary missionary, chiefly resided at Edgebaston, near Birmingham. From his Register, the very best that I have seen, I collect that he commenced his missionary career 12th September, 1657, which he continued for thirty-eight years. On 23d March, 1687, he laid the first stone of a church in Birmingham; and on 16th August, 1688, of a convent there. Bishop Bonaventure Giffard on 4th September, 1688, blessed the church in honour of God and St. Mary Magdalen. Its interior length was 95 feet by 33 in width. But Lord Delamere and the Birmingham rioters, within three months later, demolished the whole, to testify forsooth their attachment to civil and religious liberty! F. Randolph died late in 1699, guardian of Coventry.

To the Franciscans, Birmingham owes an eternal debt of gratitude for main-

at Douay, where F. Woodcock's head was respectfully preserved.

9. CHARLES MAHONY, of the Irish Province, was taken in Wales during the persecution excited by Oates' conspiracy, and butchered alive for the priesthood at Ruthin in Denbighshire, 12th August, 1679, before he had completed his fortieth year.

10. F. FRANCIS LEVISON (Ignatius à S. Clarà), after fourteen months' imprisonment, died in fetters, 11th February, 1680, æt. 34, rel. 16.

11. The three Fathers, BERNARDINE LANGWORTH, FRANCIS A S. MAGDALENA, and GREGORY JONES were prisoners for the faith during six years, from 1678 till the accession of King James II.

12. WILLIAM (MARIANUS) NAPIER *alias* RUSSELL, a native of Oxford. He was tried and condemned for Oates' plot and for priesthood, but was not executed. He continued in gaol, when he was sentenced to exile in 1684. Retiring to St. Bonaventure's Convent, he there happily terminated his course in 1693, æt. 78.

13. F. GERVASE CARTWRIGHT, who had been Provincial from 29th April, 1683, to 25th April, 1686, was arrested at the Revolution, and thrown into Leicester gaol, and sentenced to death, which, after two years' imprisonment, was exchanged for banishment. He died in 1692.

14. FF. FRANCIS HARDWICK and WILLIAM LOCKIER were consigned to Newgate, London, in the beginning of December 1688. FF. DANIEL SELBY and LEWIS GRIMBALSON were immured in York Castle, and F. BERNARDINE BARRAS in the dungeon of the Kidcote prison at the end of York Bridge, for several months at the period of the Revolution.

15. F. PAUL ATKINSON. This glorious confessor of the faith had been duly summoned on his mission to attend the twenty-third chapter to be celebrated at London, 9th July, 1698, but did not appear, nor was any excuse received for his absence; this was shortly after accounted for. He had been apprehended, and hurried off to gaol, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment for priesthood. His brethren em-

taining alive the sacred fire of Catholic faith "in the cloudy and dark day" (Ezek. xxxiv. 12). Its inhabitants should specially cherish the memory of the good provincial F. Pacificus Nutt, who opened the chapel of St. Peter's as early as 6th May, 1783. He died 27th September, 1799, æt. 63. R.I.P.

played every effort, but in vain, to procure his liberation from Hurst Castle, the place of his strict confinement,* and there he continued for thirty years, till God called him forth to the Land of Promise on 15th October, 1729. In the Chapter Register, p. 364, his death is thus recorded: "In Hurst prison, Hants, died the venerable confessor of faith and of Christ's priesthood F. Paul Atkinson, formerly lector of theology, definitor of the province, and a Jubilarian of the Order, who, during a continual martyrdom of thirty years, reflected honour on his prison, on our province, and on the English mission, who, though not cut off by the persecutor's sword, still, as we piously trust, did not forego the palm of martyrdom. Wherefore we do not commend him so much to the prayers of our brethren, as we propose him as a model for their imitation."

Lastly, "in 1746, the venerable confessor of Jesus Christ F. GERMANUS HOLMES, once lector of philosophy in our convent of Douay, who, after suffering various insults from the insolent dregs of the populace from hatred of his priestly character, was consigned by the magistrates to Lancaster Castle, loaded with iron chains, where, after about four months, he fought the good fight, and there, as is piously to be hoped, finished his course; but not without suspicion of poison administered to him by a wicked woman." (*Chapter Register*, p. 430.)

PROVINCIALS OF THE REVIVED ENGLISH PROVINCE O.S.F.

We may premise first, that in the General Chapter of the Order at Rome in 1625, it was agreed, with the sanction of Pope Urban VIII., that this province should be restored to its former honours and privileges when an adequate number of members could be collected; that in the mean time it should be regarded as a *separate custody*; that in the space of four years the numbers had so increased, that the Minister General, F. Bernardine de Senis, announced in his letters patent, dated from Madrid, 6th Aug. 1629, the restoration of the English Province, and his selection of its then custos F. John Gennings to be its first provincial, of F. Francis de S. Clara to be the custos custodum, and of FF. Bonaventure Jackson, Nicholas Day, Francis Bell, and Jerome Pickford to be definitors. The said General committed to F. Joseph Bergaigne, his general commissary for the provinces of Belgium and Great Britain, the promulgation of this ordinance, which was accord-

* A considerate resolution was passed by the chapter, 23d April, 1659, that whenever any of the Fathers was incarcerated for religion, a *confrère* should be deputed to collect alms for his relief. Reg. p. 64.

ingly performed at the first chapter of the restored province holden in St. Elizabeth's convent, Brussels, on the first Sunday of Advent, A.D. 1630. Secondly, That the elections of superiors were triennial. Thirdly, We may express our regret at the frequent omission in the act-books, of the year, month, day, and place of the deaths of the superiors; yet in the congregation held in London, 14th October, 1669, it was ordered, "*fieri nomenclaturum omnium fratrum patrum defunctorum ab restauratione provinciæ, quæ debet appendi in sacristia, noteturque annus, dies et locus quo quisque obierit.*"

First Provincial, JOHN GENNINGS, so declared 1st Dec. 1630, was re-elected at the second chapter, celebrated at Greenwich, 15th June, 1634; and again in the fifth chapter, holden in 1643, the acts of which have perished. This restorer of his brethren, retiring later to his beloved convent of St. Bonaventure at Douay, meekly awaited the time of his dissolution. According to the Register, p. 69, he died 2d November (*o.s.*) 1660, nearly 90 years of age; according to the Mortuary Bill, aged about 95.

2. CHRISTOPHER DAVENPORT, D.D. This truly great man succeeded F. J. Gennings, at the third chapter at London, 19th June, 1637; was re-appointed by the seventh chapter at Nieuport, July 10th, 1650; and such was the opinion entertained by his brethren of his experience and merits, that they re-elected him at their twelfth chapter, holden in London 4th June, 1665. Dying at Somerset House on 31st May, 1680, æt. 82, missionis 57, he was buried in St. John's Church of the Savoy Hospital.

3. GEORGE PERROT (A ST. GULIELMO) elected Provincial in the fourth chapter, celebrated at London 19th April, 1640; re-elected at the ninth chapter at London 14th June, 1656. He died in England before the meeting of the fourteenth chapter of 1671; "*cujus memoria in benedictione est, quia amator fratrum erat.*" (*Reg.* p. 110.)

4. JEROME PICKFORD (HIERONYMUS A S. BONAVENTURA), elected Provincial in the sixth chapter, celebrated at Douay 28th May, 1647. This Father of the Province died between the intermediate congregation, holden in London, 15th Nov. 1663, and the provincial chapter assembled in that city 4th June, 1665. (*Reg.* p. 93.)

5. DANIEL YATES (A S. JOHANNE), elected at the eighth chapter in London, 30th April, 1653. It seems that he died late in 1659, "*Provinciæ Pater.*" (*Reg.* p. 69.)

6. ANGELUS (A S. FRANCISCO), or RICHARD MASON, D.D., elected on 23d April, 1659. This venerable Jubilarian obtained permission from the intermediate congregation at London, on 11th December, 1675, to retire to his convent at Douay (*Reg.* p. 131), where he peacefully ended his days in 1680.

7. NICHOLAS CROSS (A S. CRUCE) served the office of Provincial four times: 1st, from 13th April, 1662, to 4th June, 1665; 2d, from 28th April, 1671, to 10th May, 1674; 3d, from 16th June, 1680, till 29th April, 1683; and 4th, from 28th September, 1689, until 12th May, 1691, when, from age and infirmity, he was allowed to resign. He died early in 1698, "Provinciæ Pater." (*Reg.* 244.)

8. DANIEL CLAY (A S. FRANCISCO). This learned scholar had been of the Irish province, but was incorporated into the English on 22d August, 1655 (*Reg.* p. 59). After filling several offices, he was elected Provincial, 1st, at thirteenth chapter in London, 5th April, 1668; and 2d, at the sixteenth chapter held at Somerset House, 6th May, 1677. This ex-Provincial died early in 1681.

9. JOHN CROSS (A S. CRUCE), D.D., elected fifteenth chapter holden at Somerset House, 10th May, 1674, and again at the nineteenth chapter assembled in the same place on 25th April, 1686. This Jubilarian Father died early in 1691.

10. GERVASE CARTWRIGHT (A S. FRANCISCO), elected at the eighteenth chapter celebrated in London, 29th April, 1683. This Father of the Province and confessor of the faith died in 1692.

11. F. MASSEY MASSY (A S. BARBARA), a celebrated missionary and truly apostolic man, was appointed Provincial Vicar on the resignation of F. Nicholas Cross, 12th May, 1691; and at the ensuing twenty-first chapter at London, 28th August, 1692, was declared Provincial. Again, when the Provincial F. Anthony le Grand died in office, 26th July, 1699, F. Massey was summoned to supply the remainder of his triennium. He died in 1702. (*Reg.* p. 255.)

12. PACIFICUS PRICE (A S. ALBINO), D.D., elected at the twenty-second chapter, holden in London, 7th July, 1695; re-elected 6th August, 1704; but dying in the course of this triennium, the remainder of his term was supplied by F. Lewis Grimbaldson. The Register, p. 270, describes the deceased as "vir prorsus pacificus, ac universis gratus, cujus memoria in benedictione est."

13. ANTHONY LE GRAND (BONAVENTURE A. S. ANNA). This gifted Father was elected at the twenty-third chapter assembled in London, 9th July, 1698; but died on 26th July of the ensuing year.

14. BONAVENTURE PARRY, D.D. (A S. ANNA), elected 31st August, 1701 (*Reg.* p. 250), a most sensible and business-like superior.* This venerable Jubilarian died at Douay in 1720.

15. MARTIN GRIMSTON (A S. CAROLO), elected, as we find, under his own hand, on 21st July, 1707. He died a Jubilarian, at Douay, in 1729.

16. ANGELUS FORTESCUE. He was born to a plentiful estate, which he renounced to embrace evangelical poverty. Whilst chaplain to Sir John Shelley, he was infamously calumniated by some malevolent tongues; but his patron came forward most honourably and promptly in defence of his integrity, in 1700. His brethren also testified, that after more than twenty years' experience of him, they believed him to be a man of solid virtue and learning, ever truly obedient to his superiors and endeared to his brethren, adding, "as he was the first that appeared at the King's Bench bar since the late Revolution upon account of religion, so if any person or persons, upon a pique or hatred of the Catholic faith, think fit to make a trial of his Christian fortitude, we firmly believe and

* We have seen the following instructions in his handwriting, which he handed with the Faculties he gave to his subject F. John (Capistran) Eyston:—

"Be very cautious how you put your sickle into another's harvest. Be courteous, civil, and obliging to all; familiar with few, and with none of the other sex. Compassionate the poor, helping them what you can. Be tender and careful of the sick. Relate not, nor report the defects, abuses, or liberties of your own or other families, either regular or secular, but rather vindicate them if you can, or wave the discourse. Beware of idleness, taverns, inns, ale-houses, and clubs, which I earnestly beg you to forbear as much as possible. Omit not daily mental prayer, nor an annual recollection. Be punctual and exact in observing the rubrics of both Mass and Office. Be very wary what obligations of Mass and prayers you take; and none of any moment or long duration without the superior's or some prudent grave Father's approbation. Extol virtue; cry down vice. Ground your flock in solid piety and devotion; more particularly insisting on matters relating to frequenting the sacraments, for which catechistical discourses upon the Commandments, and the dispositions required for the sacrament of penance and the holy communion, are, in my judgment, the most proper. Let not your manners contradict your doctrine, nor life and actions belie your words. Be zealous for the conversion of souls, but temper zeal with prudence and discretion. Meddle as little as may be with the temporal concerns of your flock, or economy of families; and be not forward in recommending servants, or making matches. Remember perfect expropriation is our great treasure, which we must endeavour to preserve by renouncing all dominion: in the use of money we ought to be very moderate; and in all matters of moment have recourse, if possible, to the superior.

hope that God will enable him, by his grace, to convince the thinking part of mankind that his vocation from a plentiful estate to evangelical poverty was real and not feigned" (*Reg.* 247). And so the event proved. He was elected Provincial on 13th August, 1710. Obiit, anno 1719, "Provinciæ Pater" (p. 305).

17. ANTHONY PARKINSON, elected 3d May, 1713; re-elected 22d April, 1722. Died in England, 30th January, 1728.

18. BERNARDINE SMITH, elected 9th May, 1716. He died at Douay in 1743, "Provinciæ Pater senior ac novemdecim annis Jubilarius" (*Reg.* p. 419).

19. WILLIAM (BERNARDINE) BASKERVILLE, elected 25th August, 1719. He died in England, 1728, "Provinciæ Pater et Jubilarius" (*Reg.* p. 346).

20. PHILIP SADLER, elected 19th April, 1725. Subsequently, whilst supplying the office of Provincial Vicar, he was taken off by death on 16th August, *o.s.* 1733, in England (*Reg.* p. 370). "Provinciæ Pater perpetuus et de Provincia bene meritus" (*Reg.* p. 377).

21. JOSEPH PULTON, elected 14th May, 1728; re-elected on 2d May, 1737, and again 20th October, 1746. He died at Aire in the course of May 1749, before the end of his triennium.

22. JOHN (CAPISTRAN) EYSTON, elected 11th May, 1731. He died in office on 31st July, 1732 (*Reg.* p. 366).

23. BRUNO CANTRILL, who had been supplying the office of vicar for the previous eight months, was elected Provincial Minister on 13th May, 1734; re-elected 3d May, 1743. His death occurred in 1759, at an advanced age.

24. THOMAS HOLMES, elected 7th May, 1740. He was summoned later to supply the remainder of F. Joseph Pulton's triennium; after which he was re-elected, in July 1749, for another three years; and again in 1758. I cannot recover the date of his death.

25. ALEXIUS SMALLWOOD, elected in 1752. He died in 1756.

26. FELIX ENGLEFIELD, elected in 1755. Ob. 1767.

27. PACIFICUS BAKER, elected in 1761; re-elected in 1770. Ob. 16th March, 1774, æt. 80.

28. PHILIP ANDRE, elected in 1764. Ob. 1772.

29. GEO. (JOACHIM) INGRAM, elected in 1767. Ob. 1779.

30. *Qy.* if BONAVENTURE BEDINGFIELD was not elected in 1773? Ob. 5th June, 1782, æt. 84, rel. 57.

31. JOSEPH NEEDHAM, elected in 1776. Ob. 24th March, 1791, æt. 74, rel. 58, at London.

32. JAMES (PETER) FROST, I think, was selected in 1779. He had been chaplain at Ugbrooke from October 1759 to June 1766. Died at Wooton, 3d October, 1785.

33. ROMANUS CHAPMAN, elected in 1782. Ob. 4th Dec. 1794, Jubilarian, at London.

34. *Qy.* if WALTER (GREGORY) WATKINS was elected in 1785? Ob. 7th April, 1810, at Abergavenny, æt. 71.

35. *Qy.* if GEO. BAYNHAM was elected in 1788? Ob. 25th March, 1803, æt. 68.

36. WM. (BONAVENTURE) PILLING, elected in 1791. Ob. 4th December, 1801, æt. 60.

37. F. PACIFICUS NUTT, elected in 1794; re-elected in 1797? Ob. 27th September, 1799, at Birmingham.

38. WILLIAM KNIGHT (who had supplied the remainder of his predecessor's triennium) was elected Provincial in 1800. Ob. at Osmotherley, 1st March or April, 1806, æt. 76.

39. JAMES (JOSEPH) HOWSE, elected 1803. Ob. 15th May, 1822, æt. 76.

40. PETER (BERNARDINE) COLLINGRIDGE, elected in 1806; was consecrated Bishop of Thespiæ 11th Oct. 1807. Ob. at Cannington, 3d March, 1829, æt. 72.

41. THOMAS (STEPHEN) GRAFTON, born at Rowington, county Warwick, 31st May, 1764, and entered St. Bonaventure's convent, Douay, as he informed me, on 10th Oct. 1780; succeeded Bishop Collingridge, till 1809, when he was duly elected Provincial; he was appointed Vice-Provincial again in 1820 for one year; and in 1833 was re-elected Provincial, when he held office for five years consecutively. The venerable man closed his well-spent life on 23d Dec. 1847.

42. JAMES (LAURENCE) HAWLEY, the worthy missionary of St. Peter's, Birmingham, was elected in 1812. He died at Worcester, 30th June, 1834, æt. 80.

43. CHARLES (FRANCIS) MACDONNELL, born in Ireland in 1770. This able scholar was elected in 1815; two years after the expiration of his triennium was called to supply the vacant

office. On 10th Dec. 1812, and again on 26th Jan. 1816, Bulls were expedited creating him coadjutor to Bishop Colingridge, by the title of Ionopolis; but he succeeded in escaping from such appointment, preferring the interests of his Order to what the world regards as dignified advancement. In 1821 he was re-elected Provincial, and in 1823 he proceeded to Rome on the business of the body. The death of his dear friend F. Richards called him to superiority again until 1833. He survived till 5th November, 1843.

44. WILLIAM (AUGUSTINE) ROBERTS was elected in 1818, and served the office two years only. He died at St. Omer, 10th May, 1827, aged 64.

45. EDWARD (IGNATIUS) RICHARDS, a father of great promise and singular zeal, was elected Provincial in 1824. His premature death at Rome, on 19th Dec. 1828, æt. 41, filled all the friends of religion with grief and dismay.

46. FRANCIS (LEO) EDGEWORTH, born in London, 26th April, 1799, for some time served the missions of Birmingham and Weymouth. In the beginning of Nov. 1831, was appointed by Bishop Baines to Bristol; and laid, on 4th Oct. 1834, the foundations of the present church at Clifton. In 1838 he was *minus canonice* declared Provincial, and shortly after the succession was broken up. Oh, that we may be able to address the Province with

“Felix prole virum! rediere in Pristina vires!”

THE FORM OF MAKING A JUBILARIAN.

If the person to be declared a Jubilarian be a priest, and his health will permit him to do so, he shall sing the High Mass, and shall be preceded in the procession by a youth, bearing on a dish a garland of flowers. After the Gospel has been sung, the Superior, in stole and surplice, shall sit before the altar, and shall address the Jubilarian, either seated or kneeling, as follows:

Q. What dost thou ask for?

A. I beg of Almighty God mercy, and the grace of the jubilee.

The Superior then points out in a brief address how good and right and commendable it is that sinful man should implore the mercy of his Maker; and shall explain (from the 25th chapter of Leviticus) how the Supreme Legislator hallowed the year of jubilee, how He commanded liberty to be proclaimed throughout the land, that oppression should cease,

that there should be a manumission of slaves, debts cancelled, and every man return unto his own profession. He shall touch on the merits of the postulant, who has lived 50 years in religion, or in the priesthood, and who has cause for joy and exultation. Nevertheless, as all offend in many things, and are liable to human infirmity, it becomes him to implore the mercy of God, the remission of the debts he may have contracted, and the restitution of spiritual graces and blessings. All are then directed to kneel down, and to pray to God for the postulant. The Superior then recites aloud the Lord's Prayer.

O Lord, save thy servant, &c.

Send him help, O Lord, from thy holy place, &c.

Let not the enemy prevail against him, &c.

Be unto him, O Lord, a tower of strength, &c.

O Lord, hear my prayer, &c.

The Lord be with you, &c.

Let us pray.

O almighty and everlasting God, who by thy lawgiver Moses hast desired that the fiftieth year should be called the jubilee after a mystic manner, and during that year bountifully relaxed burdens and debts, and enjoined that the oppressed bondmen should be set free; grant, we beseech Thee, to this thy servant *N.* the grace of the jubilee, that is, the remission of all trespasses, and the relaxation of all faults; for he begs with all his heart the effect of his pious petition, that, stript of every sin, and restored to primeval liberty and innocence, he may henceforth persevere unwearied in the observance of the commandments and his holy rule, and, by the gift of thy grace, may walk from virtue to virtue, from fortitude to fortitude, and at length, after escaping the dangers of this life, may obtain the jubilee of heavenly glory, and an eternal mansion in that house not made with hands. Through Him who once said, "In my Father's house are many mansions" (John xiv.), our Lord Jesus Christ, thy Son, &c.

Then the Superior places the crown of flowers on the head of the Jubilarian, and says:

This crown of roses and garland of flowers we place on thine head as a symbol of inward beauty and future recompense; that, bearing in mind if duly decorated with the flowers of virtues here, thou art entitled to aspire to receive the crown of glory, and the precious diadem of the kingdom, from God's own hand. A blessing we wish thee by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth with God the Father, &c.

Let us pray.

Almighty and everlasting God, who hast proclaimed by

thy Apostle, "No one shall be crowned except he strive lawfully" (2 Tim. ii. 5), and who hast animated us to perseverance in thy will and service by that wonderful promise of thine, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give to thee a crown of life" (Rev. ii. 10), be propitious to this thy servant *N.*, who by thy gift has now completed his fiftieth year in this state; heal all his iniquities, redeem his life from destruction, crown him with mercy and compassion, fill his desire with good things; may his hoary head be venerable; let not his old age prove the shipwreck of his former years, but a crown of dignity; with a joyful and cheerful heart may he run the way of thy commandments; may he be clad with heavenly armour, stand girt around his loins in truth, and full of days be laid with his fathers. Let him not be confounded when he speaks to his enemies at the gate, but rather may he be enabled to say in the words of the Apostle (2 Tim. iv. 7), "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord shall give me at that day, the righteous Judge." Through the same Lord Jesus Christ thy Son, &c. Amen.

Then the Jubilarian shall intone the 99th Psalm, *Jubilate*, the choir singing the alternate verses; and then he intones the 132d Psalm, *Ecce quam bonum*, in the same manner. After which the Superior says the Our Father, &c.

V. The Lord be with you, &c.

Let us pray.

O God, who inflamest thy servants who are turned from the vanities of the world to the love of their supernal vocation, assist in purifying our breasts, and pour upon us the grace of perseverance in thy service, that, defended by thy protection, what we have promised by thy gift we may accomplish by thine aid, and thus, being made performers of what we profess, we may attain those things which Thou hast vouchsafed to promise to those who believe in Thee. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Let us pray.

We beseech Thee, O Lord, to grant us perseverance in thy service, that in our days the people ministering to Thee may be increased both in merit and in number. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then the Superior gives his benediction to the Jubilarian.

May God the Father, who created thee, bless ✠ thee, and make thee persevere without sin, and without pain of body and mind, both now and for ever. Amen.

May God the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who purchased

thee with his precious blood, bless ✠ thee, and give thee peace of heart now, and eternal peace hereafter. Amen.

May the Holy Ghost, who sanctified thee, turn his countenance towards thee, and take pity on thee, and bless ✠ thee with the privilege of this holy jubilee, and with every spiritual grace from above; that at length thou mayest be found in the company of those of whom it is written, "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, O Lord; they shall praise Thee for ever and ever" (Ps. lxxxiii. 5). Amen.

The hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* may then be sung, with "Confirm, O God, what Thou hast wrought in us, and send forth thy Spirit," &c.

Then the Jubilarian chants the collect, "O God, who dost instruct the hearts of the faithful."

The Blessing of the Staff.

Our help is in the name of the Lord, &c.

The Lord be with you, &c.

Let us pray.

O God, who hast enabled the holy patriarch Jacob to pass the Jordan with his staff, and the prophet David to prostrate the giant with a sling and a staff, grant to thy servant, by the staff of thy Cross, and by the meditation of our Lord's Passion, bravely to conquer all the torments of the devils and the world; and, after manifold victory, may he obtain the triumph of heavenly glory. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The staff is then sprinkled with holy water ✠, and delivered with these words:

Receive this staff of divine fortitude, by which, with Jacob, thou mayest safely pass the Jordan of this world, and reach the promised land of the free. Amen.

At the end of Mass *Te Deum* is sung.

Poetry.

THE SACRED HEART.

Lines presented to a Lady as a substitute for Shelley's "Lines to an Indian Air."

I ARISE from dreams of time,
 From the shadows of this life,
 And the tombs and places waste
 Of an earth of sin and strife :
 I arise from dreams of time,
 And an angel guides my feet,
 Where on yon altar dim
 Thy Sacred Heart doth beat.

The lone lamp quivers clear,
 And a wondrous silence reigns,
 Only with low voice mild
 The Holy One complains :
 "Lo, I have waited here ;
 And while thou heed'st not Me,
 The Heart of Mary's Son
 Beats ever on for thee.

In the womb of maiden meek,
 In the cradle, on the tree,
 Heart of undying flame,
 It lived, beat, broke for thee.
 Now round Me thunders speak ;
 Yet as then behold me now,
 Man of the wounded hands,
 God of the bleeding brow !"

O voice to the inward ear,
 O voice of complaining love !
 O Thou who art awful God
 To worlds below and above,
 Yet waitest and pleadest here,
 And canst not from us part !
 O veiled and wondrous Lord,
 O love of the Sacred Heart !

R. M.

Reviews.

THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE : PROTESTANT PREACHING.

Divi Thomæ Aquinatis Summa Theologica. Paris, Migne ;
London, Burns and Lambert.

Prælectiones Theologicae quas in Collegio Romano Societatis Jesu habebat J. Perrone, e Societate Jesu, in eodem Collegio Theologiæ Professor. Accurante J. P. Migne. Paris, Migne ; London, Burns and Lambert.

IF every age has its own peculiar intellectual perils, and therefore demands its own peculiar remedies, we can scarcely doubt the paramount importance of a due attention to what is called *theological science*, in a period of bustle, motion, and journalism like our own. Marvellous, in truth, as has been the progress of true religion in England and in Europe in latter times, gloriously as Divine Providence has overruled political and social convulsions to the good of the Church, and devoutly as many of the noblest minds of the last hundred years have prostrated themselves before the faith of Jesus Christ, our tendency to *superficiality* is a serious drawback to our self-gratulations. Strange, indeed, is the contrast between the intellectual habits of the earliest days of modern civilisation and those of our own. Supposing that, on the whole, the intellectual activity of the nineteenth century is (allowing for the mere numerical increase of studious persons) about the same as that of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we can hardly imagine a more radical dissimilarity than that which exists between our *forms* of thinking and those of the schoolmen and their immediate followers. Then all was logical accuracy, preciseness of language, and adherence to rigid rules ; now all is bold, pointed, easy of comprehension by the simplest capacities. Then a theologian or metaphysician aimed at discussing a subject in all its bearings, in meeting all possible contingencies, and at pressing every statement to its most rigorous consequences ; now we are nothing if we are not immediately practical, rapid in seizing the salient points of a question, and reckless in disregarding all but what bears upon present events. Then men "disputed" in public before judges, adhering to certain universally admitted forms of thought and word with the same scrupulousness as the House of Commons now maintains the most trivial of its rights or regulations. Then those who would move the world upheld *theses*, and wrote precise Latin treatises ; now they betake

themselves to reviews, magazines, and newspapers. Then, in a word, and to put the contrast in the strongest light, men were forced to think and reason at all costs; now our grand object is to lead others to think as we do with the least possible trouble to themselves. A discussion such as roused an old University to an almost frenzied excitement would close our eyelids in slumber. All we want is to be up and doing; and every thought, every statement, every form, every word which delays action for a single day, is so far accounted a hindrance to the perfection of human virtue and wisdom.

Now we are as far as possible from wishing to draw any invidious consequences from this striking contrast, or to puff the schoolmen at the expense of ourselves and our fellow-men and fellow-Christians of the present day. The mediæval forms of thought were very different from those of the earliest ages of the Church. Peter Lombard and Albertus Magnus are as unlike St. Augustine, Origen, and Tertullian, as they are unlike Moehler, or Balmez, or De Maistre. A bigot, or revivalist, or a *laudator temporis acti*, can deduce irrefragable proofs from certain imagined and absent perfections in any age or any school, to the miserable disadvantage of those men or epochs which he has selected for his condemnation. We are not so absurd as to wish to *substitute* gigantic Latin folios, divided into interminable propositions, with all the logical marchings and counter-marchings of our ancestors, for the less formal treatises, the terse and captivating essays, and the review "articles" which are the food of this day; for, in truth, the "article," which is the special type of modern thought, has merits, as well as powers, peculiarly its own.

Every body likes good articles, every body reads them, every body is influenced by them. The Pope himself is the special patron of a new Italian periodical,* edited at Naples by the Jesuits. Bishops, and clergy, and monks, and men who live in their books, every where either write articles or are interested in them, and gain information from them which can scarcely be gained elsewhere. Articles just do what the age requires. They present "views." They adapt themselves to the capacities of a large class of readers, and make no heavy demands upon their previous stock of knowledge on the subject handled. They touch on the very points most interesting at the time of publication. They give a *résumé* of just what every body ought to know, and wishes to know, in order to take a side or have an opinion. They mix up

* The *Civiltà Cattolica*. Six thousand copies were sold of the first number.

philosophy, theology, literature, politics, personalities, sentiment, jesting, ridicule, candour, modesty, and arrogance, in so agreeable a *mélange*, and so judiciously flatter while they lead the reader, and so skilfully make it appear that their rapid glances are profound investigations, that they have become almost a necessary of our intellectual life. No class, sect, or party, no local division of the Church itself, can fulfil its work without its "organs," monthly, weekly, and quarterly, partly to inform, partly to lead, partly to arouse; but, besides all this, to save people the trouble of thinking and reading for themselves.

It is obvious, therefore, that to oppose ourselves to, or to neglect, so potent an instrument as this, would be a piece of pure Quixotism, not to mention its absurdity in a work which is devoted to the publication of "articles." The whole policy of the Catholic Church in all ages has, further, been based upon the principle of employing all things which the revolutions of time call into being, to the advancement of true religion and the greater glory of Almighty God. Journalism, which is at once the offspring and the cherisher of modern habits of mind, is too deeply rooted in our social system either to be neglected or simply opposed by any prudent man. Still, we cannot help feeling keenly the peculiar perils of the overwrought activity of our age, and therefore are bound in conscience to protest as it were against ourselves, and to declare our consciousness of the evils of that very superficiality which results from the prevalence of periodical writings when not accompanied with severer studies.

The thirteenth century, then, and the nineteenth, may be taken as the two specially marked periods in which the intelligence of Europe, since the "Dark" Ages, has been occupied on the same subjects of thought, in the most dissimilar modes of thinking. From the age of St. Thomas Aquinas to that of the *Times* newspaper and the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews*, six hundred years have passed away, during which we observe one incessant though most gradual change in the tone of men's thoughts, and their intellectual habits. If we were called upon to assign a name to each of these two centuries, we should term the thirteenth *logical*, and the nineteenth *viewy*. Our ancestors were in the habit of starting with the assumption that certain propositions or facts were true, and from these, as premises, they deduced by a rigorous logic every possible conclusion or development which argument made possible. They systematised every thing, so far as was practicable. They divided, and subdivided, and classified, and imagined hypothetical conjunctures, and rested not

without endeavouring to seize all things in their very essence ; so that, taken at large, their writings wear to our eyes almost the aspect of mathematical treatises. From the eighteenth century, on the other hand, to our own, Europe has been busied with the introduction and development of one vast system of scepticism in those premises which our forefathers esteemed the irrefragable foundations of their manifold reasonings. We speak, of course, of Europe as a whole, and reserving the one mighty exception of theological science within the Catholic Church, and within her alone.

With this exception, the progress of thought has been what we have stated. The whole superstructure of human knowledge and belief has been first shaken and then shattered to its foundations, while in two departments alone have any new edifices been reared which pretend to call themselves undeniably and logically *true*. These departments are physical and mathematical science, and history. With all its wonderful acumen and accuracy, the age of the schoolmen accepted as facts an immense number of wild assertions or guesses respecting the physical universe and its inhabitants. Extraordinary as was its syllogistic ability, it had not sufficiently investigated the nature of human testimony to make it cautious in receiving reports, and in assuming hypotheses as unquestionable truths. Little skilled in mechanical contrivance, extremely limited in its powers of travelling, ignorant (for the most part) of all ancient languages except Latin, and knowing scarcely any thing of those mines of historical and antiquarian information which lay buried in its libraries and treasure-houses, it naturally very often commenced its reasonings on fictitious premises, and united to extraordinary subtlety of thought an ignorance of the facts now known to the simplest child. Logic, and moral and intellectual instincts, were its instruments of thought, as opposed to those principles of criticism and observation which are now almost the sole guides of the non-Catholic mind of the civilised world. Wherever a moral or intellectual instinct could guide them right, as, for instance, in politics or in the arts, they made astonishing progress, and laid those foundations of modern civilisation which no shock of revolutions has yet destroyed. In religion, also, as their facts and dogmatic propositions were not the result of their own speculations, but the gift of God to man in the revelation of Jesus Christ, they raised a philosophical and theological superstructure as perfect and enduring as their physical studies were baseless. And hence it has come to pass that, while much of their system has become interesting to the historian alone, that very England, where the old logi-

cal habits of thought has been most discarded, is raising in the nineteenth century a vast national palace in the architecture of the middle ages, to enshrine those political liberties which were won for Englishmen by the energies and wisdom of the thirteenth century.

But while the arts and the English politics of the schoolmen survive, all else is gone. Out of the Catholic Church not a trace is found of the old intellectual habits and ideas. Even in politics the *principles* on which we think are all new. Rather, indeed, we have no principles. Europe is at sea in politics as in theology. One mighty tide of scepticism has submerged us. We all know what we desire *to have*. We all know that we want peace, order, good government, practical personal freedom, toleration, a sufficiency of food, clothing, and the like; but *how* to attain these blessings, where to begin in our reasonings, who can say? One portentous theory after another rises up, and charms a certain number of devotees. One after another, these theories are found either to be false or impracticable. One after another is tried, and if it answers for a few months or years, all shout *Eureka*; the gospel of the nineteenth century is at last revealed, and, behold! a universal regeneration is at hand. By and by doubts are heard, symptoms of decay are perceived, a change becomes imminent, and in a few more months or years not one solitary trace remains of all that men so ardently worshipped. The history of modern thought, in all things but physical, mathematical, and historical science, is a record of advancing doubt and unbelief. At this present time you cannot go into any society of educated Englishmen and Englishwomen without seeing at once that the idea of harmonising their *whole* opinions and belief into a complete system has never crossed their minds. They do not even understand a state of intellectual action like that of the schoolmen. They cannot conceive it to have been earnest and genuine. They feel confident that St. Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard played at reasoning. They are so profoundly possessed with a conviction that a knowledge of absolute truth is impossible for man, as to acquiesce contentedly in uttering, in the course of an hour, as many discordant sentiments as they have broached subjects; while they glory in their very shallowness as something eminently practical and useful.

Meanwhile there is growing up in every respectable circle a strong desire to *have* opinions on all matters of real moment. The energy and bustle of the day has so much that is good and benevolent in it, that a frigid, blank scepticism is a thing which few people dare avow, and fewer love for its own sake.

Political, social, and religious facts are so pregnant with future consequences, that we are forced, against our wills, to reason, to speculate, to ask if, after all, there is *no* truth in the world. Nobody, in fact, is satisfied to find his mind the reflection of a daily newspaper or an after-dinner conversation, a kind of bagful of notions and scraps of information, tossed in, as chance may direct, and shaken one against another by the agitation of daily events, with no more coherence than the loose shingle on the sea-shore. Hence the rise and spread of this modern "viewiness" of ours. If we cannot get at the origin of things, at fundamental truths, at one mighty systematic whole, at any rate we can try to put a few things together, and patch up a system embracing half-a-dozen facts, two or three odds and ends of personal experience, a benevolent sentiment, and a text of Scripture. If we cannot spend half-a-dozen years in the study of old books, or of new books of great size and abstruse thought, at least we can go and purchase some periodical which will give us the results of long and wearisome labours in a score or two of pages. If truths are hidden, views are to be had for the asking. If we want to take a side, somebody or other is sure to be able to supply the most irrefragable reasons to justify it. If we, then, want to espouse some other cause irremediably inconsistent with our former course, there is some one else ever ready with *his* view; and one "view" is as good as another; and even if they seem contradictory, why should they not, so says the age, *both* be true?

Moreover, the most sincere, the most thoughtful, the most humble, are often drawn into this vortex of impatient thought by the irresistible restlessness and urgency of passing events. There is scarcely a well-intentioned person to be found who has not more on his hands than he can get through. He is surrounded with opportunities and calls for instant action. A hundred ways of "doing good" lie open before him; while a hundred voices cry out that it is mere selfishness to think *first* of "doing good" to his own soul and his own intellect. While he waits, some mischief happens, or some golden occasion escapes unimproved. If he thinks, he must think in a railway-carriage, or while he walks hurriedly through the streets. If he reads, he must first read the daily papers, then the weeklies, then the magazines, then the quarterly reviews. Thus he jumps headlong to a conclusion, and then,—thinking all the while that he is pursuing one and the same course,—a few days or weeks afterwards he jumps back again.

That the Protestant world will ever advance to any thing beyond viewiness, except into utter unbelief, is in the highest

degree improbable. How is it possible that they should so advance? On all that most deeply concerns the welfare of man, as they have rejected the *foundations of knowledge*, they must oscillate between views and scepticism. The more they agitate any moral question, the more clearly will they perceive that they *know* nothing whatsoever concerning it. The Archbishop of Canterbury's letters to Mr. Maskell, on the dogmatic teaching of the Established Church, were a fair representation of the theology and philosophy of Protestantism. Within the Catholic Church, however, the contrast is like the passing from darkness to light. Viewed solely as an intellectual work, the science of the Faith is the mightiest product of the human intelligence. No other scientific system will bear comparison with it. As there is no work of art which can compete for the palm of perfection with the liturgical and ceremonial structure of Catholic worship, so is there no systematised branch of human knowledge which can be named in comparison with Catholic dogmatic and moral science. As a mere proof of the truth of Catholicism, it seems irrefragable; for if the fundamental dogmas on which the system is reared were not true, how could it be possible to raise upon them so enormous and so varied a superstructure, homogeneous in all its parts, multiplying its definitions without impairing its unity, illustrated by minds of all characters in all ages without suffering the loss of a single part, attracting alike the veneration of the learned and the simple, known by those who accept and understand it to be in as perfect harmony with the Bible as with the last dogmatic Bull of the Sovereign Pontiff, assaulted only to display its invulnerableness, and derided by unbelievers only to make more manifest their intolerable ignorance and folly?

Hence it is that the Catholic can be involved in the whirlwind course of events of these exciting times, without fear of being injured by their pernicious hastiness and impatience of thought. Cast upon an age when all is in motion, he can, if he will be but faithful to his advantages, preserve a calm and unwavering course amidst the tempest. True it is that none are more vehemently in motion than we are. Every thing summons us to instant and energetic action, and seems to brook no delay. We are tempted on all sides to rush headlong, and be doing something in these wonderful times. Myriads of spiritually starving poor surround our clergy. If they had each a hundred tongues, they could not preach as many sermons as are wanted, or give instruction and absolution to all the penitents who would crowd their confessionals, or superintend the education of the children of the poor in

every place where schools ought to be. From the Bishop to the humblest Catholic, there is scarcely one of us who has not more to do than he can do well; scarcely one who is not forced to refuse to act in order that he may think, to refuse to speak in order that he may read, and postpone what calls to be done instantly in order to do it better when it is done.

At such a time, it is impossible not to feel doubly thankful for the possession of the treasure of Catholic theological science. The gracious hand of Divine Providence has not committed us to the tempestuous ocean without rudder and compass, and charts on which are laid down the rocks, shoals, and whirlpools through which we have to steer. And amongst many gladdening signs which our own English branch of the Catholic Church presents to our eyes, not the least is our constantly increasing sense of the paramount importance of severe study, and of a due appreciation of the extraordinary merits of the great scholastic divines. They who judge of the course of coming events, not by their more immediate prognostics, but by penetrating to the sources whence they spring, draw the happiest auguries from the fresh ardour with which we are coming to ponder on such works as those we have placed at the head of these present remarks. Of that perennial school of calm, philosophical, and comprehensive theology, which the last 600 years has perfected, as the previous 1200 years of the Christian dispensation gave it birth, and nurtured it through a vigorous youth, St. Thomas and Father Perrone may be taken as representatives of the two chronological limits. The praises of St. Thomas are in the mouth of every one, even of those who never read a line of his writings. The theological student regards him with even greater veneration (setting aside our worship of him as a Saint) than that with which the modern man of science glorifies the name of Bacon. The most fragmentary study of the *Summa Theologica* introduces us to a companionship with one of those minds from whom all succeeding ages take a colour. We see in a moment that St. Thomas was one of the few whose eulogists have not exceeded the truth in their admiration. By an extraordinary admixture of logical acumen, largeness of view, imaginative genius, profound learning, and steadfast contemplation, united with the rare piety of one whom the Church was afterwards to canonise, he produced a work which has been literally the storehouse of 600 years, which nothing more recent in form has superseded, and which is at this very day almost as *necessary* to the education of the finished theologian as ever. Some persons may prefer St. Thomas in the mould into which he has been cast by the

learned Billuart, others may cling to him in his antique and untouched magnificence ; but whatever be the *manner* in which St. Thomas is read, this remarkable fact remains before us,—that if one theological work *alone* was to be selected to furnish matter for years and years of study, the *Summa Theologica* would be that book.

Of living theologians there is none who holds so high a rank as a strictly scientific writer as the Jesuit Father Perrone ; and we are confident that the more his great work, the *Prælectiones Theologicae*, is known, the more highly it will be appreciated ; and we therefore welcome the appearance of such an edition as that of the Abbé Migne, which places it in the reach of the very limited purses of too many of our clergy. Learned to a rare extent in the philosophies and heresies of modern times, F. Perrone is the last of that brilliant galaxy of Catholic theologians who have treated dogmatic subjects by a strictly scientific method ; and we are warranted in naming his books as being, more than those of any other living writer, adapted to counteract the tendency to “viewiness” which is the characteristic and the bane of the age. Simple and attractive in style, he is at once eminently an intelligible, a satisfactory, and a profound teacher ; while he treats subjects of present controversy with that equableness of temper and logical candour which increase in no slight degree our conviction of the truth of his statements and the fairness of his reasonings.

But we pass on to a special illustration of the tendencies of modern thought. The preaching of the various sects of Protestants is perhaps the most striking which can be selected ; and in no other instance is the *safety* which the study of scholastic theology confers on the Catholic priesthood more manifest than in the difference between Catholic and Protestant sermons. A Catholic priest can *trust himself* to preach without writing his sermon beforehand, and if necessity calls, with scarcely a few minutes' forethought. If he is only duly prepared for his work by a sound education, and has stored his mind, and strengthened what we may call his theological faculties by the diligent study of the great writers of the Church, he will no more talk nonsense, or heresy, or weary his readers with dull repetitions, or hesitate for matter on which to speak, than a sensible and educated man of the world will talk like a child, a lunatic, or a country clown, on matters of secular interest. He is not only, like an ordinary devout lay person, instructed in the elements of the doctrines of the faith, and orthodox in his principles ; he has contem-

plated the whole structure of dogmatic and moral truth scientifically, intellectually, systematically, and historically, so that whatever he touches on, and whether he uses technical language or popular language, he says what is true and Catholic; and he says it in such a genuine, straightforward, and attractive manner, as to inform the less learned of his hearers, and to interest the most profound. He speaks of things with which not only his affections are familiar, but on which his intelligence has occupied itself under severe training. He knows how intricate and yet how simple, how manifold in its developments and yet how harmonious in its completeness, is the whole body of revealed truth. Like an accomplished mathematician, who not only can work out the common problems of engineering and navigation, but has pursued the laws of space and form from the first elements of algebra and geometry to the calculation of a comet's orbit, he comprehends the coherence of the doctrines of revelation, the various aspects they may be made to assume, their difficulties and the real solutions of these difficulties, with all that vast and varied knowledge which is comprehended under the term of theological science.

Hence the difference between the preaching of the Catholic Church and that of the sects around her. German, Swiss, French, Scotch, and English Protestantism presents one and the same phenomenon in the pulpit. The non-Catholic preacher is ever one of three things. He is dull and formal; he is viewy; or he is radically and openly rationalistic and infidel. The older schools of heresy were less imbued with these peculiarities. Keener logicians than their descendants, because of the lingering of the old Catholic traditions of intellectual study, they aimed at something like scientific accuracy and dogmatic completeness. They sought to carry out principles with consistency. They forced ideas to their conclusions. They tried to construct a faultless superstructure on the foundations they had laid. Consequently, no one now reads their writings. For the most part, the treatises and sermons of the older Protestants are talked about, edited, bought, and assigned places of honour on the heretical bookshelves; but they are not read, much less studied, and much less liked. Their posterity have taken to views or to scepticism, or content themselves with a humdrum repetition of senseless forms of speech, which they devoutly believe to be as old as the Apostles and as inspired as the sacred Scriptures.

Not that every Protestant sermon possesses *only* one or these three characteristics. Many a Protestant preacher is

far enough from avoiding the sin of rationalism by clinging to the infirmity of dulness. A propensity to "views" is almost invariably accompanied with a palpable, though often unconscious, tendency to scepticism; and of all tedious prozers, your "viewy" pulpit orator is sometimes the most inducive of sleep. In fact, it is rare to hear a Protestant sermon which is not at once dull, rationalistic, and whimsical, though the three qualities are combined in an infinite variety of proportions. To the Catholic hearer, Protestant sermons would almost invariably be tedious, from the simple fact that it is always uninteresting to hear persons utter words and phrases without any accurate knowledge of their meaning. Protestant sermons, like Protestant books, are generally the most uninviting compositions conceivable to those who have the gift of faith, and who are in the habit of regarding religious doctrines as realities, and not as forms of speech and mere written documents.

The "viewy" school, also, are in many instances almost as far removed from orthodoxy as the more logically sceptical. The latter, indeed, seize hold of their heretical notions with a firmer grasp, ever aiming at something like a complete system of faith, or rather, of unbelief. They start with certain premises, boldly look facts in the face, are unhampered by any dread of new and terrible consequences, maintain, or think they maintain, that truth alone is to be sought for, and that the result of the present intellectual movement of the age will be the construction of a perfect and magnificent union of natural and revealed religion and physical and metaphysical science. The man of "views," on the contrary, gets up a small theory, on the average, about once a week. He has a sermon or two, or perhaps three, to deliver in the course of each seven days. His mind has a spice of originality, a little love of intellectual display, a distaste for mere humdrum morality, "obvious and dull," a measure of conscientious regard for certain Christian doctrines, which, in a misty sort of way, he holds to and would fain propagate. His brain is crowded with all sorts of odds and ends of religious knowledge and phraseology, texts of Scripture, parables of our blessed Lord, argumentative statements of St. Paul, histories from the Old Testament, what seems plainly Catholic in one chapter, what he thinks as plainly Lutheran in the other; then, again, his memory is laden with the cant phrases of the Evangelical school, or of the Oxford school, or of the very Low Church school, with the Catholic creeds and collects in the Prayer-book, the impudent wordiness of the Thirty-nine Articles, the epigrammatic cautiousness of the Catechism, the last new theories of the periodicals of the day, or the last new tract,

letter, or protest of some zealous Churchman of some one of the innumerable schools about him. Thus stored, and thus armed, he proceeds to write his sermon or prepare his notes. However good his intentions, what *can* he do but excogitate a "view?" Whether he expounds a text or developes a subject, if he dreads being logically sceptical, and will not be stupidly moral, there is nothing left for him but to throw together, on the spur of the moment, a few texts and ideas, and reduce them, by as rapid a process as possible, to something that seems both consistent and original, comprehensive and analytical, philosophical and scriptural. He cannot do what a Catholic theologian does—take a part of one mighty system, unfold it, dilate upon it, and enforce it on the consciences of his hearers in straightforward, natural language, conscious that he has a sure grasp of the pure truth which Almighty God has revealed, and that what he is now saying is perfectly consistent with what he said a year ago, and will be consistent with what he will say a year hence. His theology is manufactured for the occasion, and his hearers go away with the impression that he is a very interesting, instructive, original, impressive, and scriptural preacher; but with about as accurate theological ideas of any one Christian dogma as a country farmer who travels by railway possesses of the laws which govern the locomotive which whirls him along at race-horse speed.

The most painful instances of the perils of this viewy tendency of modern Protestant preaching are to be found in the manner in which the adorable person of our blessed Lord is habitually spoken of by almost all Anglican preachers. In the Dissenting sects we are less struck by the incessant heretical language of those who imagine that they believe the doctrine of the incarnation of the Eternal Son. We think it but natural that the more awful and mysterious the subject, the more wretched should be the display of human ignorance when it seeks by its own powers for that knowledge which God alone can communicate. It is in the sermons of the Church of England clergy, educated from infancy in the profession of the creeds, including a familiarity with the Athanasian Symbol, that we start to recognise the most fearful of heresies, uttered unconsciously in every variety of shape, on the subject of the divinity of Jesus Christ. It was said, some years ago, by a Protestant Professor of Divinity at Oxford, that a large number of the clergy of his own communion were Nestorians. And almost every Protestant sermon betrays the truth of the charge. Both laity and clergy of the Establishment possess, as a body, nothing more than "views" respecting the nature of our

blessed Saviour. They make and hold theories respecting Him. Almost every sermon shews that the preacher has put together a set of mysterious texts, aided by Catholic terms, and impeded by the helplessness of mortal intellect; and has framed for himself some vague idea, which flits backwards and forwards before his thoughts, and eludes his grasp when he would test its reality.

So, too, on every subject of popular controversy. Let a conscientious Anglican layman go into a Protestant church, hoping to find some clear and intelligent guide to the truth of the Gospel, he finds that every man has his "views," agreeing only in one thing—that the "Roman" doctrine is *not* the true one. Of the Anglican clergy of the present day, there are few who, during the last ten or fifteen years, have not held and preached some ten or fifteen views on the real presence, on sin after baptism, on confession, on monasticism, on the union of Church and State, on Bishops, on the Church of Rome, on the Fathers, on private judgment, and on every thing else that has been the subject of debate. Not yet prepared for logical unbelief, abhorring the true Catholic Church, disliking ultra-Lutheranism and Calvinism, and turning up their noses at Dissent, the Anglican clergy, as a body, save those who have adhered to the good old dulness of their fathers, have probably enunciated, since the commencement of the *Tracts for the Times*, the most astounding collection of "views" ever put forth by mortal man.

That such should be their characteristics during the next ten or fifteen years is, however, impossible. "Viewiness" is but a transient phase in the history of a religious communion. Logic is, in some sort, a necessary of human existence; and logic insists upon progress in thought, if not towards Rome, at least towards unbelief. Men who think and teach religion to others must resort either to St. Thomas and Perrone, or to Voltaire and Hume. The High-Church party are already going back. The Evangelicals have done so long ago. The Independents and Baptists are fraternising with the followers of Socinus. The Socinians are stepping forward and recognising the tenets of Strauss as their own. John Wesley would scarcely know his own again could he revisit the Wesleyans. The "*via media*" between Catholicism and Infidelity is a conveniently movable path, which, wherever it is placed, is ever supposed to be *in the middle between extremes*; and even when a man has come openly to deny the inspiration of Scripture he will still think himself a believer in the Bible. All tend in one direction. The Bishop of Exeter and Mr. Gorham, Dr. Pusey and his nuns, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr.

Hampden,—all are hand in hand engaged in the awful work ; yielding up one dogma after another before the demands of an imperious logic, till the terrible hour is come when the Catholic Church alone will be even *called* by the name of Jesus Christ.

Such is the history of those who are not within that body where the *science* of religion is not only safe, but necessary. They have eaten, in the person of their first father and mother, of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil ; but their eyes are closed to that transcendently glorious structure of the knowledge of *good* which the second Adam has vouchsafed to his people. Those fragments of that knowledge with which they have been wantonly sporting are vanishing from their eyes ; the knowledge of *evil* alone remains, and God alone can tell what shall be in the end. Let us, therefore, be more earnest than ever in that one glorious work by which at present we can chiefly aid them, and pray incessantly for the conversion of England.

THE PAPAL STATES : MILEY AND GAUME.

The History of the Papal States, from their Origin to the Present Day. By the Rev. John Miley, D.D., Author of "Rome under Paganism and the Popes." In 3 vols. London, Newby.

Les Trois Rome ; Journal d'un Voyage en Italie. Par l'Abbé J. Gaume. 4 vols. Paris, Gaume Frères.

WHEN the glorious temple of King Solomon arose in all its splendour upon Mount Sion, neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron was heard within the sacred precincts during the building. In fitting though humble emulation of the works of the God of nature, its massive walls and airy roof sprang upwards *in silence*. Though the weakness of man was unable to copy the perfect stillness with which the planets move along their spheres, with which the tides ebb and flow, the trees and plants bud and blossom ; still, so far as human ingenuity could aid human weakness, the earthly dwelling-place of the Divine glory was disturbed by no harsh and ear-piercing clamours ; no mighty sound awoke the echoes of its courts until the voice of praise and thanksgiving came forth from the throng of worshipping Israelites.

Such was the rise of the temporal power of the Vicar of

Jesus Christ. There is no fact more wonderful in the history of nations than the origin of the Papal States, and it is as undeniable as it is wonderful. The secular sovereignty of the Popes arose *in silence*. Every other kingdom on the globe traces its beginning to some deed of violence. Conquest, spoliation, treachery, bloodshedding in some accursed shape, has laid the foundations and erected the superstructure of every other human kingdom. Spread out the map of the world, and lay our finger where we will, we find no parallel to the origin of the temporal sovereignty of the successors of St. Peter. Like the temple of Solomon, no din of arms disturbed its birth and infancy ; and if, like that temple, it has in after ages been defended against aggression by carnal weapons, so that in our own time we have seen it summon into action the last lingering remnants of the old Christian chivalric bravery, its title-deeds, so to say, are stained with no drop of blood.

Yet there is scarcely one educated Englishman out of twenty who is not possessed with the idea that carnal motives have prompted the Holy See both in the acquisition, the extension, and the retaining of its secular dominion. Take any private assemblage of English gentlemen and ladies, of good social position, and favoured with at least the average amount of education, among the upper classes of the country, and ask them how the Popes obtained their present temporal power, and you will find that scarcely one or two of them are aware of the fact that the Papal dynasty is not only by far the most ancient that exists, but that it alone can claim to have originated in the voice of the people. Other monarchs call themselves, and are called by flatterers, the fathers of their subjects. Dreaming speculatists look back upon some imaginary patriarchal age, in which the reigning powers of the world, be they monarchical, aristocratic, or democratic, had their origin in an extension of pure family influence. But without an exception, these speculations are absolutely false ; and the chronicles of history declare that blood and violence—whether exercised justly or unjustly—founded every existing kingdom, but one, among men.

Any book, therefore, which attempts to give a complete account of the rise and history of the Papal States, is well worthy of recommendation to the general reader, if its author accomplish his task with moderate success. If the thoughtful Protestant can be induced to look in the face even a portion of the great historical facts of Catholicism, the gain to religion is clear. In nothing, perhaps, has the truth suffered in this country more than in the systematic, though sometimes un-

malicious, perversion of the history of the Church which has blighted the whole course of English literature since the Reformation. There can be little doubt that an immense proportion of the obstinate prejudices which our countrymen still cherish against the Catholic faith is the result of this startling ignorance of the past in every thing that concerns Catholicism and Catholics. British anti-Popish horror rests far less upon antipathy to Catholic dogmas than upon a belief that *in fact* Catholics have proved themselves to be bloodthirsty, treacherous, tyrannical, licentious, and the foes of the freedom and peace of the human race. Our countrymen wander through the aisles of York and Westminster and Lincoln, and marvel to think what an amount of priestcraft must have been expended in gathering together the sums of money which those gorgeous temples cost. They busy themselves in exploring the wonders of Rome, and stare at her ceremonies, and rush half-frantic to listen to the *Miserere* in the Sistine Chapel, and extol the fairy-like scene of an illuminated St. Peter's, with feelings nearly akin to those with which they would trace the ruins of a Pagan temple in Assyria, or count over the jewels of some hideous Hindoo idol of wood or stone. Of the *history* of these relics of the past, and these yet living splendours, they are comfortably and cheerfully ignorant. If ever they do dream for a few moments of days long gone by, and wonder how it was that a cunning priest contrived to gain possession of the home of the Cæsars, and to store together the treasures of the Vatican, they behold in imagination a dim, mysterious vision of dark scowling ecclesiastics looming through the gloom, and practising upon the follies of a deluded age with certain diabolical incantations, like the weird sisters in Macbeth, or any other play of demoniacal horrors. And thus it is that we so often see that a single historical truth is of more avail in softening English animosity than a volume of theological arguments. If the crowds who visit the new House of Lords could only be taught to contemplate the fact, that one of the most prominent of the statues which there are raised in memory of the founders of English liberty is that of a Catholic Archbishop, and that *Magna Charta* is the work of Catholic barons, and that the odious sovereign from whom *Magna Charta* was wrung was as odious in the eyes of the Pope as in the eyes of the people of England, they would return to their firesides more ready to believe that there was something to be said for Catholicism, than after hours and hours of listening to elaborate proofs of the "scripturalness" of purgatory, and the Papal supremacy, and the worship of relics and images.

Dr. Miley's *History of the Papal States* goes far towards

supplying our want of some such book to put into the hands of those who know little or nothing of the rise and progress of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes. He has collected together a large amount of information of all kinds—geographical, antiquarian, and critical; he writes with unflagging zeal and spirit, and with that cordial interest in his subject, and appreciation of its greatness, without which no historian could do justice to such a theme. His pages abound with the same species of brilliant sketches and historical painting which made his book on *Rome under Paganism and the Popes* popular with so many readers. The versatility of his mind is manifest on every subject he touches upon; and there is scarcely a single name of eminence in the course of his history, or a single spot of enduring interest, on which he does not contrive to throw some light.

At the same time, the work has one or two blemishes which call for correction before the history could be fairly estimated as supplying *all* that is wanted in a history of the Papal States. The style is generally too sketchy, resembling a series of articles more than a continuous chronicle. Dr. Miley also gives his readers too much credit for a previous knowledge of the salient features of each epoch he touches on, rushing in *medias res* too rapidly for the sober pace of history. We could have spared, further, many of the quotations he has extracted from modern writers, some of them of a worthless, and some of a fugitive character. His showy and slightly clap-trap running titles are scarcely worthy of his subject; and generally the work needs knitting together with more care and consecutiveness of idea. Its solid contents are at the same time so good in quality and so abundant in quantity, that a rearrangement of its plan, and the adoption of a greater degree of severity of style, would render the work as agreeable as it is valuable, and attractive to a far larger circle of readers. In a second edition we should also suggest that the geographical account of the Papal States, which occupies nearly half of the first volume, should be described as what it really is, and not be given as an integral portion of the history. Many a student who ardently desires to read the *history* of the Papal States, cares little for their agricultural, geological, or antiquarian aspects; and either shuts up the book before he has read fifty pages, or labours onwards with a strong prepossession that the author is the dullest of writers. These faults we particularise in detail, in order that the reader may be fully prepared beforehand for the defects of Dr. Miley's style, and not, coming upon them unawares, stumble over them at the very threshold, and give them an exaggerated importance in his esti-

mate of the entire history. They are just that kind of faults which strike at first sight, and are most disagreeable when quite fresh. Once got over, Dr. Miley will be found an ever enthusiastic and lively instructor; and we shall rejoice to learn that the rapid sale of his volumes has put him into a position to prepare a fresh edition, free from the blots we have ventured to point out.

On the whole, the narrative increases in interest as it proceeds, not so much from an increase in the real importance of the subjects, as because the historian's peculiar qualifications come more freely into play in periods less remote than the earliest ages, when so few materials exist for that lively style of picture-painting in which Dr. Miley excels.

An extract from the section on "Hildebrand and his Age" will perhaps be as fair a specimen of Dr. Miley's powers as any that can be chosen. It is somewhat long, but it will scarcely bear mutilation; and we must therefore abstain from any further quotations, though the volumes tempt us to cull somewhat largely.

"The conception of Hildebrand's history, which would make its grand epic interest consist in this conflict with Henry IV., is manifestly superficial. It deals not with that grand revolution, or, more strictly speaking, reconstruction of Christendom, which was the great achievement of Hildebrand. His work (bequeathed by him to his successors in a state somewhat analogous to that in which Michael Angelo handed over St. Peter's to the architects who followed him,) was carried on to the most finished perfection by successive pontiffs, without the slightest deviation from his plans or spirit—so that it was as much his own work, morally speaking, as if he had been superintending it all the time. In this view, and it is the one which history warrants, the persecution of the Henrys is but an episode in the great drama, the catastrophe of which does not occur till the age of Luther. The onslaughts of Henry may be compared to those of Sennacherib and his Arabs against the children of Israel while they were rebuilding Jerusalem from its ruins. If they retarded, they did not interrupt the work of Hildebrand. In his enterprise, as in that of Esdras, it might sometimes be said, as the princes were gathered together, and bore down to the attack, 'The strength of the bearer of burdens is destroyed, and the rubbish is very much, and we shall not be able to build the wall.' Still the building of Hildebrand goes on: 'With one of his hands he did the work, and with the other he held a sword.' During his pontificate, what we may term ecclesiastical parliaments, which were open to the laity and clergy of Christendom, continued to be held annually at Rome, and had such an influence in re-establishing discipline, and raising the clergy and hierarchy from their wretchedly degraded condition to one of pristine purity, in re-invigorating zeal,

in rekindling knowledge, that in a few years from his death the whole aspect of things is changed. Thus, when Paschal II. was made prisoner at the altar in St. Peter's by the perjured son and successor of Henry IV., they were the Bishops of the countries on this side the Alps, especially of France and Germany, with the great St. Anselm of England, who came to the rescue, confirming the successor of Hildebrand when he seemed to falter. St. Gregory also dealt with Berenger in such a way that, after much tergiversation, the heresiarch himself was sincerely converted, and with himself expired his errors.

“Of his character in private life we have but a brief word to say. It has ever been one of the prerogatives, or penances, perhaps, to speak more correctly, attached to greatness, to be attacked and misrepresented; pre-eminence in this respect also belongs to Gregory VII. Indeed, the Hildebrand of anti-papal writers is, we will not say quite a different thing from the Hildebrand we find in the letters of the real personage who bore that name, and in the trustworthy records of his times—it is simply a chimera. It is a monstrous creation of the fancy made delirious by the passions, or a broad caricature got up to excite or to foster such a delirium in others. A Hildebrand with the motives and passions of a Mahomed Ali, or of a Doctor Francia, combined with an immeasurably wider field for their gratification than was possessed by either, still living as, by his literary traducers, it is allowed this pontiff lived, is such a character as not only never did exist, but such as it is not in the nature of things could ever have had an existence. To say that the real Hildebrand, whether in moral or intellectual greatness, whether in the vastness and gigantic grasp of his genius, in the irresistible potency of his will, or in the lightning-like rapidity and practised mastery with which his resolves were carried into effect, has never been surpassed by any of the mightiest who have excited the wonder of the generations before whom, as the great drama has gone on from age to age, they put forth their powers, is merely to state a truism at which ignorance alone could cavil; but to say that Hildebrand was a loving and loveable character will very possibly excite a smile in most even of those who revere him for his austere sanctity, and admire him for his extraordinary gifts both as a man and as a Christian. This point we pretend not to argue, but leave a few usually unnoticed incidents and facts to tell their own story. First, then, the very name of Gregory VII. is a monument—a grand and imperishable monument, erected to gratitude and love of the individual to whom he stood indebted for the training of his wonderful mental powers. The title of Gregory VII. he assumed, not only from enthusiasm for a great principle, but also through his love and gratitude towards John Gratian, his preceptor, who was Gregory VI. Again, though the endearments of the closest consanguinity and worldly interests all tended to draw them the other way, and even to array them in hostility against him, the greatest, most spotless, and universally admired personages of his time were the

devoted, the enthusiastic friends of Hildebrand. The Judith, the Deborah of Christendom, the heroine Matilda, was the cousin, St. Hugh, the Abbot of Clugni, was the close kinsman, the Empress Agnes was the fond mother, of Henry IV., but they were all heart and mind devoted to Hildebrand. That looks like the love 'which many waters shall not extinguish.' Another bosom friend of Hildebrand was Desiderius, the Abbot of Monte Casino; just now we shall see what manner of man was Desiderius. In fine, the outpourings of heroical affection and fidelity superior to every instinct of dread, displayed towards the Sufferer of Golgotha, alone surpass those of which Hildebrand was the object on that cruel night when, maltreated as his Divine Master had been before him, he was wounded at the altar, stripped of his robes, and dragged by the hair of the head, under a shower of blows, from the chapel sacred to the memory of the infant Redeemer's birth. Even the sister of Cencio reviled him in his sufferings. But there were other noble Roman matrons who could not be kept either by the fury of the winter-night tempest, or by the still fiercer howling and violence of the murderous retainers of his captor, from following him into that lion's den. They gathered round him in the dungeon, sterged away the gore from his venerable but serene features, dressed his wound, wrapped their rich ermined cloaks around his almost frozen members; and one brave heart that was there—his name is well known in heaven, though history has not recorded it—took the feet of the holy confessor of Christ, and placing them in his bosom, brought into them the vivifying warmth which his heart could so well afford to lend from its own superabounding store.

"Worn out and shattered beyond recovery by the action of the mighty mind within it, more even than by a life of unparalleled exertions, or by the austerities which he practised as fervently under the robes of the pontificate as under the cowl of a prior, it was only the body of Hildebrand that succumbed to death. The might of his genius and his heroism never forsook him to the last. The words with which he gave up his last breath sum up his history in a single sentence. It was the cry of a hero-saint, invincible even in death, leaving the combat to his less mighty companions in arms, when the victory is already achieved. His spirit continued to animate his successors, and to shape the policy of Rome as emphatically as if, instead of the Victors, the Urbans, and the other heroes of the papacy who succeeded him, he had in his own person continued to wield the sceptre. The three of his contemporaries whom he designated as best fitted to be popes during such a crisis, were all promoted, in the order in which he had named them, through arrangements which can hardly be looked on as other than providential. They announced to the Christian world that they had ascended the throne only to complete his plans, and to perpetuate that policy which he had reanimated in the administration of the Church. On the side of the East, his grand, far-sighted, and salutary projects were more than accomplished. Luminous as was his imagination,

and towering as were his hopes, they could hardly have ever come up to the immensity of the benefits which accrued, not to the East alone, but to Christendom, from the Crusades. The science of history is not in a state at present to allow of any person calling this position in question, except at the risk of being self-convicted of ignorance, or proved incapable of appreciating conclusions which have been established in the clearest light of evidence.

“ We saw the picture of the East struck off in the letter of St. Gregory to Henry IV. It represented not only the insufferable lot of the Christians, trampled under the hoofs of the Saracen and the Turk, it shewed that, if not encountered and broken on the soil of Asia, the aggressive might of the Crescent, overleaping the last and already crumbling barrier between it and the West, with shaft and scimitar would speedily carry conviction of their madness into the hearts of feudal kings and barons, for slighting his exhortations to be at peace among each other as brethren in Christ, and to unite against their common enemy. Byzantium at that juncture was menaced with a destruction which, but for the first Crusade, must have hastened its fate by four centuries. While the Turks were mustering to overwhelm it on one side, the Cossacks were hastening to strike for their share of the spoil from an opposite direction. To use the language of Alexis himself, all that the Greek Cæsar could do was to fly before his enemies from city to city. In the then state of the nations Constantinople was the key of Europe. Between the Hellespont and the Rhine, there was absolutely nothing in the shape of a power competent, not to say to hurl back the fanatic but thoroughly disciplined myriads, as in the glorious aftertimes of a Eugene or a Sobieski, there was no military combination that could have so much as retarded them in their march. Of Russia, Poland, Hungary, we need say nothing; as yet they had acquired little or no consistency as states; their power like their glory is altogether of a later date. Divided against itself, its Kaiser inaugurating his reign by making war and raid on the bravest of his own subjects, and following it up by a forty years’ war, carried on against the only power, the Papacy, from which the Infidels had any thing like serious and well-combined resistance to apprehend, what other fate could have awaited Germany but a repetition of that which left it a captive and a tributary for six-and-thirty years under the hoofs of the Hungarians, not for a moment to be compared to the Turkish and Saracenic powers? What could even martial France have done but succumb?—battling in vain, while her king, wallowing in a double adultery, never emerged from the sty of brutality but to exhibit himself in the character of a brigand, plundering the Italian and Levantine merchants who came for honourable traffic in the open fairs of his realm, under the conviction—not unnatural—that the monarch’s arm would be lifted, not to pillage, but to protect them? The Spaniards were performing feats of valour in the right direction, but even Spanish valour could not perform impossibilities. Already they had in front of them an overwhelming infidel force, while the inexhaustible reserves

in Africa, which, in A.D. 1106, reconquered Saragossa, were, we may say, preparing to embark. As for England, it was one great field of carnage, flight, and desolation, at that juncture. The Conqueror was only intent on establishing peace by creating a solitude, and until the vanguard of the Saracens should tread on Normandy, not a man would William have allowed from England. But for the policy of Hildebrand, there was nothing impracticable in the junction on the Rhone of the Moors of Africa with their brethren of Asia, after a promenade through Europe. From thence, a few marches, with far less to disturb their array than even Charles VIII. was met by in an after age,—and the muezin's call might have summoned the devout Moslem to St. Peter's as it does to St. Sophia's or the Temple. The Arab robbers might have used as a horse-trough the tombs of the martyrs. He has no correct notion of what the Europe of the eleventh century was, who considers this an overstatement of the danger.

“But at the summons of Hildebrand, proclaimed by Urban II. at Piacenza and at Clermont, one million enthusiastic Christian soldiers started into arms, and from that instant the conquest of Europe, by any infidel or other power on earth, became impossible. As illustrations, of the wonders the might and enterprise that are in man are capable of accomplishing, the career of Alexander, of Cæsar, or of Napoleon is literally as dust in the balance when compared with the first Crusade. At a time when the sciences which smoothed the path of conquest for these three favourites of renown lay buried in the oblivion of the past or in the womb of futurity, that medley of feudal hordes,—without artillery, without a commissariat, without so much as a map of their march across two continents, with an intervening sea between them; with little or nothing of so much that a general in our days would insist on as indispensable, but with a faith that nothing could resist,—the bands of the first Crusade had fought their way to a city, and taken it, five times as far from the Rhine as Moscow is from Paris. They had accomplished in an incredibly short period of time (considering the difficulties of distance, seas and rivers to be crossed, pitched battles to be fought, and strong cities to be taken), such an enterprise as it would hardly enter into the serious thoughts of any general of the present age to attempt with 300,000 men,—supposing the line of march to be the same that was taken by the Crusaders, and the resistance to be relatively equal.

“The first Crusade was exclusively the achievement of the pontiff and the people, with the princes of the second order. No crowned head took part in it. Henry IV. was warring against the Church; the King of France, wallowing in the sty of his passions, was abandoned to crimes over which history is compelled to cast a veil. Yet after this Crusade, organised by the genius of Hildebrand, led by Godefroy de Bouillon, the Christians were masters of Tarsus in Cilicia, of Edessa in Mesopotamia, of Antioch in Syria, of Jerusalem, of Joppa, of Cæsarea, of Ptolemais in Palestine. The Greek Em-

peror, from being shut up in his capital, was in a position to carry the war with vigour into the enemy's country ; to win battles, and wrest cities and whole provinces from the infidels : and his son, John Commenus, succeeding him in A.D. 1118, was enabled to follow up these advantages by a brilliant career of conquest. In A.D. 1104, there was formed a grand coalition of the Christian princes of the East. Bohemond, prince of Antioch ; Tancredi, lord of Laodicea and Apamea ; Baldwin, count of Edessa, and his cousin, Joscelin, seigneur of Turbessel, uniting their forces, crossed the Euphrates ; and had it not been for the old feudal leaven which caused them to fall to rivalries and disputes among themselves, there is no telling to what extent they might not have carried their successes. So long as they held together, no power in Asia was able to stand before them. In short, but for the Crusades, conceived and set on foot by Hildebrand, for many centuries the Crescent must have been floating over the length and breadth of Europe. In the twelfth and not in the fifteenth century would be found the date of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks ; and coming upon it four hundred years sooner, the onslaught of the Sultans (which shook Europe to its centre in the age of Charles V., and from which it was saved only by miracle in the days of John Sobieski,) must have inevitably borne every thing before it.

“Nor was it alone that they rolled back the rapidly advancing billows of Moslem invasion thus threatening to submerge the West ; the Crusades were the cause of an almost sudden and astonishing amelioration of the internal condition of Christendom. They relieved it of that delirium of blood and rapine and battle, manifesting itself in feudal conflicts, which was its greatest curse, and an insuperable bar to all social or intellectual progress. ‘Warriors who hear me,’ said Urban II. at Clermont, giving utterance to the injunctions of the dying Hildebrand,—‘warriors, you are incessantly on the look-out for vain pretexts for war, rejoice ! for behold before you now a war that is lawful and just. The moment has arrived to test whether yours is a genuine courage ; the moment has arrived for expiating so many scenes of violence enacted in the bosom of peace, so many victories tarnished by injustice. Let those arms unjustly employed in massacring one another, be turned to repel the enemy of the Christian name. You who were so often the terror of your fellow-citizens, and who sold for vile hire your arms that the fury of another might wield them, armed now with the sword of the Maccabees, go, defend the house of Israel, which is the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts ; go and chastise the insolence of the infidels, who aim at subjugating all realms and empires, and at extinguishing Christianity. There is no longer question of avenging injuries inflicted on mortals, but outrages offered to the Almighty : there is no longer question of the capture of a town or a castle, but of the deliverance of the holy places. If you triumph, the benedictions of Heaven and the kingdoms of Asia will be your portion ; if you fall, you will have the glory of dying in the

same place as your Redeemer, and that God whose eye will be on you when you are bravely fighting a battle which is for his glory, will not forget you. In the interim, we take under the protection of the Church, and of the holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, those who shall engage in this holy enterprise; we order that their persons and properties shall be held inviolate; that if any one shall have the hardihood to molest either the one or the other, the same shall be excommunicated by the bishop of the place; and bishops and priests who shall be found backward in this behalf, shall be *ipso facto* suspended from their functions, not to be absolved but by the Holy See.

“Soldiers of the living God, let no dastardly or profane hankerings of the flesh keep you clinging to your hearths. Be deaf to every thing but the moans of Sion; burst asunder all earthly ties, and remember what the Lord has said: ‘He who loves his father or his mother more than me, is not worthy of me;—whoever will abandon home, or kindred, or inheritance for my name’s sake, shall be recompensed an hundredfold, and shall possess life everlasting.’

“At these words of the pontiff, there burst forth from the immense assemblage with one voice, and with the force of thunder reverberating through the surrounding mountains, as time after time they took up the shout, ‘Dieu lo volt!’ God wills it! Then the Pope, raising his eyes towards heaven, and waving his hand for silence, continued thus: ‘My brethren, you to-day behold the accomplishment of this word of our Lord, that where his own are assembled in his name, there will He be in the midst of them; for had you not been inspired by Him, all of you could not have cried out with one and the same voice. Let these words, then, ‘Dieu lo volt!’ be henceforward your cry of war, and may it every where announce the presence of the God of armies.’ Then, after defining the categories of individuals to whom it was not allowed to take the cross, Pope Urban concludes thus: ‘This emblem worn upon your breasts shall be the sign raised amongst the nations for reuniting the dispersed children of the house of Israel; bear it on your shoulders and on your breasts; let it glitter on your arms and on your standards; it shall be for you the pledge of victory or of the palm of martyrdom; it will recall incessantly to your minds that Jesus Christ died for you, and that you ought to die for Him.’”

The “Three Romes,” by the Abbé Gaume, forms an agreeable and valuable supplement to Dr. Miley’s history. Its author is well known for his admirable *Catéchisme de Persévérance*, his *Manuel des Confesseurs*, and other excellent theological and historical works. His journal of his tour in Italy is the most pleasant and the most Catholic guide-book to the garden of the world that we know of, and is precisely what many an English Catholic traveller has repeatedly felt the want of during his journeyings in that country of noble

memories. It paints the present visible results of that mysterious influence which the Church has exerted upon the intelligence and passions of man in all past ages. In a certain sense, Italy is ever, so to say, a land of living ruins. In other countries, for the most part, the past scarcely survives at all. Each century as it hastens along sweeps away so much of all that has preceded it, that it demands no inconsiderable effort of the memory and the poet's powers to recall what is no more, and live over again in imagination the life of those who are dead. Throughout Italy, but especially in Rome, this is far less the case. The past wellnigh lives in the present; not dissolved, as it were, in the institutions, habits, and structures of the existing race of men, but mingling with it, struggling with it, uniting with it on equal terms of union. No man with a Christian heart and a well-stored mind can help feeling this singular truth when he enters Rome, or travels from city to city from the Alps to Sicily. There, from the buried cities of Etruria to the last Pontifical function in St. Peter's, all tends to impress his mind with an unwonted sense of the united fleetingness and durability of man and his works. Here in England, and almost every where else where modern life is energetic, the new generation and the generation just passing away seem the very boundaries of human history. We read of the past, we talk of the past, we may even think of the past; but we do not feel the past, or live in it, or do homage to its virtues, or shrink at the mention of its crimes, with the same spontaneous emotions which take possession of our minds as we traverse the plains of Italy or gaze at the wonders of the Eternal City. The Eternal City! Is not this very title a proof that all persons share the feelings we are expressing? Why is Rome the *Eternal* in the eyes of all men? Not alone because she is the see of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, who is the indestructible Rock on which the Church of Christ is raised, but also because in no other spot of earth is the life of man felt to be so continuous, so undying. Nowhere else is the mystic brotherhood of humanity perceived with such facility. Nowhere else have centuries and tens of centuries fled away, and left such ineffaceable traces of the *souls* who once possessed the land which now belongs to our own generation.

On this account it is that such a work as that of the Abbé Gaume is peculiarly interesting as supplementary to a formal history of the past. The chronicle and the traveller's journal combine to present a perfect picture; for scarcely can a spot be visited in Italy at this very hour which does not cast a ray

of light on some bygone scene, or help us to form a just estimate of our forefathers both in humanity and in religion. M. Gaume himself was greatly struck with this union of the past with the present, which he found existing in many of the habits and feelings of Italians; and his consciousness of it gives an additional value to his records and reflections. His title itself bespeaks his wish to combine the living with the dead in one story. Rome, Pagan as well as Christian, buried in the catacombs as well as surviving on the face of the earth, is ever before him; and in a familiar spirit he visits every other place in Italy to which his travels lead him.

Viewed more critically, his work is just what it calls itself, a journal of what he saw, heard, and thought. It comprises just so much historical, antiquarian, and local information as to constitute it a species of guide-book for the traveller, without superseding those more professed manuals which tell the traveller where to sleep, how to eat, and what to pay. There is, further, a gossiping character about the Abbé's pages, which relieves them from heaviness, and makes the book as agreeable a companion for the fireside as for the *diligence* or the private carriage. He gives us anecdotes and incidents of all kinds, sometimes important in themselves, and when trivial, told in a lively, pleasant, conversational way; so that his journal is just such as might be expected from the cultivated and animated pen of a devout ecclesiastic, possessing that one essential to an agreeable *raconteur*, a warm heart, ready to be pleased, and sympathising, as far as possible, with all he sees. The Abbé's fourth volume is of a more elaborate character than the rest, being, in fact, an historical and critical account of the Roman Catacombs, full of interest, and containing a vast amount of information. Three plans are given in the volumes, shewing ancient and modern Rome and the Catacombs. We confidently recommend the whole work to our readers, whether they are intending to visit Italy, and want a pleasant friend by the way; or have already visited it, and love to renew its many pleasant memories; or are confirmed dwellers at home, and yet would fain travel in mind where their feet will never stray.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE *Monuments inédits sur l'Apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence et sur les autres Apôtres de cette contrée*, par l'Auteur de la dernière Vie de M. Olier, publié par M. l'Abbé Migne, — is a remarkable and elaborate work. It consists substantially of three parts. In the first, the question of the identity of St. Mary Magdalen with Mary the sister of Lazarus and Martha, and with "the woman that was a sinner" mentioned by St. Luke, is critically and historically examined, and solved in the affirmative, after a most careful enumeration and comparison of all the principal authors, collation of the opinions of ancient doctors and modern liturgists, of all the Missals and Breviaries, the decrees of Bishops or of Universities, and, in a word, of every thing which can in any way throw light upon the subject. The second part treats of St. Mary Magdalen's apostolate in Provence, a fact which, having been universally believed throughout the whole of the French Church down to the middle of the seventeenth century, was then first called in question, and openly denied by Launoy in the year 1641. This part of the work contains also much valuable information concerning the episcopacy of St. Lazarus at Marseilles and of St. Maximin at Aix, as also the histories of St. Martha, St. Mary, mother of James, and St. Mary Salome. Lastly, the third part, which fills the whole of the second volume, is taken up with the text of those documents upon which the assertions of the second depend, with critical disquisitions upon their authenticity, and other pieces of a similar justificatory character. To ordinary readers, part of this volume will be the most interesting portion of the whole,—we mean the old lives of St. Mary Magdalen and the rest. Probably, indeed, they will regret that the author had not done something more, namely, had presented them with a complete biography of his principal Saint, compiled from the ample materials which he has collected, but written according to the laws of modern composition; a modernised edition, in fact, only corrected and enlarged, of the old lives of these Saints by the Dominican Father Razzi, such as Dom. Gueranger has given us in his charming *Histoire de Ste. Cécile*: but this would scarcely have been in place in a work so purely apologetic as that which lies before us. The author aims only at vindicating the ancient tradition of his country and of the Church, respecting the Saints we have named, from the rude and often most shallow criticism of the last century; and he has acquitted himself of the task with an untiring zeal and laborious patience, such as is seldom to be met with in French writers upon similar subjects. These volumes are a valuable contribution as well to the ecclesiastical history of France as to the hagiography of the early Church in general; and we only wish that many other ecclesiastical traditions, both of our own and of other countries, may meet with champions of equal ability and perseverance.

The Emblems of Saints, by which they are distinguished in Works of Art, by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth (Burns and Lambert), is another curious work of ecclesiastical learning, of a partly kindred description. Its title describes its nature. The first part gives a list of the emblems with which Saints have been at different times represented, alphabetically arranged according to the Saints' names; the second gives the same arranged according to the emblems. Then follow the emblems of the ancient patriarchs and prophets; then a list of the various patrons of arts, trades, and professions; and lastly, the Roman, the old English, the French, the Spanish, the German, and the Greek calendars printed side by side. The whole is the result of much research, and will be both interesting and useful in many ways.

Mr. Gibson, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, has published a second series of his *Descriptive and Historical Notices of Northumbrian Churches and Castles* (Longmans). The chief portion of the volume is occupied with a memoir of the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, who was executed in 1715. The learned author is a zealous Jacobite, and, what is more to our purpose, though a Protestant, he thoroughly appreciates the religious merits of the devoted earl. His work has been a labour of love, and we wish it all the success it deserves.

The Fourth of a Series of *Cottage Conversations*, by Mary Monica (Burns and Lambert), contains accounts of the *Estatica* and the *Addolorata* of the Tyrol. The preceding parts in the series are already deservedly popular, and this last is worthy of its predecessors. They are the best things of the kind we know of.

An American edition, published by Dunigan of New York, of *Canon Schmid's* well-known *Tales* has been imported into this country. They are abundantly illustrated with woodcuts by an American artist, Mr. J. G. Chapman, of a merit much above that of most similar publications.

The last published number of the *Catholic School*, commencing its second volume, is one of the most important yet issued. We beg especial attention to its opening article on the admirable institution at Ploermel, under the guidance of the Abbé de Lamennais. We are very glad to learn that the *Catholic School* is being translated into German, and republished in Germany.

In a late number of the *Rambler*, we proposed to publish in our pages a list of books suitable for *Catholic Lending Libraries*, as a help to those who have not leisure to compile such a catalogue for themselves. We trust shortly to lay such a list before our readers, and shall at the same time furnish them with an account of *The Archconfraternity of Good Books*, an association established several years ago in France for the formation of these very libraries, which has met with great success, and has received the special favour of the Sovereign Pontiff.

Ecclesiastical Register.

ELEVATION OF THE RIGHT REV. DR. WISEMAN TO THE CARDINALATE.

ON Tuesday, August 13th, a numerous meeting of Catholic laity was held at the Thatched House Tavern, T. Barnewall, Esq. in the chair, convened by a requisition, signed by the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, to consider the propriety of presenting an address to the Right Rev. Dr. Wiseman, on the occasion of his departure from England, and of raising a fund, according to the practice of Catholic countries in like cases, to meet the expenditure attendant on his promotion to the rank of a Prince of the Church; when resolutions were adopted unanimously to carry both these objects into effect, and a subscription was entered into on the spot. On the following day, there was another meeting of the London clergy at the house of the Rev. W. Wilds, the oldest priest of the district, when an address was unanimously adopted to the Bishop, expressive of the gratitude felt by his clergy for his untiring zeal in promoting the cause of religion throughout the district; of admiration for his many excellences, and of regret at his departure, mingled with gratification at the prospect of his deserved elevation to the Cardinalate, and of the (perhaps) increased sphere of usefulness which may be thereby opened to him. On the Feast of the Assumption the Bishop administered the sacraments of Confirmation and Ordination at the Oratory, and on the following day left London for Rome.

The following is the first of the addresses alluded to:—

*To the Right Reverend Dr. Wiseman, Bishop of Melipotamus, and
Vicar Apostolic of the London District.*

We, the undersigned, members of the laity of the London district, avail ourselves of the announcement of your Lordship's approaching absence from among your spiritual children, to offer to your Lordship the homage of our heartfelt affection and veneration. So far as that absence may, according to a prevalent rumour, be connected with your Lordship's elevation to become a Prince in the Church, we join our congratulations to those of universal Christendom, well knowing that no reward which the Church can bestow will be more than commensurate with the eminent services of your Lordship. The wonderful progress and development of our holy religion in these kingdoms, which prove themselves to be the work of the right hand of the Most High, manifestly require the guidance of the most perfect combination of talent, energy, and public confidence, which the Church can command. That we, your fellow-Catholics, should recognise this combination in your Lordship, proves only what is well known to all the Catholic world; but it is your Lordship's peculiar happiness to have extorted by your writings, and preaching, and life, a similar tribute from the great mass of the Protestant world.

It is therefore only natural that, so far as your approaching absence may be connected with any question of a separation between your Lordship and your spiritual children, we shall await the decision with anxiety, but with the fullest confidence in the Heaven-directed wisdom of our holy Father the Pope, well knowing that in his care for the Universal Church he will deal with our land as one of the most important portions

of his vineyard. Therein your Lordship has planted numerous seeds of piety and devotion which have not yet had time to take deep root among us, and his Holiness cannot but be as sensitive as we are to the dangers which may arise from any change in the system of cultivation. Should, however, that wisdom decide that the interests of the whole Christian world require your Lordship's personal separation from your beloved children in this kingdom, we shall have the consolation of knowing that, while an enlarged sphere of spiritual action must occasion a proportionate increase of usefulness, your Lordship can never cease to regard this scene of your labours as the most beloved spot within your more extended jurisdiction; and will continue to develope and cherish those numerous sources of edification and comfort which have been opened to every one of us by your Lordship's unwearied vigilance and devotion.

But if our selfish anxieties should turn out to be groundless, and should your absence, as we fondly hope, prove to be temporary only, how gladly shall we hail your return, clothed, as it may be, with the marks of the highest favours which the Church can bestow, with new claims—not on our affections and confidence, for to these it would be impossible to add—but on the respect and veneration of our entire community, who cannot fail to appreciate, as belonging to themselves, the princely dignity which shall have been so worthily bestowed. But whatever in rank or locality may be your Lordship's destination, be well assured you will carry with you our most earnest wishes and prayers for every blessing in time and in eternity.

PLENARY INDULGENCE IN THE FORM OF JUBILEE.

[By a circular, under date July 2d (of which the following is a translation), his Eminence Cardinal Orioli, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, in virtue of the express order of the Holy Father, authorises all the Bishops in the world to publish in the course of this year a Plenary Indulgence in the form of a Jubilee.]

Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord and Brother,—Divine Providence having re-established our Holy Father the Pope on his throne, and having removed the terrible chastisements hanging over guilty heads, the heart of his Holiness has remained filled with sentiments of the most pious gratitude to the Lord, who deigned to relieve with his mighty succour the time of tribulation. For this reason, his Holiness ceases not to render humble offerings of thanks to Him from whom all good comes, fervently praying Him also to make an end of the storm, restore calm to his Church, increase the zeal of the clergy, revive the faith of the Christian people, strengthen the good, bring back into the right way those who wander from it, and light up in the hearts of all the flame of his eternal charity. Also, our Holy Father ardently desires that these sentiments may be excited in the minds of the faithful, because this union of thanksgiving and prayers will be more powerful to make the Father of Mercies propitious to us, who is so ready to console us in our afflictions.

What hope could we conceive that He will accept our vows and hear our prayers, if we did not unite ourselves in compunction of heart and reformation of manners? For this reason, the Holy Father desires that the sacred pastors, moved with a holy zeal for the salvation of souls, not merely convoke the faithful to the church for public prayers,

but also exhort them by salutary instructions, each one of them, to pray in spirit and truth, and purify by the sacrament of Penance their souls from sin, for our sins are the true cause of God's indignation against us. And to give a strong impulse, the Holy Father hastens to open to the faithful the heavenly treasures of Indulgences, and to render more easy, by a special privilege, the way to sincere repentance, having, moreover, the intention of supplying in some measure the Jubilee which the circumstances under which we live have not permitted us to publish in the course of this year, in this city, where, at the recurrence of the holy year, the faithful were accustomed to come from all countries to venerate the tomb of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and the ashes of the holy martyrs who have bedewed this earth with their blood.

He consequently authorises the Ordinaries to whom the present circular shall be addressed, to publish in their respective dioceses during the current year, at such times as they shall think fitting, the Plenary Indulgence in the form of a Jubilee, which shall last fifteen days, and which the faithful of both sexes may gain, who, having satisfied the conditions which shall be promulgated by the Ordinaries themselves, shall approach during the above-mentioned time the sacrament of Penance and the Eucharistic Table.

His Holiness leaves it to the discretion of the Ordinaries to prescribe such public prayers and other pious exercises as they shall consider most proper for attaining the object in view, as also the care of determining the number of times it shall be necessary to assist thereat, in order to obtain the Plenary Indulgence. They will, moreover, make it known, that each time persons take part therein, they may gain an Indulgence of 100 years; that persons who live in community, and have no public church, may gain the said Indulgences by assembling every day in the place where they are accustomed to pray, and there fulfilling the prescriptions of the Ordinary; that parish priests and confessors are authorised to prescribe, according to their prudence, some prayers to the sick and to prisoners, that they also may have the consolation of gaining the holy Indulgence.

Moreover, his Holiness grants to all and every the faithful, seculars, ecclesiastics, and regulars, to whatever Order or Institute they may belong, without the necessity of special mention, the license and the faculty of choosing, in order to gain the Indulgence, any confessor whatever, whether of the secular or of the regular clergy, approved of by the Ordinary of the place—(but for religious women, novices, and other women living in monasteries, the confessors must be approved *pro monialibus*)—who shall have the power, for this occasion, of absolving them from all excommunication, suspension, and other ecclesiastical censures, and from all sins, excesses, and offences, how grave and enormous soever, although specially reserved to the Ordinary of the place, to the Superiors of the Order, or even to the Sovereign Pontiff and to the Holy See; those also being included, the absolution whereof would not be comprised in any other concession, how ample soever, excepting only those persons who have been by name excommunicated, suspended, interdicted, or declared such by sentence of the ecclesiastical judges, or publicly denounced. Furthermore, all may be dispensed, for the cases determined by the Church, from the obligation of denouncing, excepting in the case of a dogmatising heretic, and the other case laid down in the Constitution of Benedict XIV. of holy memory, commencing with these words, "*Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ*," which must remain stable, even for the inability which may be established therein.

There is also granted to the confessors aforesaid the faculty of

commuting with a dispensation, into other pious and salutary works, the particular vows, even confirmed by oath and reserved to the Holy See, with the exception of those of chastity, of religion, and others implying an obligation in favour of a third party having accepted it, or which are penitential and preservative from sin; and also the faculty of dispensing from irregularity contracted by the violation of censures, provided that it does not come under the jurisdiction, and could not easily come under the jurisdiction, of the secular court.

Confessors shall enjoy this power during the fifteen days specified, and they shall impose in each case salutary penances, taking care to observe the legal injunctions; in all these absolutions, commutations and dispensations shall only avail in the ecclesiastical tribunals.

The Holy Father is confident that your Lordship, in the zeal which distinguishes you, will take all pains that the faithful committed to your pastoral care may profit by this special Pontifical concession, granted for the good of souls. In making this communication to your Lordship, I wish you all prosperity in the Lord, and I remain, &c.

FR. A. F. CARD. ORIOLI, *Prefect*.

D., ARCHBISHOP OF DAMASCUS, *Secretary*.

Rome, July 2d, 1850.

GOVERNMENT AID GRANTED TO CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

(From the *Catholic School*.)

IN 1848-49 the grants voted towards the building of schools amounted to 106,863*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*; out of which large sum Catholics will not receive one farthing. The reason of this exclusion lies, as is well known, in the "Management Clauses," for the sake of which her Majesty's Government appear willing to sacrifice the interests of education where most required, and to perpetuate the wrongs and injustice of the ages of bigotry.

Grants of fittings were discontinued before Catholic schools were allowed to share in them, and hence they have to us been wholly unproductive. In comparing, then, the items of the general summary, it must be remembered that from one of the two sources of benefit, and that the most lucrative, therein comprised, Catholics have been wholly debarred, while in the other source they have participated only for six months of the two years to which the table extends. These considerations will prepare us to find that the ratio of aided Catholic schools to Protestant schools is 26 to 1021, or 1 to 39½ nearly; while the ratio of aid is 1 to 56 nearly. Looking at the positive results, we find that between July and December 1849 twenty-six Catholic schools, situated in eleven counties of England and Wales, obtained "book grants" to the amount of 97*l.* 10*s.* 9½*d.* Now the administration of "book grants" requires that the managers of the schools should have added, from their own resources, at least twice the sum granted to them, or 195*l.* 1*s.* 6½*d.*; and books and maps were then purchased at about half the bookseller's price. So the operation of the Privy Council "book grants" for six months has been to supply twenty-six Catholic schools, at a cost to school funds of 195*l.* 1*s.* 6½*d.*, with books and maps worth between 500*l.* and 600*l.*

In twenty-eight counties of England, while Protestant schools have

gained larger or smaller sums as grants to pupil-teachers, Catholic schools have merited nothing; namely, in Bedfordshire, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Cornwall, Cumberland, Derby, Devon, Dorset, Essex, Gloucester, Hants, Hereford, Herts, Huntingdon, Leicester, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Salop, Somerset, Suffolk, Westmoreland, Wilts, Worcester, and York. Wales and the Isle of Man have fared similarly. Eleven counties of England have been allowed to monopolise the signal advantages of pupil-teachers, who have been apprenticed in Cheshire, 1 school; Durham, 6; Kent, 1; Lancashire, 4; Middlesex, 7; Monmouthshire, 1; Northumberland, 1; Staffordshire, 2; Surrey, 1; Sussex, 1; and Warwickshire, 4. Three schools in Scotland, namely, 1 in Dumfries, and 2 in Edinburgh, have entitled themselves to the same praise. One or two counties have acquitted themselves very creditably, and among these Durham is pre-eminent. Out of a total of 167*l.* granted in that county as annual augmentation of salary to certificated teachers, four Catholic masters have gained 86*l.* 10*s.*, or more than one-half: and out of 1002*l.* 10*s.* for pupil-teachers, five Catholic schools have entitled themselves to 218*l.* 10*s.*, or more than one-fifth. It must, in considering this table, likewise be carefully borne in mind, that whereas the returns of Protestant schools extend over the whole year ending 31st October, 1849, shewing much of the proceeds of former years, inasmuch as a pupil-teacher's stipend is progressive, and exhibiting the results of the labours of the twenty Protestant Inspectors; in the case of Catholic schools, the first indentures date from February and March 1849, and since the time of the solitary Catholic Inspector employed for England, Scotland, and Wales, is necessarily much lost in travelling, as well as absorbed by the duties of holding examinations, &c.; so these tables cannot be taken to exhibit more than the results of six months' work as respects pupil-teachers. Making allowance for this drawback, we ought perhaps to be satisfied to find, that of 1361 schools with apprenticed pupil-teachers, Catholics reckon 32, or 1 in 42½ nearly; of 3581 apprentices, they count 79, or 1 in 45½ nearly; of 68,111*l.* 10*s.* conditionally granted for the year ending 31st October, 1850, they will receive 1323*l.* 10*s.*, or 1*l.* in 51*l.* 10*s.* nearly.

The annual Calendar of Certificates of Merit gives the names of certificated Catholic teachers of last year. With this table we have every reason to be satisfied, and we trust to see it honourably enlarged during the current year. We cordially concur in the opinion, now we believe general, that some of the questions which have been put to candidates, and especially in the papers for mistresses, are not free from exaggeration and absurdity, and that the papers themselves comprise too extensive a range of intellectual study, while they form a very inadequate test of the teaching powers of the candidates. Their Lordships will probably correct the blunders into which the caprices of individual Inspectors may have led them in this matter. Meanwhile, we may notice that if none of our mistresses attained to the honours of the first class, yet three were creditably placed in the second class; while the Calendar shews that *all* the successful candidates among the Dissenters—usually, as is well known, far better educated than common Protestants of the same station—are in the third or lower class.

ROME.

THE committee appointed to carry out the financial measures determined by the government of his Holiness are, Cardinal Marini, President; Mgr. Antinori, Auditor of the Rota; the Princes Orsini and Rospigliori; the Chevalier Righetti, Secretary to the late Count Rossi; the rich Baron Grazioli, and some others. Mgr. Hildebrand Ruffini is to be Prefect of Police.

The Ecclesiastical Academy is re-opened, with some important ameliorations in its system, by the Holy Father. The course will now include diplomatic law in theory and practice, religious controversies, political economy, history, and, in particular, that of concordats. The Abbate Franchi is named to the chair of diplomatic law; and Dr. Grant, Superior of the English College, to that of religious controversy.

The Holy Father has founded a Mass to be said daily for ever in the church of St. Louis at Rome for the souls of those who died in the late expedition. This foundation was to begin with the 1st of July, the anniversary of the entry of the French into Rome, and is to be said every day at ten o'clock, and on Sundays and holydays at eleven.

By a ducal decree, dated July 24th, the Jesuits are recalled into the Duchy of Modena, and will open, on the 1st of next November, the schools entrusted to their care in Modena, Reggio, and Massa.

(From the Roman Correspondent of the *Times*.)

I met the Pope and his retinue of Noble Guards, Cardinals, and Monsignores, the night before last, on the Civita Vecchia road, about half a league distant from St. Peter's. He had left his carriage, and, attended by a few of his personal friends, was on foot, enjoying the freshness of a beautiful evening, and admiring the last rays of the setting sun. Just as he had reached a hill on which the glory of the "god of day" still lingered, a convoy of five carriages coming from the coast appeared; and one of the persons in the leading carriage, exclaiming in Italian and French, "On foot, ladies and gentlemen!" the whole of the passengers, at least forty in number, some French, some English, some American, some Spanish, and the rest Italian, jumped out, and fell on their knees just as the Supreme Pontiff joined them. The Pope was dressed in a flowing white robe, with a wide crimson hat, and, in the midst of the Cardinals, with their gorgeous costume, presented a most picturesque object. The people kissed his feet and his fingers, each receiving a word of devout consolation; and when that ceremony with all was accomplished, Pio Nono, raising his hands to heaven, said with his fine melodious voice, "Siamo contentissimi a daré a voi, appena arrivati sotto l'ombra della cupola di S. Pietro, la benedizione in nome dell' onnipotente Iddio de' Fedeli." The Holy Father then passed on, the group remaining on their knees until he was out of sight, and then only all arose, the ladies weeping, and the men imploring blessings on his sainted head. I chanced to know some of the party, and, in particular, more than one person who had been the decided enemy of the Church; but the whole were converted on the spot, and all declared they were ready to shed their blood in the service of the Supreme Pontiff. As for myself, not wishing to attract attention, I had retired to a quiet corner of the roadside, but I was struck with awe and admiration at the impressive spectacle, and, cold as one becomes to scenic effect by long experience of the realities of life, I can never forget this scene.

CANADA.

CIRCULAR OF THE BISHOPS OF SIDYME, MONTREAL, CARRHA, MARYTROPOLIS, AND BYTOWN, ASSEMBLED AT MONTREAL, TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESES OF QUEBEC, KINGSTON, MONTREAL, BYTOWN, AND TORONTO.

FROM this important document, dated "Bishop's Palace, Montreal, 11th May, 1850," we take the following extracts:

DECISIONS.

1st. We strictly forbid the reading of spurious Bibles.

2dly. We do not by any means permit the reading of Bibles published without the approbation of the ecclesiastical superiors, and without explanatory notes of well-known Catholic authors.

3dly. We censure the reading of every tract, pamphlet, book, journal, &c. contrary to faith or morals. Should any doubt arise with regard to any work being included in this category, recourse is to be had to the diocesan authority.

4thly. Those who, after being apprised of these salutary decisions, will refuse to submit to them, are not to be admitted to the sacraments.

5thly. The faithful who may desire to read the holy Scriptures in the translations approved by the ecclesiastical authority are authorised to do so, provided that, in certain particular cases, there be no just reasons to fear that this reading may be prejudicial to them.

6thly. We regard as sufficiently approved for this object the New Testament translated into French, and printed at Quebec, with the approbation of his Grace the Archbishop; the Douay Bible and the Testament of Rheims, translated into English, and published by the authority of several Bishops.

LIBRARIES.

It is evident that, to prevent the people from reading bad books, it is of importance to supply them with good ones; for every disease has a special remedy. The following are our resolutions on this subject:—

1st. We recommend the immediate establishment of parochial libraries—each parish or mission, as appears to us, being able to procure its own.

2dly. To assist, as much as in us lies, so worthy an undertaking, we hereby institute in each parish or mission, in virtue of the power which we hold from the Apostolic See, a Society for the Distribution of Good Books, such as was founded at Bordeaux, and afterwards erected into a Confraternity by the Sovereign Pontiff, with all the privileges and indulgences thereunto attached.

3dly. In order the more easily to procure the most useful works for the people of this country, we hereby establish a Commission, consisting of priests of the different dioceses of this province, whose duty it will be to look after the best works which can be placed in the hands of the faithful, and the least expensive manner of procuring them. A catalogue will be printed, to which each parish can have recourse, in order to make a selection of the books that they may require, and afterwards have them procured by some bookseller, thus saving unnecessary expense.

4thly. The gentlemen named for this commission are: at Quebec, the curé of Notre Dame and the chaplain of St. Patrick's Church; at Kingston, the two chaplains of the Irish and Canadian congregations;

at Montreal, the two priests who have charge of the library established for the circulation of good books, one of whom acts for the Canadians, the other for the Irish; at Bytown, two of the Fathers Oblats, charged with the spiritual care of the Irish and Canadians. These gentlemen will come to such an arrangement as to enable them to publish but one and the same list, which may answer the requirements of the age and the country.

5thly. They will put themselves in communication with the society established at Bordeaux and other cities for the circulation of good books, in order that they may participate in the temporal and spiritual advantages which this pious association enjoys.

AN ENGLISH PAPER.

As at the present time journalism is a formidable power which hell uses, unfortunately with too much success, in scattering over the world impious and dangerous doctrines, religion finds herself necessitated to make use of this weapon against calumny and error. Moved by the requirements of the age, and at the request of several laymen, deeply afflicted in seeing that Catholicity has not in Canada a single organ in the English language to repel the incessant attacks of Protestant papers, we have come to the following conclusions:

1st. We approve with all our heart, as a work highly advantageous to religion, the publication of a religious paper in the English language, provided that it be detached from every political party.

2d. This paper, for the present, is to be printed at Montreal, edited by laymen, under the inspection of a few priests, and published once a week.

3d. It will be named the *True Witness*, because its object will be to render testimony to the holy truths of the Catholic religion, of which "Jesus Christ is a faithful witness," and of which every clergyman should shew himself the zealous defender by all the means in his power.

4th. There will be in each diocese at least one priest specially charged to make inquiries into the different necessities of his locality, and to transmit to the editors of the journal such information as they may stand in need of. A correspondence should exist between them, in order that they might adopt the most effective measures to render the journal in every respect interesting.

5th. The curés and missionaries are requested to recommend this paper to such of their parishioners as they judge qualified to read it with profit. They would do well by acting as agents, or by pointing out respectable persons who would exert themselves to procure as many subscribers as possible, and would forward their subscriptions.

PIEDMONT: ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF MONSIGNOR FRANZONI.

(From the *Univers*.)

Turin, August 9th, 1850.

I WROTE to you hurriedly yesterday to inform you that persecution had just recommenced here with renewed violence, with a severity which will inevitably lead to the most serious consequences. The simple statement of the facts will prove to you that the Piedmontese Ministers have come to a determined resolution to break absolutely with the Church.

A note published by the excellent and courageous journal, the *Ar-*

monia, upon the death of the Minister of Commerce, Santa Rosa, will have informed you that the unfortunate colleague of Siccardi entertained at his last moments a feeling of his faults, but that he was deficient in the courage to retract them in an open Christian manner. Upon this point I shall give you the most precise details.

Santa Rosa, who before his ministry had been exact in performing the duties of religion, having sent for his confessor, the latter declared to him that it was necessary that he should retract previous to being admitted to receive the sacraments. After a few moments' hesitation, Santa Rosa said that he had acted according to the dictates of his conscience, and in the conviction that he was not violating the laws of the Church; that if he had been in error, he regretted it. The priest observed to him, that his participation in culpable and condemned acts having been public, it was important that he should make a public reparation—that is to say, by a written declaration—for the scandal which he had given, the evil he had done; that he owed it to himself, as he owed it to the Church, to adopt a style of language loyal and precise. The unfortunate man still hesitating, still held back by human respect, by an engagement with Siccardi, proposed an ambiguous note, which the venerable religious of the Order of Servi, curé of the parish of St. Charles, was grieved to be obliged to refuse. At the same time that he explained the reasons for this refusal with all the moderation which charity demanded, but also with all the firmness which the Church prescribes, the curé of St. Francis wrote to Monsignor Franzoni, who was retained at Pianezza, informing him of what had taken place, and asking him for instructions. Santa Rosa still sought to reconcile his errors and faults as a politician with his apprehensions as a Christian, formerly fervent; at length, perceiving the near approach of death, he confessed anew, and declared that he condemned all those of his acts which the Church condemned, wishing to die as an Apostolic and Roman Catholic, sincerely obedient to the Head of the Church. He received absolution, but the last sacraments could not be administered to him. His last declaration not being written, and extreme unction not having been given to him, there was some doubt as to whether he might be interred according to the rites of the Church. One of the Ministers, M. de la Marmora, repaired to the curé of St. Charles, and notified to him that the Church must accord its ceremonies to the remains of Santa Rosa, that on that condition the refusal of the sacraments would be overlooked, but that otherwise they would know how to punish the guilty. The curé replied that it was usual with him in such matters to follow the advice of his Archbishop, and that he would act according to the order which would be sent him. M. de la Marmora therefore repaired to Pianezza, and, whilst observing certain forms of language, renewed his ultimatum. Monsignor Franzoni, who waited for more perfect information, confined himself to replying to the Minister, that as soon as he should be sufficiently instructed, he should think before God upon the decision which he ought to take. M. de la Marmora perceived that menaces would be useless, and retired. The Archbishop approved of the conduct of the curé of St. Charles, but observing that Santa Rosa had been desirous of dying in the bosom of the Church, he ordered that the ecclesiastical sepulture should be granted.

This incident, therefore, appeared to have terminated in a manner which ought to satisfy every one. Even already were some Siccardians seeking to discover a concession of principle in the conduct of the Archbishop. But the Ministry did not in any degree share that opinion, and, notwithstanding their promises, were not willing that the matter should

rest there. They had reckoned that the death of Santa Rosa would have led to a conflict; the dying declaration of that unfortunate man, and the decision which it had permitted the Archbishop to take, deprived them of the pretext for which they had a long time waited. Nevertheless, they were determined to proceed to extremities, and they were able to perceive that a spontaneous popular demonstration was in course of preparation. Some thousands of Lombard refugees, who corrupt and ruin the capital of Piedmont, offered in this respect resources which the ringleaders hastened to put into execution. The National Guard was assembled *en masse* to honour the funeral of Santa Rosa, and also to render armed assistance, as is their usual practice, to the acts of disorder which were foreseen. The demonstration was directed especially against the curé of St. Charles and the community to which he belongs. The Archbishop being absent, it seemed likely that they would confine themselves to investing his name with opprobrious epithets, and raising frightful cries before his palace. The programme was exactly followed. They commenced with vociferating before the gates of St. Charles; then the mob rushed into the house of the Servi, and the chamber of the curé was pillaged. The National Guard remained neutral: this is the sort of heroism which is habitual to that body. Here they call this miserable saturnalia an *émeute*; at Paris it would be regarded as nothing more than one of those silly freaks for which a few policemen easily obtain reparation. However, the Government pretended to be alarmed, and declared that the Servi, being an occasion of troubles, should immediately be banished. They accordingly were banished the same evening, and were scarcely allowed time to sign a protest against their expulsion.

But whilst the *émeute* was rendering this service to the Ministry, the latter were receiving from Siccardi, who is at Cormayeur, near the King, a letter, by which the Minister of the Interior was ordered to have the Archbishop conducted to Fenestrella, in case Santa Rosa should be deprived of the last sacraments or of ecclesiastical sepulture. The obedience was prompt. I informed you yesterday of the arrest of Mgr. Franzoni; I shall add here, that, besides the *gendarmes* in uniform who surrounded his dwelling, many others had been sent to Pianezza, in the dress of the *bourgeois*, for the purpose of mixing with the people, and repressing a truly spontaneous manifestation, which they dreaded. The manifestation took place, however; but it was on the part of those whom force could not restrain. Many peasants cast themselves upon their knees along the passage of the carriage which contained the Archbishop, for the purpose of receiving a last benediction from the holy prelate. The order of Siccardi enjoined that Mgr. Franzoni should not, under any pretext, be suffered to descend from the carriage until the gates of Fenestrella should be closed upon him. I learn this evening that that order has been executed. Is it necessary that I should add that the calm firmness of the illustrious confessor did not for an instant fail him? The Church of Turin is now suffering, but how glorious in its history will this date be!

You will perhaps be astonished that such acts can take place in a country which pretends to be subject to a constitutional form of government. But here the constitution exists only for Catholics; the priests, especially, are without the pale of common law. They are plundered, banished, imprisoned more arbitrarily than would be dared to be done in Russia. What is the absolutism of a Sovereign, in fact, compared to the tyranny of some men so wretchedly arbitrary as to seek the support of the revolutionary populace?

Time is urgent with me, and I am obliged to omit many details of significance. I ought, for example, to inform you at some length, that at Pignerol two or three dozen ruffians, who seemed to have been hired beforehand, hissed Mgr. Franzoni; that upon arriving at their house in Alexandria, the Servi found it laid waste, and have been obliged to follow into a more distant exile the brothers with whom they have gone to seek an asylum; that to-day the Minister of Justice and Worship has written to the Vicar-General of Turin, ordering him to nominate, without receiving the advice or commands of any one, an administrator for the parish of St. Charles, the Archbishop being condemned to return no more into the diocese. Siccardi disposes of the future. A similar notice is said to have been sent to his Holiness on the subject of the Archbishopric of Turin itself, which they are equally desirous of confiding to an administrator, some Giobertiste and Lombard priest, doubtless. Is this stupidity or madness?

No. It is the result of calculation and a pledge. The Piedmontese Government desire to break with Rome, persuaded that at this price they will obtain the intimate alliance of England. Actual persecution is a pledge which they offer to Lord Palmerston. The hope of finding financial resources in the confiscation of the property of the Church may also have some influence in these iniquities. To plunder the poor has always been the foible of reformers.

But these are facts which would require to be treated at greater length. Perhaps I shall soon undertake this labour. For the present I shall terminate by a remark which has struck all the Catholics of Turin. It was upon the 6th of August, the eve of his arrest, and the same day in which Siccardi gave the order for it, that Mgr. Franzoni received the cross which had been presented to him by the French Catholics. Some hours later, and the illustrious confessor would have been deprived of that homage which has been so precious to him, which he received with so much tenderness, and of which he was pleased to say, "I see in it a consolation and a strength."

On the 6th of August, the Catholics of France presented to Monsignor Franzoni the golden crucifix of the Monsignor Affre, the martyred Archbishop, in honour of his noble refusal to obey the Siccardi laws, and the consequent imprisonment to which he was subjected. The person elected for offering this testimony of sympathy with the Archbishop was M. Eugene Veuillot, one of the editors of the *Univers*. M. E. Veuillot accompanied the offering with these words:—

"I have been charged by a considerable number of French Catholics to offer to you a humble testimony of their veneration. The cross which they have the honour to present to you by my hands belonged to the holy Archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Affre, who, like the Good Pastor, gave his life for his flock. Catholic France is rejoiced at knowing that this cross of a martyr will hereafter rest on the breast of a confessor. We wish to honour in you, Monseigneur, all those Bishops who combat for the cause of God, and prepare themselves by struggles in the faith for the sacrifices of charity." The Archbishop replied:—"I am profoundly affected with the honour shewn to me by the Catholics of France. I accept with joy and gratitude the homage which is addressed, not to my person, but to the principle of which I am one of the representatives, and which Providence has called upon me to defend. The souvenirs attached to the cross which you offer to me render it still more precious, for the martyrdom of Monseigneur Affre is for the episcopate at once an instruction and a glory."

THE MIRACLE AT RIMINI.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Univers* writes as follows from Rome:--I send you a letter of Father Antonio Forci, under date June 27th, which will put you in possession of what is passing at Rimini up to the present day. From another letter, written on the 28th, by a Father of the same company of the Precious Blood, one of the preachers of the Novena, the following expressions deserve quoting: "Great prodigies! marvellous things! when the people pray for holy Church, they see the face of the Madonna sweetly resplendent." To the places mentioned by Father Forci as having witnessed the same prodigy, and on which I was unable to procure any exact information, except as to Fossombrone, where the prodigy is still continuing, I may add San Genecio, a little town adjoining Camerino and Terni. In these two places the prodigy is incontestable. I had the pleasure of reading a most edifying letter written by the Archbishop of Camerino, in which the circumstances are related. This country has received a completely new life; its Christianity is like to the first ages of the Church. One of the narratives laid before the Secretary of State relates the instantaneous cure of a woman born deaf and dumb, whom every body knew, who, in the presence of the Madonna, began to speak as if she never had that infirmity. At Terni the prodigy takes place in the private chapel of the Bishop. After being convinced, as were a multitude of witnesses, of the reality of the fact, the prelate wrote to the holy Father to know what ought to be done. The Pope replied that the Madonna should be removed to the Cathedral Church, and there exhibited to the veneration of the faithful. At the request of a great number of the faithful, the rev. fathers of the Precious Blood have announced a Novena in honour of Our Lady of Rimini: this Novena will commence next Saturday, in their church of San Salvator in Campo.

"To M. Benjamin Romanis, Prior-General of the Congregation of the Most Precious Blood, at Rome. Live the Precious Blood!

"As to the prodigy, I am enabled to inform you that it becomes more and more striking; that the concourse of strangers continues, and even daily increases, on the side of the Romagna, the Marches, Tuscany, and the Modenese. It is the same with the number of the offerings, although the public prints have exaggerated this, and stated it beyond the truth. The town of St. Julian came in procession on Sunday—the most beautiful you can conceive. Rimini indeed looks like a paradise with these beautiful processions continually entering. Some of them receive holy communion in general; then it is one would wish to be found among them.

"The Bishop told us last evening that the processes are going on very well, and he hopes to be enabled shortly to send them to Rome. It is said that the same prodigy takes place at Fossombrone, at Lugo, at Sant' Arcangelo, at Sant' Agata, and at Montbaroccio, in the diocese of Pesaro. Persons come here from the countries I mentioned above. This morning for several hours I was hearing the confessions of a great number of men and women who had come from Fermo.

"Blasphemy, which disappeared from Rimini at the first moment of the prodigy, is no longer to be found, even in the cabarets and public-houses; and strangers take a delight in walking up and down, and indulging their astonishment at this great prodigy, more marvellous than the movement of the eyes of Mary most holy. A few days

ago a youth uttered a blasphemy ; and his companions, after having administered a correction to him, conducted him before the holy picture to make him beg her pardon, and make a vow that he would never blaspheme again. Those who may be called blasphemers *par excellence*, the fish-dealers, have made this agreement among themselves,—that whoever, by inadvertence and the force of habit, utters a blasphemy, shall be corrected by his comrades, and pay a small sum, to be deposited at the feet of the Madonna ; and they observe this rule scrupulously. Is not this a miracle ? . . . All classes of persons unite to visit the B.V. in bodies and processions. The controllers of estates are the first, and they have offered a beautiful humeral veil ; the class of domestic servants have given one before the altar, and have all communicated. The seigneurs and nobles assist at the altar in turn, in place of the soldiers, who were at first stationed there.

“ It is a most touching thing to see the Mattioli, the Spina, the Savini, the Topi, the Brigliadovi, the Battaglini, with a medal of the Virgin on their necks, remain with us at the altar from morning till night, each for the space of an hour. Religious strangers have been singularly edified with this. It was the idea of the very religious Count Battaglini, immediately on his return from Rome ; and they are now thinking of forming themselves into a Confraternity, always under the direction of two missionaries. It is a real pleasure to find oneself amongst them of an evening, when they assign the hours of guard. As to myself, who am there very frequently, I find a great delight in beholding the devotion and the union that reign among them. When there are processions, I go to put them in order ; I place one here, another there ; and if you could see with what grace and with what satisfaction they direct the Confraternities, the women and the clergy keeping the crowd back, which obeys them in a most pleasing manner ! Last Sunday there were three processions ; they remained there all the morning, and returned again after dinner for another guard. . . .

“ Pray for me ; and believe me, &c.

“ ANTONIO FORCI, Missionary.”

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PART XXXIV.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
RELIGION AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY	279
CELEBRATED SANCTUARIES OF THE MADONNA	298
REVIEWS: POPULAR SERVICES.—The Spirit and Genius of St. Philip Neri, Founder of the Oratory: Lectures de- livered in the Oratory, King William Street, Strand. By F. W. Faber, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri . . .	315
A SOCINIAN VIEW OF CATHOLICISM.—The Prospective Re- view	351
SHORT NOTICES.—Benedict XIV. on Heroic Virtue.—The Complete Works of Monsignor de Pressy, Bishop of Bou- logne.—The Works of De Riambourg.—Chromo-Litho- graphic Drawings of an Irish Ecclesiastical Bell, supposed to have belonged to St. Patrick.—Sermons: Bishop Hughes, of New York, The Church and the World;— Bishop Gillis's Discourse on the Mission and Influence of the Popes;—Dr. Wiseman, The Social and Intellectual State of England compared with its Moral Condition;— Rev. James Stotherd, A Panegyric on St. Margaret, Queen and Patroness of Scotland, pronounced in St. Patrick's Church, Edinburgh.—Dr. Achilli.—The Catholic Annual Register.—Rev. J. Berington on the State and Behaviour of English Catholics.—The Catholic Magazine and Regis- ter.—The Messenger.—The Lamp.—Mr. Allies' The See of St. Peter the Rock of the Church, the Source of Juris- diction, and the Centre of Unity.—Dr. Russell's transla- tion of Leibnitz' System of Theology.—A Letter to the Editor of the Guardian, by the Author of "One Word on the Existing Constitution of the Anglican Establish- ment."—The Complete Vesper-Book for the Laity, in Latin and English.—The Holy Scriptures, their Origin, Progress, Transmission, and true Character.—The Empire	

of Music, and other Poems, by Alfred Lee.—Robson's Constructive Exercises for teaching the Elements of the Latin Language on a System of Analysis and Synthesis.—Music : The Gregorian Tones for the Psalms, arranged for Four Voices, with Organ Accompaniment, as used at St. Edmund's College ;—Dr. Crookall's Surge Amica mea ;—Mr. Crowe's edition of Wilhem's Method of teaching Singing ;—Novello's Part Song Book	360
ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.—The Synod of Thurles.—New Catholic Churches at Sheffield, York, and Howden.—The Wednesbury Mission.—The Brothers of Christian Instruction.—Ancient Crucifixion in England.—The Jesuits at Detroit, Canada	365

To Correspondents.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All communications must be *postpaid*. Communications respecting *Advertisements* must be addressed to the publishers, Messrs. BURNS and LAMBERT.

The Rambler,

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PART XXXIV.

RELIGION AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

No. II.

WE have now to inquire whether modern science confirms or invalidates the statements of the sacred writers. And first with regard to the general view of the universe. Humboldt tells us that the most important result of the study of Nature is "a knowledge of the chain of connexion by which all natural forces are linked together,"* "the establishment of the unity and harmony of the stupendous mass of force and matter."† Now, by his own shewing, this is the very point of view in which the sacred writers present the world to us. "The poetry of the Hebrews always embraces the universe in its unity; nature is not depicted as a self-dependent object, glorious in its individual beauty, but as in relation and subjection to a higher spiritual power."‡ "It might almost be said that one single psalm (the 103d) represents the image of the whole Cosmos."§ Our attention will, however, be directed not so much to this psalm, and similar passages, where man recounts before God the wonders of his creation in order to glorify Him, but to those where God recounts to man the history of the creation as a sign of his truth; such particularly as the 1st chapter of Genesis and the 38th of Job. Next let us examine the meaning of each particular statement of Moses and Job; and afterwards we will compare the result with the conclusions of modern science.

Gen. i. 1. "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." The words *heaven and earth* are paraphrased by the Church as "*all things visible and invisible*;"|| and by St. Au-

* Cosmos, p. 1.
§. Ibid. p. 413.

† Ibid. p. 3.
|| Nicene Creed.

‡ Ibid. p. 412.

gustine, as "the universal, intelligible, and corporeal creation,"* *i. e.* the spiritual world and the material world. The word *heaven*, therefore, is not to be taken to mean the visible heaven, which was not yet called into being, but all the spiritual and intelligent beings that were created before the present order of things; *earth*, not simply as our globe, but as *matter* in general.

Ver. 2. "And the earth (matter) was unsubstantial and void" (*inanis et vacua*). These same epithets are used together in a line of Virgil, where they are applied to the shadowy realms of the dead:

"Ibant obscuri solâ sub nocte per umbram
Perque domos Ditis *vacuas et inania* regna."†

The LXX. have "invisible and unfurnished," *i. e.* unorganised and unarranged. Now, was matter first created in this chaotic state? "It may have been," says St. Augustine; "it is no absurdity to say that God created matter first formless, and then formed."‡ The beginning of Genesis may perhaps be commented on somewhat as follows: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," that is, the spiritual world and the material world; (but after that the first of created spirits had fallen off from God, and had drawn down into perdition a great part of creation with him,§ thus) "the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep." "For," as St. Thomas says, "the angels and the material creation form together one universe, neither being perfect without the other;"|| the destruction of the latter would therefore be as natural a consequence of the fall of the former, as the malediction of the earth was a consequence of the fall of man. Anyhow, our present order has been produced out of a vague, hollow, unsubstantial, empty state of matter. So says Moses; so says also the chemist, who traces almost all matter to a gaseous form; so says the astronomer, who tells us that the whole universe was once in a state of cosmical vapour. But there was a time when men of science did not suspect this fact; and then the simple faith of the believer was wiser than the wisdom of the world. "Fide intelligimus," says St. Paul, "aptata esse sæcula verbo Dei, *ita ut ex invisibilibus visibilia fierent*."¶

"And darkness was upon the face of the abyss." The boundless space in which this attenuated matter was contained was in darkness, silence, and inertia. During this period of

* Confessions, xiii. § 40.

† Æn. vi. 268.

‡ Confessions, *ubi sup.*

§ This, of course, is but a speculation.

|| Sum. i. q. lxi. 3.

¶ Heb. xi. 3.

desolation all was still as death; as yet there was no motion, no germ of restoration and re-organisation.

"And the spirit of God moved (*ferebatur*) upon the waters." Here we are told of the commencement of the re-formation of the chaotic universe. David alludes to this when he says, "Thou shalt send forth thy spirit, and they shall be created; and *Thou shalt renew the face of the earth.*"* But what is the meaning of the terms *spirit of God* and *waters*? The spirit cannot mean the Holy Ghost, as it is impossible for God to be in any such mechanical relation to matter as is here described, neither could there be real *waters* when all matter is in the state of vapour. It is probable that as Moses had been led to speak of space under the name of the deep, or abyss, so he called the attenuated matter which was contained therein *waters*, a name applicable with as great propriety to the *fluid* cosmical vapour, as "*aerial ocean*"† is to our atmosphere. Assuming, then, the term *waters* to mean the cosmical vapour, the *spirit of God* would be something having the same relation to it as our atmosphere and winds bear to our seas and oceans of waters. Accordingly Humboldt tells us that, besides the "matter agglomerated into rotating spheres, or scattered through space in the form of self-luminous vapour, besides these luminous clouds and nebulae of definite form, exact and corresponding observations indicate the existence and general distribution of an apparently non-luminous, infinitely divided matter, which possesses a force of resistance:"‡ this *spirit* he afterwards calls "*ætherial.*" The æther is supposed to be a most subtle and attenuated fluid, reaching to the utmost bounds of the universe, which aids the energies of nature, and, filling all space, is a means of communication with other planets and other systems. Non-luminous itself, it is luminiferous, conveying light, not by local motion, but by vibrations of a certain velocity. It is only by vibrations within fixed limits that light is produced; up to those limits, and beyond them, vibrations may still occur, but they do not produce vision. It is suspected, however, that they produce all the various phenomena of heat and electricity; perhaps also the laws of gravitation and attraction depend on the same cause. It is a question not yet, we believe, decided, whether attraction is a virtue filling all space from the moment of its existence, or whether, like light, it is propagated in time. Now how beautifully does the account of Moses fall in with all this! First we have the dead, dark, unsubstantial chaos; then motion begins in the æther; the spirit of God was moving on the

* Ps. ciii. 30.

† Cosmos, p. 153.

‡ Ibid. pp. 67, 69.

fluid vapours; the vibration gradually becomes more and more rapid, till it arrives at the point when the fiat goes forth: "And God said, Light be; and light was made," and the universe is lighted up with a blaze of splendour.

Observe that Moses does not say that motion commenced in the æther independently of the nebulous matter; it began by the movement of the æther *on the fluid vapours*. These vapours are the points of origin for the light, and they, not the æther, are self-luminous. The æther, however, is the vehicle of all motion; and, in consequence of its importance in nature, it is by a very common biblical figure called the *spirit of God*; not as if there was any thing divine in it, but to shew that, with all its importance, it is but an unconscious instrument in God's hands for accomplishing his designs.

"And God saw the light, that it was good; and He divided the light from the darkness." Not that He made a formal line of separation between light and darkness, as between sea and land, but because out of that which was before darkness, the still and torpid æther, He made light to shine,—"*dixit de tenebris lucem splendescere*,"* as it might be said that He separated man out of the dust of the earth.

"And He called the light *day*, and the darkness night; and there was evening and morning, one day." The word 'day,' then, as Moses defines it, does not refer to any period of time, however long; it simply means light, the motion of the æther, the great agent in the restoration and renewal of the universe. And the contrary to this, darkness, inertia, death, is called night. Our Lord uses the words in the same sense: "I must work while it is day; the night cometh, when no man can work."† St. Paul also appears to use the word 'day' in the sense of fire, light, manifestation, illumination, in such passages as 1 Cor. iii. 13, and iv. 3.

This consideration will help us to understand the meaning of the word 'day' in the next clause, "*Factumque est vespere et mane, dies unus*,"—what with evening and morning there was made up one day." The note to the Douay translation informs us that "God created on the first day *light*, which being moved from east to west by its rising and setting, made morning and evening." But Moses puts evening first: it is hard to see how the first dawn of light upon the world should be *evening*. No; as *day* does not signify *time*, but *agency*, so evening and morning signify the gradual dawning of light out of darkness, the development of the day or agency from inactivity or non-being (evening), into being and activity (morn-

* 2 Cor. iv. 6.

† St. John ix. 4.

ing), from mere possible to actual existence. Notice also that for this day the cardinal number is used—the evening and morning were *one day**—while ordinal numbers are used for the other days, “the *second, third, fourth, &c. days.*” Does not this seem to point to the inference that the *light* is the one great agent in the present constitution of the universe; and that the other agents, represented by the work of the succeeding days, are secondary and derivative, perhaps only new applications of the one primary and original power?

Let us now turn to the book of Job, in the 38th chapter of which the Almighty is introduced as questioning Job, in order to shew him his ignorance of the creation; the questions being so put as to contain in themselves their own solution; let us see whether it corresponds to our interpretation of the account of Moses.

“Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? tell me, if thou hast understanding. Who laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest? or who stretched the line upon it? Upon what are its bases grounded? or who laid the corner-stone thereof, when the morning stars praised me together, and all the sons of God made a joyful melody?” Now assuming these four verses to be merely an amplification of the first verse of Genesis, “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth,” we have the *heavens*, the *morning stars*, and *sons of God*, first created, and then rejoicing over the earth, the material universe, which God made for their use and enjoyment, and which He created, not a *tohu* and *bohu*, unstable, invisible, formless, and void, but laid on foundations, measured with the line, grounded on bases, accurately finished off with corner-stones; no chaos, but a cosmos of order, beauty, stability, and regularity.

Next we find described the invasion of chaos, confusion, and disorder, and the destruction of this primitive universe by reducing it all to darkness, clouds, and fluid vapour; answering to the second verse of Moses, “And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep.” “Who shut up the sea with doors when it broke forth as issuing out of the womb; when I made the cloud its garment, and wrapped it in darkness as in an infant’s swaddling clothes? I set my bounds around it, and made it bars and doors; and I said, Hitherto thou shalt come, and shalt go no further; and here thou shalt break thy swelling waves.” Here we have, first, the breaking forth of the unsubstantial chaotic waters,

* In the original Hebrew the cardinal number *one* (אֶחָד) is in like manner used in speaking of the “first day.”

the "*aqua intolerabilis*,"* that yields no support, no foundation; then the enveloping all this in clouds and darkness; then the bounds, bars, and doors, answering to the "*face of the deep*" in Genesis, shewing that the chaotic universe was not infinite, but had its own limits; lastly, in the term "*tumentes fluctus*," proudly-swelling waves, the cause of the disaster is hinted at, the pride of Lucifer and his apostate spirits.

We come now to the restoration of the world by the agency of light. "Didst thou since thy birth command the morning, and shew the dawning of the day its place? And didst thou hold the extremities of the earth shaking them, and hast thou shaken the impious out of it?" To command the morning is the same as to say, "Be light made;" and to shew the dawn its place is to divide the light from the darkness. The shaking of the extremities or surface of matter beautifully expresses the production of light by the vibration of the æther on the fluid vapour; the *impious*, that is, the fallen spirits, are put for darkness, which was *shaken* out by the ætherial vibrations of the light. No modern philosopher could more accurately express the probable production of light than these words of Job, "*Tenuisti concutiens extrema terræ, et excussisti impios ex ea*," remembering that *terra* means the whole material creation. To proceed: "The seal shall be restored as clay, and shall stand as a garment." "The *seal*," that is, the universe, which, as St. Paul says, bears the impress of God's eternal power and wisdom,†—"The seal shall be restored as clay." Evidently, then, God had before formed this clay into shape, and had destroyed his work, and was now, by the agency of light, about to restore the formless matter to shape and beauty. "And it shall stand as a garment." The universe is compared to the garment of God, because it serves both to reveal to man what may be known of God, and at the same time to veil Him from our eyes. The beauty of this image has not escaped Goethe, who makes his Earth-spirit in Faust say:

"At the roaring loom of time I ply,
And weave for God the garment thou seest Him by."

The LXX. translation of this verse is at first sight unaccountably different, though in sense it harmonises beautifully with what is here said: "Was it you that took miry clay, and formed a living creature, and endowed him with speech upon the earth?" The miry clay is the formless matter out of which the universe was made; and when formed, it is compared to a living creature endowed with speech to proclaim

* Ps. cxliii.

† Rom. i. 20.

the glory, power, and divinity of God. The same idea is found in Psalm xviii.: "The heavens shew forth the glory of God. Day to day uttereth speech; there are no languages where their voices are not heard. Their sound has gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." Job proceeds: "From the wicked their light shall be taken away, and the high arm shall be broken." This refers to the moral world: as light invaded the realms of darkness, so shall the light of the wicked, that is evil, be destroyed, and the power of Satan broken.

The second day's work.

"And God said, Let there be a firmament made in the midst of the waters: and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made a firmament, and divided the waters that were under the firmament from the waters that were above the firmament: and it was so."* These waters, as we must remember, are the whole mass of fluid cosmical vapour which then constituted the whole material world. A firmament is the first effect produced in these fluids by the action of the light. What, then, is the firmament? According to the words just quoted, it comprises two great characteristics,—a making firm, or fixing; and a division, dividing waters from waters, separating the cosmical vapour into fixed definite masses. We may compare with this the expression of Abraham to Dives in the Gospel, "Between us and you a great chasm is placed as a firmament"† (*μέγα χάσμα στήρικται*). We may also notice the way in which the ideas of fixing and spreading forth or extending the heavens and earth are interchanged in the various translations.‡ Moses seems to tell us that the first action of the light on the mass of nebulous matter was to rouse its repulsive forces in such a way as to cause the violent separation and eternal division, as by a fixed chasm, or expanse of pure æther, of the different masses of fluid matter; some of these masses are said to be above, others below, this expanse.

"And God called the firmament heaven." *Heaven* here is evidently to be taken in a different sense from *heaven* in the first verse, where it signified the whole world of created spirits. Now it is applied to the newly-formed expanse of the firmament; the material heaven, the clear fields of æther, the great type of the spiritual kingdom which the religious man aspires to.

* Gen. i. 6.

† Luke xvi. 26.

‡ Compare Job xxxvii. 18; Isaias xlii. 5; xliv. 24; xlv. 12; and li. 6, in the Vulgate, LXX., and English Protestant versions.

It is remarkable that we do not read of God's pronouncing the firmament to be good, as He did with regard to the light, and as we shall find was the case with the work of all the other days,—perhaps because the firmament is a mere vacant chasm or abyss, necessary for the free circulation of the universe, but in itself of no positive value, and therefore not pronounced to be good.

“And the evening and morning”—the gradual dawn and perfection of this process of expansion—were “the second day” or agency in the renewal of the universe.

Let us now turn to the corresponding passage in Job: “Hast thou entered into the depths of the sea, and walked in the lowest parts of the abyss? Have the gates of death been opened to thee, and hast thou seen the darksome doors? Hast thou considered the breadth of the earth? tell me, if thou knowest all things? Where is the way where light dwelleth, and where is the place of darkness: that thou mayest bring every thing to its own bounds, and understand the paths of the house thereof. Didst thou know, then, that thou shouldst be born? and didst thou know the number of thy days?”* It appears difficult at first sight to see how any thing described here corresponds with the Mosaic firmament; but let us examine the connexion with what has gone before. We have the sea, or great mass of nebulous vapour, shrouded with darkness and mist;† the light produced by the shaking or vibration of the extremities of matter, or, in the words of Moses, by the spirit of God moving on the waters.‡ Now we have this light penetrating the inert mass, entering the depths of the sea of nebulous fluid, and moving in the lowest parts of the abyss; and the effect that follows is, that the masses of vapour dispart and roll asunder like the valves of folding-doors, giving us to understand that the same agency which causes the first division of matter, communicates also to it its first impulse of rotation. Next Job is asked, “Hast thou considered the breadth of the earth?” or as the LXX. have it, “of that beneath the heaven” (*εὐρος τῆς ὑπὸ οὐρανόν*), reminding us of the Mosaic division of waters, or nebulous matter, above and under the firmament. The question then seems to suggest to us that this matter was divided into masses of determinate quantity “by number, measure, and weight.” “Where is the way” (or, LXX., “in what earth or matter”) “where light dwelleth, and where is the place of darkness? that thou mayest bring every thing to its own bounds.” In all this chaotic confusion of matter, God took care to divide

* Job xxxviii. 16-21.

† Ver. 8, 9.

‡ Ver. 13.

just proportions of such as was fit to form luminous bodies, and such as would only make opaque non-luminous bodies, and to bring their proportions to their own bounds; to assign to the nebulous patches that were hereafter to be resolved into systems of stars the proportion of each kind of matter. And in the last verse, "Didst thou, then, know that thou shouldest be born?"—or as the LXX. render it, ironically, "I know, indeed, that thou wast then in being, and the great number of thy years,"—God seems to give us a hint of the unnumbered ages that have passed away since this primitive division of the nebulous matter of the universe into determinate quantities, and separating them from each other by fixed and impassable chasms.

The work of the third day.

"God also said, Let the waters that are under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry appear. And it was so done."* By the agency of the second day, the nebulous matter had been divided into distinct masses, partly above, partly below, the firmament. Our attention is now directed solely to these latter. "Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place," that is, not one sole place, but let each mass be condensed and gathered into a closer form. In the next verse these collections are called *congregations* (in the plural), and in the LXX. *systems* of waters, collections of fluid matter gradually condensing and contracting. And the result of this collection and condensation is the appearance of the *arida*, dry, hard, solid matter. As the energy of the second day seems to be the development of the power of repulsion, so that of the third day is the power of attraction and gravitation, giving rise to chemical combination. The word *arida*, in opposition to the waters, certainly means matter in a solid form; but it also suggests to us the idea of *dry* in the sense of *hot* or *burnt*; as if the effect of the condensation of the cosmical vapour was the evolution of intense heat. The heat thus evolved may be connected with the chemical combination of matter, whether its elements or primary molecules are homogeneous, or whether, as is very supposable, on the hypothesis of the vapour being only the ruin of a former universe, these molecules were originally distinct in their properties and chemical affinities; in each case the great chemical agent is the heat evolved by the mechanical condensation of the rotating masses of nebulous vapour. The che-

* Gen. i. 9.

mical laws once set in motion, bodies of different chemical properties and different specific gravities are produced, such as rocks, metals, earths, fluids, vapours. In the process of solidification, these component parts take their position according to the laws of gravitation, the solids forming the centre, the fluids taking their place above them, and the whole being surrounded by a vast atmosphere of vapours and gases. The continued action of the same laws producing new combinations and explosions, upheaves portions of the solid centre, the fluids become displaced and divided, and, instead of covering the whole globe in a uniform way, become collected together into seas and oceans. Thus our earth, and all other bodies where the same chemical combinations occur, was divided in two great parts, the fluid and the solid.

"And God called the dry, earth; and the collections of waters He called seas; and God saw that it was good." Here the word *earth*, used in the first verse to denote matter in general, is used in a restricted sense, to denote a new development of matter in a solid form. And certainly, though physically the primitive form of matter is the gaseous, the notion of form, weight, impenetrability, are inseparably connected with our *idea* of matter; any one who thinks of matter, naturally thinks of a solid impenetrable substance; the *arida*, or dry solid matter is our ideal of matter, and therefore the original name of matter in general, namely, *earth*, becomes restricted to it. And the collections of fluids are called *seas* or *oceans*, a name that reminds us of the primitive waters or oceans of cosmical vapour; and the name is thus applied because our collections of fluids,—the ocean and the atmosphere and the clouds,—are the only representatives left to us of the primitive ocean of nebulous matter of which the universe is composed.

But this third agency did not stop with inorganic matter: "And He said, Let the earth bring forth the green herb, and such as may seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after its kind, which may have seed in itself upon the earth. And it was so done. And the earth brought forth the green herb, and such as yieldeth seed according to its kind, and the tree that beareth fruit, having seed each one according to its kind. And God saw that it was good."* Here we have three great divisions of the vegetable kingdom: the green herb (Heb. *descheh*, germen), the seeding herb (*hescheb*, herba), the tree (*hets*, arbor). No sooner, we may suppose, has the solid rock been elevated above the waters into the atmosphere, than, by

* Gen. i. 11.

the continued action of the same chemical laws that caused the first combination of inorganic matter, it gradually acquired a coating of vegetable fibres, one organic tissue rising, like strata, over the other, so that "where lofty forest-trees now rear their towering summits, the sole covering of the barren rock was once the tender lichen; the long and immeasurable interval being filled up by the growth of grasses, herbaceous plants, and shrubs."*

And although Moses places the creation of the vegetable kingdom in the third day, before the formation of the sun, and consequently before any provision was made for the *periodicity* of vegetable life, yet, as we shall have occasion to see afterwards, we need only understand the *commencement* of vegetation, such as those mosses and cryptogamia which flourish during the long night of an arctic winter; we need not suppose that this class of organic objects was brought to perfection all at once. For here, as in the other agencies, we are told that "the evening and morning were the third day;" the gradual evolution and development of the laws by which matter became condensed, combined, and organised, was the third agency in the restoration of form and order to the universe.

Let us now return to the book of Job, and examine the corresponding passage: "Hast thou entered into the store-houses of the snow, or hast thou beheld the treasures of the hail? which I have prepared for the time of the enemy, against the day of battle and war? By what way is light scattered, and heat divided upon the earth?" (The LXX. render this verse, "Whence comes forth the frost (πάχυν, the congealed or solidified fluid; from πήγνυμι), or whence is the south wind divided to that beneath the heaven?") "Who gave the course to the violent shower, and the way of the sounding thunder; that it should rain on the earth without man in the desert, where no mortal dwelleth; that it should fill the pathless and desolate (earth), and produce the green herb (*descheh*)? Who is the father of the rain? or who begot the drops of dew? Out of whose womb came the ice? and the freezing from heaven who hath gendered it? The waters are hardened into the likeness of stone, and the surface of the abyss is bound together."

Here we evidently have two great agencies described,—the congelation or solidification of the waters or fluid matter, and the production of the *descheh*, the *germina*, or cellular plants of Moses, on the surface of the desolate and desert earth.

* Humboldt's Views of Nature, p. 214.

† Job xxxviii. 22-30.

The storehouses of snow, and treasures of hail, are the solid globes which have been condensed from the fluid vapour; and these, as St. Peter says, "are treasured up, being reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of the impious."* Whence, too, is the *light* or (LXX. *πάχυν*) congelation, and heat, or (LXX.) south wind? The connexion seems to imply that by the very process of condensation and solidification, the heat was radiated forth into space. Then we find a process described as violent storm and thunder; perhaps some electrical action which acted on the bare surface of the newly formed earth, and produced the first vegetable fibres, the germens, upon it. Then it appears as if the first process was again described: first we have the rain, or fluid waters, dividing into drops, to signify the spherical form assumed by the condensed vapours; then the further hardening of this, as into hail and ice,—thus the waters, or fluid matter, are gradually condensed into a solid, and the surface is bound together, leaving the centre of the orbs still in a state of fusion and fluidity. It would be difficult to find a more just or striking analogy by which to represent what is supposed to be the mode of the formation of the rotating spheres with which the regions of space are peopled.

The work of the fourth day.

"And God said, Let there be luminaries made in the firmament of heaven, to divide the day and the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons, and for days and years, to shine in the firmament of heaven, and to give light upon the earth. And it was so done. And God made two great luminaries; a greater luminary to rule the day, and a lesser luminary to rule the night; and the stars. And He set them in the firmament of heaven, to shine upon the earth, and to rule the day and the night, and to divide the light and the darkness. And God saw that it was good."† If all the vaporous matter out of which our universe was agglomerated was originally self-luminous, it is not easy to see why the only body of our system which generates light in any considerable quantity should be its central body—the sun. Sir Isaac Newton felt this difficulty: "How the matter should divide itself into two sorts; and that part of it which is fit to compose a shining body should fall into one mass, and make a sun; and the rest, which is fit to compose an opaque body, should coalesce into many little bodies . . . I do not think explicable

* 2 Peter iii. 7.

† Gen. i. 14-18.

by mere natural causes.”* It is this apportionment of luminous matter which Moses describes as the work of the fourth day.

“Let there be luminaries made in the firmament of heaven.” If the light of the sun proceeds from a luminous atmosphere; and if from the analogy of other heavenly bodies, it appears probable that this atmosphere had originally a vast extension, perhaps many times the distance of Uranus; it is manifest that the planets, if they then existed, must have floated in an atmosphere of light; and even if this atmosphere gravitated, they must themselves have been luminous bodies. And the agency by which this far-diffused atmosphere has been withdrawn from the neighbourhood of the planets and condensed round the sun, would be most properly and naturally described in the words, “Let there be luminaries made.” Such an agency would reduce our system from being a vast nebulous mass, with a great nucleus, and some smaller ones circulating round it in the luminous atmosphere, to its present form. The same thing would take place in other systems (whether they have planets belonging to them or no); and instead of the heavens being occupied by patches of nebulous vapour, it would now be studded with luminaries or stars.

And what was to be the effect of this concentration of the luminous atmosphere? “To divide the day and the night, to be for signs and seasons, and for days and years, and to give light upon the earth.” It is evident that if the earth once floated within the boundaries of the solar luminous atmosphere, it was then surrounded with light on all sides, there could have been no division of light and darkness, day and night,—every part of the sphere was equally illuminated, and there was a total absence of all shadow; but as soon as the light was made to issue from the central body as its origin, and to shine on the non-luminous bodies, then there was light on the side turned towards the central body, and darkness or shadow on the reverse side. And the word *day*, which was at first used for *light*, is now restricted to mean the time during which a given point in the disk of the earth enjoys the light of the sun; night the time during which it is turned away from that luminary; or the word is taken in a wider sense, to express the whole period of rotation of the earth, a day and a night.

And not only does this concentration of light into one source of illumination render the division of day and night

* Newton's first letter to Bentley, quoted by Whewell in his *Bridgewater Treatise*.

first possible, but it is also necessary for the computation and distinction of times, seasons, and years. While the earth was included in the limits of the solar atmosphere, it probably enjoyed a kind of perpetual *aurora borealis*; it was, as it were, self-illuminated; it floated in a dense opaque luminous mist, which rendered all other bodies invisible to it; it had no sun to be the measure of its time.

“And God made two great luminaries”—two chief sources of light. The light now originating only from the luminous bodies, or suns, and shining upon non-luminous or but faintly luminous orbs of matter, gave rise to a new kind of light, to reflected light. Thus two distinct sources of illumination were called into being, self-luminous bodies, and bodies reflecting light. These two kinds of sources of illumination are represented to us by our two great luminaries, the sun and the moon. The sun, the greater light, the source of original as distinguished from reflected light, “to preside over the day, and the lesser luminary,” the moon, the great source of our reflected light, “to preside over the night; and the stars”—the planets, reflecting light like the moon, and the fixed stars, sources of original light, like the sun, but so distant as to have little or no vivifying influence on our earth. “And He set them in the firmament of heaven, to shine upon the earth, and to rule the day and the night, and to divide the light and the darkness.” It is the law of refraction, or change of the direction of a ray of light by any object, that gives rise to shadow and darkness; therefore this division of light into two kinds, the greater and lesser, original and reflected, by its concentration into suns, thus giving rise to the phenomena of reflection, may well be called a division between light and darkness. And the lesser or reflected light may be said to preside over the night, because whatever light and heat, and life and activity, the night has, depends on this power of light, its reflection, absorption, and radiation.

“And God saw that it was good: and the evening and the morning were the fourth day.” The gradual contraction and condensation of the luminous solar atmosphere was the fourth great agency in the formation of the universe.

Turning to the book of Job, we find this agency described in the following terms: “Shalt thou be able to join together the shining stars the Pleiades, or canst thou stop the turning about of Arcturus? Canst thou bring forth the day-star in its time, and make the evening-star to rise upon the children of men? Dost thou know the order of heaven, and wilt thou set down the proportion (*ratio*) of it on the earth? Canst thou lift up thy voice to the clouds, and shall the force of the

waters cover thee? Canst thou send lightnings, and will they go, and will they return to thee, and say, Here we are? Who hath put wisdom in the heart of man, or who gave the cock understanding? Who hath related the order of the heavens, and who will make the harmony of heaven to sleep? When was the dust poured forth on the earth, and the clods coagulated?"* It is clear, at first sight, that this passage refers to the fourth day's work of Moses. The ordering of the heavenly bodies, to be for times and seasons, and days and years to the earth. But a more minute examination will shew a more minute coincidence. First, Job is asked, "Numquid conjungere valebis micantes stellas Pleiadas, aut gyrum Arcturi poteris dissipare?" "Wilt thou be able to conjoin the shining Pleiades, or to dissipate the whirl of Arcturus?" or, as the LXX. render it: "Dost thou understand the chain of the Pleiades, and hast thou opened the boundary of Orion?" The question in both instances seems to refer to the difference between nebulous stars, whose luminous atmosphere is spread over an immense space, and agglomerated and sharply defined stars: the Pleiades, or chain of the Pleiades, is taken as an example of the former, and Arcturus, or Orion, of the latter. Job is asked whether he knew how to condense and agglomerate the diffused light of the former, or to dissipate the condensed light of the latter. What particular celestial bodies were intended by the Hebrew *Cimah* and *Cecil* we have no means of knowing, only it is evident from the context that one was something to be *bound, conjoined, condensed, and agglomerated*, the other something to be *loosed and dissipated*; one, that is, a nebulous body, the other a definite orb.

"Canst thou bring forth the *day-star* (LXX. Mazzuroth, the twelve signs of the zodiac,) in its time, and make the evening-star to rise upon the children of men? Dost thou know the order of heaven, and its influence (*ratio*) on the earth?" Of course, immediately the solar atmosphere is condensed, the central body becomes the great luminary of the system; then begins the apparent motion of the heavens for the division of times and seasons, by the alternation of heat and cold, light and darkness.

"Canst thou lift up thy voice to the clouds, and shall the force of waters cover thee?" LXX. "and with the trembling of the headlong waters, will it obey thee?" These words seem admirably to express the means by which we have supposed this effect to be produced, namely, the gradual concentration of the nebulous solar atmosphere round the orb of

* Job xxxviii. 31.

the sun. The central body lifts up its voice, exerts some attractive influence on the widely extended luminous atmosphere, and the nebulous matter concentrates itself round it, as a cloud descends in water upon the earth.

"Canst thou send lightnings, and will they go, and will they return to thee, and say, Here we are?" The luminous atmosphere being once concentrated, and the sun made the luminary of the system, it sends forth its rays of light on all sides, and they go, till they strike some mass of opaque matter, which reflects them, and makes them return towards the source from which they proceeded.

"Who hath put wisdom in the heart of man, or who gave the cock understanding?" The understanding of the cock is evidently that instinct by which he distinguishes his times of crowing in the night; and the wisdom of man is the same, as may be seen from various passages of Scripture: *e.g.* "The heart of a wise man understandeth time and answer."* The LXX. translation of this verse is remarkably different: "Who gave to women the wisdom of weaving and the art of embroidery?" alluding perhaps to the intersections of the paths of the planets, and the fanciful configuration of the constellations, as laid down on celestial maps, which remind one of the intersection of the warp and woof in weaving and the patterns of embroidery. The use of the words *κόσμος* and *mundus*, both of which originally referred to the ornaments of female dress, to signify the universe, arises from the same kind of analogy.

The next two verses speak of the order and harmony of heaven, which produces times and seasons on the earth, making the dust fly in clouds in the summer, and the miry clods stick together in the winter.

It may perhaps be thought that our hypothesis of the concentration of the solar atmosphere being the great work of the fourth day is only a gratuitous assumption, not at all borne out by the words of Scripture. But if we consider it in connexion with the preceding day's work, it seems to follow naturally enough. We have seen matter in its primitive state of vapour filling the dark abyss of space—then penetrated by light—then divided into distinct masses by fixed chasms or firmaments—then gradually condensing into solid orbs, yet at present without any fixed sources of light, or division of day and night, light and darkness, times and seasons. How was this? To reason from the analogy of other celestial bodies, our system was probably once similar to those nebulous stars which Herschel has discovered, in which the

* Eccles. viii. 5; see also Apoc. xiii. 18, and xvii. 9.

outermost nebulous layer must be 150 times further removed from the central body than our earth is from the sun. If, therefore, the nebulous star were to occupy the place of our sun, its atmosphere would not only include the orbit of Uranus, but even extend eight times beyond it. It is probable, then, that the luminous solar atmosphere was formerly vastly more extended than it now is, and included the orbits of all the planets. But now, as it is evident that neither the planets nor the nucleus of the sun are formed of self-luminous matter, why may not the whole planetary system have been formed, and in full mechanical action, while the solar atmosphere was thus extended? It is quite evident that the vapour of which our system was originally formed was resolvable into non-luminous matter, which coalesced so as to form the bodies of the sun, planets, and comets, and the residuum of self-luminous vapour, which now forms the vaporious envelope of the sun. Perhaps the distinction between these forms of matter is the true explanation of the division between light and darkness in the work of the first day. We find that though the cosmical vapour dispersed in space appears to be self-luminous, yet the almost equally vaporous comets which circulate in our system shine only or principally with a reflected light; and though in our system the sun is the only body that has the power of originating light in considerable quantities, yet planets also, such as Venus and the Earth, have some light of their own—something which may be a memorial of a period when they circulated in the solar atmosphere as nuclei of a nebula revolving round each other, like a system of multiple stars. If this ever was the case, it is clear that, at some period or other, an agency must have been introduced which caused the diffused luminous atmosphere to gravitate and condense round the central body, and to leave the smaller orbs; such an agency, as we have shewn, is in perfect accordance with the language of Moses and of Job.

The work of the fifth and sixth days.

“ God also said, Let the waters bring forth the creeping creature having life, and the fowl that may fly over the earth under the firmament of heaven. And God created the great whales, and every living and moving creature, which the waters brought forth, according to their kinds, and every winged fowl according to its kind. And God saw that it was good. And He blessed them, saying, Increase and multiply, and fill the waters of the sea; and let the birds be multiplied upon the earth. And the evening and morning were the

fifth day." After the gradual cooling of the heat produced by the solidification of the arida, or solid mass of the earth, and when the concentration of the luminous atmosphere round the sun had provided for the succession of day and night, and assigned the periods of the prime want of organic nature, repose and sleep, then a new agency was introduced into the world which produced animal life.

The expression, "let the waters produce," seems to point to the fact, that the water is the chief seat of animal, as land of vegetable life; and also to lead us in imagination to a period when, though our globe was consolidated, and water, air, and atmosphere separated, yet the separation was not such as now, in mountain-ridges, high table-lands, and dry plains, but when the earth presented only a dreary expanse of hot slime and muddy water;—in this state of things animal life begins to appear; first, fishes, mollusca, shell-fish, vertebrated fish and reptiles; gradually, as the overcharged waters deposit what they held in solution, and islands and continents are raised by successive throes of the inward fire, birds make their appearance, and the deepened and purified seas become fit habitations for the gigantic fishes, the monsters of the deep. And this completed the fifth day of creation.

The work of the sixth day is only a continuation and development of the same agency, producing now, not ovipara, but mammalia. "And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature in its kind, cattle, and creeping things, and beasts of the earth according to their kinds. And God made them . . . and God saw that it was good."* This seems to refer to the mammalia, whether of the land or sea; for in Scripture language, beasts and cattle are the inhabitants of the sea, as well as of the land; thus we have, "There (in the sea) are great and wonderful works; a variety of beasts, and of all cattle, and the monsters of creation."† In the same way, Horace calls the animals of the sea, "the cattle of Proteus."

Turning now to Job, it does not appear that the distinction between the fifth and sixth days' work is there kept up. "Wilt thou take the prey for the lioness, and satisfy the appetite of her whelps, when they crouch in dens, and lie in wait in holes? Who provideth food for the raven, when her young ones cry to God, wandering about, because they have no meat?"‡ But then it may easily be seen, that no description of the commencement of animal life is here intended; for we are introduced to animals of prey, lying in wait for their victims. Perhaps, however, the word rendered *lioness* is cor-

* Gen. i. 24.

† Eccus. xliii. 27.

‡ Job xxxviii. 39.

rupt; at any rate the word translated *catuli*, or *whelps*, in the Vulgate, is rendered *dragons* by the LXX., leading us to suppose that it was intended, first of all, to refer to the fish and reptiles of the sea; then comes the raven to represent the birds.

This conjecture is strengthened by the commencement of the next chapter, which seems evidently to refer to the work of the sixth day, the creation of the mammalia: "Knowest thou the time when the wild goats bring forth among the rocks, or hast thou observed the hinds when they fawn? Hast thou numbered the months of their conceiving, or knowest thou the time when they bring forth? They bow themselves to bring forth young, and they cast them, and send forth roarings. Their young are weaned, and go to feed; they go forth, and return not to them."* Here God is evidently calling Job's attention to the viviparous animals, as distinguished from the fishes, reptiles, and birds of the former period.

Lastly, as the earth was now ripe for bearing the crown of its organisation, man appears on the stage. "And God said, Let us make man to our image and likeness." Man is the last and most perfect of the creatures of God.

"And God saw all the things that He had made, and they were very good; and the evening and morning were the sixth day."† After each development of creative agency (except the second, where we attempted to assign a reason), God considered it, and pronounced it to be good. And here, again, at the close of the sixth day, He looks over all the creatures that He has made once more, to see whether they were brought to the requisite degree of perfection; and He finds them to be so. "They were very good." On the other hand, we may remark that, after the creation of man, God is not said to have pronounced of him separately that he was good, but only as included in the rest of the creation. He is good, that is, as an animal adapted, in all respects, to the state of things with which he is surrounded. But as man, as belonging to the spiritual world, it is not yet determined whether he is good or no; for that depends on his conduct. Hence we see that God does not pronounce a thing to be good till after a trial, till after counteracting influences have been adjusted, and difficulties removed, as if each introduction of a new agency into the world began with night, and brightened up into morning—began with chaotic confusion, with revolutions and catastrophes, which had to be gradually calmed down till the equilibrium was gained.

* Job xxxix. 1.

† Gen. i. 31.

And this state of equilibrium or rest is represented by Moses as a new agency. "So the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the furniture of them. And on the seventh day God ended his work which He had made; and He rested on the seventh day from all his work which He had done. And He blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because in it He had rested from all his work which God created and made." A period is now put to the introduction of new agencies. After the formation of man, nothing higher or more excellent is to be created on the earth. Not that God rests; for our Lord says, "My Father worketh till now, and I work;" but it is only in upholding and prolonging the old agencies, not in introducing fresh ones. The seventh day is the introduction of the principle of stability and rest, that all things should quietly fulfil their course with the continual recurrence of disturbing revolutions.

It is to be noticed that we do not read of this day that its evening and morning were the seventh day. It is a day, not of development, but of preservation. It has in it nothing that develops from not-being into being; but it is the principle of stability, which attaches to all things that God has made.

CELEBRATED SANCTUARIES OF THE MADONNA.

NO. II.—NAPLES; TUSCANY.

It would be a most unpardonable neglect in any one who had undertaken to give an account, however brief, of the Italian sanctuaries of the Madonna, not to make special mention of the people of the kingdom of Naples. Even though none of their sanctuaries, when taken alone, be of sufficient celebrity to demand distinct notice in a calendar so short as ours, still there is something so striking, not only in the degree, but yet more in the character, of their devotion towards our Blessed Lady, that I am sure those of your readers who have never witnessed it for themselves will excuse a short digression for the sake of becoming acquainted with it. "Bring back with you some of the Neapolitan faith," said the late Pope, on taking leave of an ecclesiastic in Rome, who was going to pay a visit to this kingdom. And certainly it is quite impossible to reside here for any length of time, and to study the character of the people at all carefully, without acknowledging the justice of the comparison which such a speech implied.

What the Apostle testified concerning the Romans, may be now applied literally to the Neapolitans also, that "their faith is spoken of in the whole world."

It is not only that a few outward circumstances of devotion, common in the early Church, but now generally abandoned, still linger among the faithful in these parts, though even these cannot fail to arrest the attention of every student of Christian antiquity; but much more, the remarkable manner in which this faith seems present to their minds at all times, and even in the most trifling matters, as an inseparable part of themselves. Thus, you cannot visit any of the churches frequented by the poor of Naples, without witnessing again and again the hands outstretched in the form of a cross, according to the ancient attitude of Christian prayer, as they kneel in silent adoration before the Blessed Sacrament; and still more commonly, the people bowing their heads to the ground and kissing the pavement of the church as they enter it, or touching the pavement with their hands and then kissing them, exactly according to the double method described by St. Chrysostom as being in common use amongst the Christians of his own days.* But outward details like these, interesting as they are in themselves, sink into insignificance when compared with such tokens of lively faith as are exhibited in the following anecdotes, whose accuracy may be relied upon; the one being attested by the Abbé Gaume, the other having happened to one of my own personal friends but a few months since.

A French priest, after regaling himself with fresh figs in the garden of some Neapolitan peasant, asked for a drop of water and a towel to wash his hands; but when he proceeded for this purpose to make use of the first cloth he could meet with, the goodwoman of the house prevented him, saying that it was not worthy of hands which handled day after day the sacred Body and Blood of Christ, and insisted upon bringing him the finest linen which her stores could supply. In the other instance, a Maltese priest having some disagreement with a *vetturino* whom he had been employing as to the value of his services, the *vetturino* grew angry, and at length seemed disposed to strike him. Upon this the porter of the hotel called out to him to take care what he was about, for that the gentleman was a priest (my friend was travelling in a secular dress). Immediately the poor man was upon his knees, begging pardon for all he had said, and refusing to receive even what had been previously offered him.

* Hom. xxx. in Ep. 2. ad Cor.

But to come closer to our immediate subject, devotion to the Madonna; here, too, we will not dwell upon merely outward circumstances, such as abstaining from wine on all Saturdays in her honour—an act of devotion which we read of as long ago as in the very beginning of the eleventh century, and which was publicly confirmed by a law in one of the numerous Councils held in Rome during the pontificate of St. Gregory VII.; or again, the practice so common in Neapolitan families of the middle or even the lower class, of adopting a foundling in the place of any child of their own who may have died, who is henceforth treated in all respects as one of the family, and is called *figlio della Madonna*. We pass over these and other similar features of Neapolitan devotion, sufficiently curious and attractive to the eye of a stranger, that we may speak of their habitual feelings and tone of thought with reference to the Blessed Virgin, as exhibited in their mode of addressing her. These we can only liken to the feelings of children towards the most affectionate and indulgent of mothers; any other comparison would be infinitely too feeble to express the simplicity, the freedom, the familiarity, and the confidence, which characterise their whole language towards her; and even this falls short of the reality, as much as the power and the love of an earthly parent must needs be inferior to that of this heavenly one.

They come and pour forth their whole souls before some picture or image of the Madonna, entering into all their hopes and fears, doubts and anxieties, every detail of their domestic circumstances, quite as naturally as a child confides its little troubles or desires to one of whose sympathy and assistance it has reason to be assured. At one time you may see a poor woman who is going on a journey, or removing from her usual place of residence, come to take leave of her favourite Madonna, and talk to her, and lament over the separation, and in every respect converse with her as though she were her nearest and dearest friend from whom she was about to part: or you may see another rush hastily into a church, evidently under the pressure of some sudden trial, throw herself at the feet of the Madonna, and cover them with kisses; then, amid the most convulsive sobs, and with any thing but the silent prayer of Anna, in which “only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard at all,” tell her the whole history of what has happened, and implore her interference; gradually her agitation subsides; she has communicated her troubles to one who will be sure to help her, and, strengthened by this consolation, she rises from her knees with a calm and cheerful countenance, to go forth and bear them patiently. Yet she can

scarcely make up her mind to leave the sanctuary of her peace. As she withdraws with slow and unwilling steps, ever and anon she turns her head to waft another kiss to the Madonna; and you may hear such parting exclamations as these bursting from her lips: "*Addio, mamma mia*; I have told you every thing; I am going away now, and I reckon upon your help; you understand me; I know you'll not disappoint me; *addio, mamma mia, addio.*"

And lest any of my readers should think that this child-like simplicity is confined to the lower and more uneducated classes, I cannot resist the temptation of presenting them with one or two extracts from a little book of devotions, published about twenty years ago by a distinguished advocate, at that time one of the judges in Naples. This is a specimen of the kind of address which he uses towards the Madonna. "Listen to me, my mother; you *must* grant me what I have asked; for if you refuse, what will people say of you? either that you could not, or that you would not, help me. That you *could* not, nobody will believe, for they know you too well for that; and then, that you *would* not—I protest I would rather be told that you had not the power than that you had not the will; for what! shall it be said that my own mother, the mother of mercy, grace, and kindness, had not the will to relieve the necessity of one of her children? Oh, what then will become of her reputation? Think of this, my mother, and extricate yourself from the dilemma if you can." And again: "You think, perhaps, my mother, that you have given me a great deal already. I do not deny it; but you owe me still more than you have given me. Every one knows that your riches are inexhaustible; that you are the Queen of heaven and earth, the dispenser of grace and the gifts of God. But then consider, I pray of you, that those riches were given you, not for yourself alone, but for your children; for me, the last and most unworthy of them all! Was it not to redeem us that the Son of God became man, and chose you for his Mother? Behold, then, all that you have is ours; it was given you for us; it belongs to us. Now you cannot deny that all that you have yet given me is as nothing compared with what you possess. You are therefore my debtor, and you owe me much. Is it not so? What answer have you to make to this?"

Such being the character of the Neapolitan devotion to the Queen of Heaven, it is not to be wondered at that her shrines and sanctuaries should be specially abundant throughout the whole kingdom; still this does not render our task the easier, when we are called upon to select the history of

one or two in particular, as most worthy of publication. It is not merely, or even principally, the *embarras des richesses* which constitutes our difficulty, but much more the general want of that critical accuracy, which is so desirable a feature in histories of this kind intended for the perusal of Englishmen, and so entirely foreign from most Neapolitan authors. This defect may perhaps in some measure be owing to that *insigne ac perenne miraculum*, as Baronius speaks, whereof their city has been for so many centuries the privileged witness, and which still continues for every one who wills to "come and see," the periodical liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius. The fact, that in this particular instance the facility of ocular demonstration may be supposed to supersede, in some sort, the necessity of such critical exactness in narration, may have given them a general carelessness in this matter; or it may be that they write only for their own countrymen, with whose disposition they are acquainted, and have no desire to accommodate themselves to, or really have no idea of the existence of, the cold and cautious temper which characterises the inhabitants of more northern climes. However, be the cause what it may, the fact, I think, cannot be doubted, that very few histories of the kind we are at present concerned with, written by Neapolitan authors, would bear translation and publication in our own language. I am not saying that they have mistaken for miracles events which might easily be accounted for by the ordinary laws of nature (though this, again, is a danger to which they may be exposed, and from the very same causes), but I am speaking only of the way in which they have recorded histories, whose supernatural character there is not the slightest reason to call in question: they have not been careful to collect and arrange the evidence, or they have neglected to quote the authorities for what they say, or they have not distinguished between what is certain and what is only doubtful: they have confounded history with tradition, and tradition with conjecture, and so on.

I have selected, however, the histories of two or three sanctuaries, which, upon examination, appear to sin least in these particulars, or which have other more certain authority to rest upon, and which I have no hesitation therefore in laying before the reader, though it is, of course, impossible, within the limits assigned, to enter into a critical justification of their accuracy.

1. *Madonna del Carmine.*

The first place in order of importance, if not of antiquity

also, must be given to the *Madonna del Carmine*, or, as it is more commonly called by the Neapolitans, in allusion to its dark colour, *Santa Maria della Bruna*. This picture, whose darkness, though it may have been increased by age, was probably not undesigned by the artist himself, was brought to Naples somewhere about the middle of the twelfth century by some of the religious from Mount Carmel, whose order began about that time gradually to forsake the East, preparatory to its complete migration and settlement in Europe, which took place about a hundred years later. These Carmelites had a small church and convent assigned to them without the walls of the city, and over their high altar they placed this picture of the Madonna, where it seems from the very first to have attracted, in a singular degree, the devotion of the people, especially during the three weeks which intervene between the Feasts of the Assumption and of the Nativity of our Blessed Lady. In the year 1269 the people of Naples witnessed the tragical execution of their young king Conradin, and the bitter grief and disappointment of his mother, the Empress Margaret, who arrived in the harbour just too late to save his life, by paying the ransom which had been already agreed upon with Charles of Anjou. The disconsolate mother, thus frustrated in the purpose for which she had designed the large treasures which she brought with her, was still anxious to spend them in some way or other upon her son. She obtained leave to remove his body from the place in which it had been interred (a small chapel raised on the spot where he had been beheaded), and to place it in this church of the Carmelites, which she determined to rebuild on a scale of magnificence worthy of a royal mausoleum. When this had been done, the picture of the Madonna, which had hitherto adorned the high altar, was considered to be too small for so prominent a position, and was made to give way, therefore, to a much larger picture of the Assumption, being itself removed to one of the side chapels belonging to a Neapolitan family of the name of Grignetti. Here it fell into comparative neglect, the more modern picture having succeeded to its place, not only in the church, but also, in some sort, in the affections of the people. Still some lingering devotion must have been entertained towards it, or it would scarcely have been asked for on the occasion which we have now to relate, and which soon restored it to more than its pristine celebrity.

In the year of jubilee, A.D. 1500 (that is, in the eighth jubilee, reckoning from that of Boniface VIII. in 1300, from which period alone their history is accurately known), many devout Neapolitans determined to make the pilgrimage to

Rome, that they too might share in all the spiritual treasures which are at such seasons so liberally dispensed in the Holy City. A confraternity of tanners attached to the church of St. Catherine seem to have been those who took the lead in this good work; nevertheless, any others who chose were at liberty to avail themselves of the opportunity, and to accompany them. A large crucifix, fit to be borne at the head of such a procession, was obtained from their own church; but they were anxious to put themselves also under the special guardianship of our Blessed Lady, and for this purpose they sought some image or picture of her which they might carry with them. At length they succeeded in persuading the Carmelite fathers to lend them this picture of Santa Maria della Bruna; and thus provided, the pilgrims set forth on their journey early on the morning of the 5th of April, chanting the litanies and psalms, and other devout hymns and prayers appropriate to the occasion. At a short distance from the church from which they started, there lay by the roadside a poor cripple, by name Thomas Saccone, whose whole body was deformed and his legs perfectly useless,—just such a one as we may imagine him to have been who sat begging alms at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, when Peter and John went up at the ninth hour of prayer; like him, too, he was known to all the people; so that the miracle which was presently wrought in him was “manifest, and could not be denied.” This man, as he saw the procession advancing, was seized with an earnest desire to accompany it, and the burden of his infirmities seemed more sad and oppressive to him than ever it had done before, because he was thereby rendered incapable of fulfilling his desire. As his thoughts dwelt upon the subject, the intensity of his desire increased, and presently there mingled with it a ray of hope, suggesting the possibility that he might obtain from the Queen of Heaven the grace of deliverance from all his evils, if he would promise to consecrate the first use of his recovered limbs to undertaking this pilgrimage to Rome. The picture of the Madonna was already passing him, when the poor beggar poured forth one earnest cry for help, and vowed to join the procession if only he were healed. Immediately he felt a sudden glow of heat penetrating his whole frame; new vigour seemed to infuse itself into all his limbs; “forthwith his feet and soles received strength, and leaping up, he stood and walked, and went with them.”

The fame of so signal a miracle, happening too under circumstances of such extreme publicity, could not fail to spread far and wide; so that as the procession advanced from one village to another on its journey to the Eternal City, they found

the inhabitants already apprised of what had taken place, and "bringing forth the sick into the streets, and laying them on beds and couches," that when this picture of the most powerful and at the same time the most compassionate of mothers should come, "her shadow at the least might overshadow any of them, and they might be delivered from their infirmities." This importunity of the people necessarily impeded their progress, so that they did not arrive in Rome until the ninth day, that is, the 13th instant. Here, too, the fame of the miraculous cure of the cripple in Naples, and of many others which had happened subsequently upon the road, had preceded the arrival of the pilgrims; it had even reached the ears of the Pope, so that he ordered inquiries to be made as to its trustworthiness and authenticity. The result was such as to induce him to go himself on the following day, accompanied by all the Cardinals, to pay his devotions to the picture in the basilica of St. Peter's: there, having knelt and prayed before it, and incensed it, he gave benediction with it to the crowds of people, who, like himself, had come together to visit it. At the same time also, he granted certain indulgences to those who should recite their prayers before it. The picture was then borne about by the pilgrims to all the other basilicas and holy places which they visited; and it was every where received with the warmest devotion. After five days, on the morning of the 18th instant, they set out to return to their home. The same crowds came forth every where to greet them; and here and there the same wonderful blessings were dispensed; but the greatest wonder of all, and that to which I do not remember any where to have met with an exact parallel, awaited their return to Naples itself.

The Carmelites and others went out to Aversa, a distance of eight or nine miles, to meet and welcome home this precious treasure, of whose value they had been so little conscious before they parted with it; and its entrance into the city was celebrated by the people with every demonstration of public rejoicing, like that of a king returning in triumph after some famous victory. The picture was restored to its original position over the high altar, and the people flocked thither in multitudes to seek for help under all their various trials and necessities. Frederic the Second, however, of Arragon, at that time king of Naples, not content with these evidences of the public faith and devotion towards this Madonna, conceived an idea so bold as almost to savour of presumption, had not the result seemed to prove that it sprang out of a simple undoubting faith, certainly that it was accepted and rewarded by God. He ordered that all the sick and infirm, the blind

and the deaf, the lame and the withered, every body, in a word, throughout the whole of his kingdom, who was labouring under any bodily infirmity, yet was not incapable of removal, should be brought together to the metropolis, and there placed in a hospital which he had prepared for the purpose near to this church. Each person was to bring with him a properly attested certificate of his name and age, the place of his birth and residence, the exact nature of his malady, the length of time during which he had been afflicted by it, and every other detail which could be required for settling beyond dispute the authenticity of each particular case. When all these persons had been collected (and a most sad spectacle of suffering humanity they must have formed), he caused them to be arranged on an appointed day on benches in that part of the area of the church which was nearest to the altar; to the rest of the church the public were freely admitted, excepting only certain reserved seats or galleries, where the king himself, and all the royal family, together with the principal grandees of the kingdom, were assembled to be witnesses of what might happen. One of the royal secretaries first read aloud the names of all the infirm who were present, and a brief statement of their infirmities. When this was over, High Mass was begun, the choir of the royal chapel assisting; and during the celebration of Mass (probably, if we may judge from the modern practice in these matters, just at the "*Gloria in excelsis*") the picture was unveiled. Those who have been in the habit of frequenting any church in Naples or its neighbourhood, where some statue or picture, the object of special devotion, is thus uncovered only during some portion of a Mass, can easily imagine what fervent cries of supplication burst forth from the lips of these unhappy sufferers just at the moment when the curtain was withdrawn; but who can paint the extravagance of their shouts and gestures, their wild exclamations of joy and thankfulness, when at the same moment a ray of light was seen to descend from heaven, to shine brightly upon the face of the Madonna, and thence to reflect its brilliance upon the assembled people, who were all immediately healed?

The sacred historian, when he records the healing of the sick and the casting out of evil spirits by handkerchiefs and aprons brought from the body of St. Paul, prefaces the narration with these words, "God wrought by the hand of Paul more than common miracles." In like manner, our readers will not hesitate, I think, at first sight, to class the present miracle among those which are "more than common," its peculiarity consisting, of course, in the extraordinary number

of persons who were made the subjects of it. We have already said that it is no part of our present purpose to anticipate and to answer all the objections which may be raised against any of these narratives; nevertheless, it may be worth while to observe, with reference to this particular circumstance, that in more than one Scripture narrative there is the same indefinite statement of the numbers, who, having manifested their faith by some outward act of their own, or done for them by their friends, were similarly rewarded by the instantaneous cure of their evils. When our Lord was in the country of Genesar, and "the men of that place had knowledge of Him, they sent into all that country, and brought to Him all that were diseased, and they besought Him that they might touch but the hem of his garment. *And as many as touched were made whole.*" And again, when St. Peter was in Jerusalem, after the miraculous healing of the lame man which has been already spoken of, "there came together a multitude out of the neighbouring cities, bringing sick persons and such as were troubled with unclean spirits, *who were all healed.*"

The devotion of the people towards this ancient picture still continues, and many wonderful histories are told of the way in which, from time to time, that devotion has been rewarded. Such histories are beyond our present limits; we must not, however, omit to mention one circumstance, which will be interesting to many of your readers, viz. that it is this picture which has furnished the original for all those likenesses of the Madonna which are impressed upon the medals, scapulars, and other religious objects belonging to the Carmelite order. I do not, of course, mean that they have retained a faithful copy of all the features of the original, but only that this is their proper standard, their prototype: the relative position of the Mother and Child is the same in all—the same idea pervades them—they are all intended to be copies of this *Santa Maria della Bruna*.

2. *Santa Maria della Grotta, in the diocese of La Cava.*

I pass by Santa Maria di Costantinopoli, di Piedegrotta, della Sanità, della Vita, and others within the city of Naples, each of which has its own history, worthy of being known, that I may find room to speak of a sanctuary more modern than any of these, yet in its celebrity, at least in this part of the kingdom of Naples, scarcely inferior to the most famous; I allude to the *Madonna della Grotta*, as it is called in its own immediate neighbourhood, or *Santa Maria Avvocata de' Peccatori*, as it is more fully described by those who have written of it in books.

Catholic travellers, who, after visiting the shrine of St. Alphonso at Pagani, and the ancient Baptistery of St. Mary Major's at Nocera, go on to the shrines of St. Matthew and St. Gregory VII. at Salerno, not unfrequently make a little *détour* from the high road, as soon as they have passed La Cava, that they may visit the famous Benedictine monastery of La Trinità. The road by which the ascent to this monastery is generally made passes a little to the right of the sanctuary of which we are speaking, and hides from the unconscious traveller the very beautiful scenery which is so near him; but if he turned aside to the left, soon after having passed the village of San Cæsareo, two minutes' walk would suffice to bring him to the edge of a long deep narrow and precipitous ravine, clothed with wood down to the brink of the stream which rushes along the bottom, and crowned on either side with a chapel of the Madonna. At present there is a very safe and commodious path, leading to the mill which is a little farther up the valley, and a bridge whereby we may cross from one side to the other. But two hundred years ago, at which time our history begins, this path was neither safe nor convenient; it had a very bad name, and was said to be infested by evil spirits. One day, in the year 1654, as a certain Don Federigo, a priest of La Cava, was going along by this way to St. Pietro a Dragonea, one of the hamlets belonging to the parish of San Cæsareo, he had (or imagined he had, for it makes no difference to our story) an encounter with some of these spirits, just at the mouth of one of those grottoes, or natural caverns in the rock, which are so frequent in that neighbourhood, and from whence La Cava itself is supposed to have derived its name. On his return home, this good priest determined to place so dangerous a cavern under the immediate protection of the Madonna; but not having sufficient means to procure a statue or painting for this purpose, he was obliged to content himself with fastening to the rock a little print, which he happened to have, representing the Blessed Virgin, with the Dove and the Cherubim over her head, holding the child Jesus in her arms, and having St. Paul, the first hermit, on her right hand, and St. Onofrius on her left. The title of this picture was the Advocate of Sinners; and as the print remained there, uninjured by time and by the damp, during a period of forty-eight years, the cave gradually lost its old name of the *Grotta de' Sportigliani* (or, of the bats), and received in its stead that of the *Avvocatella*.

Doubtless it had been saluted with many an Ave by the devotion of the passers-by during this half century; and at length, in the year 1702, Fra Angiolo Maria di Majuri, a lay

brother of one of the Franciscan convents in La Cava, remarkable for his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, caused a copy of the engraving to be executed in fresco, in a little niche which he had prepared for it in the rock. At the same time he exhorted the neighbours to burn a lamp before it, and frequently repeated, in the presence of the parish priests and others, that that grotto, which had once been the abode of infernal spirits, would ere long become the house of God, and that the Mother of God would dispense from thence the treasures of her power and goodness with a most liberal hand. Of course, the first part of this prophecy, so to call it, had a natural tendency to bring about its own fulfilment. One of the priests, who had often listened to Fra Angiolo's confident assurances on this subject, caused an altar to be raised before the painting, a lamp to be kept burning, and the litanies and other devotional exercises to be frequently repeated there. It happened on Saturday, the 19th of May, in the following year, that as a poor man, named Antonio Casaburi, accompanied by his son, a boy of six years old, was driving along this path a donkey laden with corn, the animal went too near the edge of the precipice and rolled over, carrying the boy along with him. The depth of the rock in this place was about 120 feet, so that the poor father expected nothing else than to see his son dashed to pieces at the bottom; nevertheless, with the natural instinct of a Catholic, he called loudly upon Santa Maria dell' Avvocata, whose shrine was at his side, to assist him in this hour of danger; and when, in company with two or three others, who had been witnesses of the accident, or whom he had called from the mill to assist him, he arrived at the spot, he found the animal quietly grazing, the boy busily collecting the scattered grain, and both perfectly uninjured.

The fame of this miracle, which was attested by three competent witnesses, besides the father and the child themselves, drew such multitudes of persons to the grotto, that the crowd passing to and fro in so narrow a place became quite dangerous, and leave was obtained from the proper ecclesiastical authorities to erect a spacious chapel there. The building was carried on briskly, through the liberal almsgiving of those who came to ask for *grazie* here, and but few of whom were "sent empty away;" but in the mean while a new bishop had been appointed to the see of Cava, who determined to take those precautions enjoined by the Council of Trent, and to inform himself, by means of a congregation of theologians, and by the juridical examination of witnesses, of the exact truth of the marvellous reports which were in circulation. The

painting was boarded up, and all access to it forbidden, whilst this examination was pending; but it soon appeared that the proofs were too distinct and too numerous to admit of doubt; and after fifteen days the people were once more gladdened with the sight of their *Avvocata*, and the episcopal sanction was formally renewed to the undertaking in hand. On the 7th of September, 1704, the first mass was celebrated in the new church by one of the parish priests, a man whose span of life had already exceeded "the threescore years and ten," and who, having himself received a signal *grazia* at the hands of this *Advocate*, consecrated the last years of his life to celebrating her glories, and, by order of the bishop, published an account of them.

I must not begin to enumerate, or even make a selection from them, or my letter will never come to an end. Suffice it to say, that every year, as the principal festa, which is in the month of May, comes round, persons crowd to visit the sanctuary, not only from Nocera and Salerno, but also from Castellamare, Sorrento, and even Naples itself; and at all times of the year, simple peasants from the adjoining villages, groups of women, members of the same family, or neighbours in the same village, suffering under some common affliction, may be seen wending their way through the chestnut-groves of La Cava, with bare feet and dishevelled hair, alternately telling their beads and reciting the litanies until they reach this Church of the Grotta; here they kneel for awhile to repeat their devotions in the presence of the picture itself, and to make some little offering of flowers, or oil, or candles, after which they return to their homes, bearing with them some portion of the oil from the lamp that has been burning before the shrine, nothing doubting that, if it be God's will, the sick will receive the same benefits from the application of this oil as, we know from the testimony of St. Chrysostom,* the Christians of his days often experienced from the same remedy.

3. *Santa Maria delle Grazie at Monte Nero, near Leghorn.*

But our space warns us that we must take our leave of the kingdom of Naples, and go back to the north of Italy. And lest we should be tempted to loiter by the way, it will be better to make the journey by sea. Even so, were we to coast along the shore in an open boat, I doubt not we should find it difficult to resist the temptation to chronicle the histories of many a dangerous and rocky headland, consecrated in some way or other to the *Stella Maris* in the traditionary

* Hom. 32 (al. 33) in St. Matt.

faith of the sailors and fishermen of those parts. For, to mention but a single instance, those who have visited the beautiful island of Ischia, and returned from thence to Pozzuoli, that ancient town which first in Italy received the Apostle of the Gentiles, when he was being carried prisoner to Rome, cannot fail to remember how, when they had made the point of Misenum, the boatmen reverently doffed their caps and signed themselves with the sign of the cross, repeating at the same time an Ave, or some short ejaculation in honour of *La Bella Immacolata*, whose white marble statue stands there a most conspicuous object against the dull dark rock behind it.

On the present occasion, however, we will be borne past all these interesting points in an unpoetical, undevotional steamer, which shall plough the waters with steady unwearying perseverance till it brings us to the coasts of Tuscany, and into the port of Leghorn. One of the last objects which faded from our sight as we left the harbour of Naples was the tall many-coloured tower of the Madonna del Carmine; now, as we draw near the harbour of Leghorn, our eyes naturally pass over the flat marshy plain which lies nearest to the coast, until they rest upon the pretty smiling hill of Monte Nero, situated about three or four miles to the south-east of the city, and crowned by a very fine church, the Sanctuary of *Santa Maria delle Grazie*.

That hill did not always wear so bright and cheerful an aspect as it does to-day. Many centuries ago the name which it still bears, of the Black Mountain, belonged quite as much to its dark and gloomy character as to the natural colour of the rock, to which alone it can now be applied. In those days it was a thick impracticable forest, and looked upon with such dread as to have been sometimes known by the name of the Devil's Mount. Now it is covered with villas and gardens, and not inaptly called the Fiesole of Leghorn. Whence came this change? Not as such a change might be wrought in our own times, by the bold speculation of some enterprising individual, wishing to make the most of his property, but by the gradual, though certain, influence of the public devotion towards a picture of the Madonna, which was placed there somewhere about the middle of the 14th century. The original history of this picture, whence it came, and how it was brought here, is a matter of considerable doubt. An anonymous work, published in Florence in 1589, tells a wonderful story about its having been brought, in the year 1345, in a miraculous manner, from the island of Negroponte in the Archipelago, to the banks of the Ardenzo near Leghorn, where it was revealed to a shepherd, and by him, in obedi-

ence to a heavenly warning, carried to the site of the present church. The story goes on to say, that this shepherd, who had been for many years a cripple, was immediately healed, and that other miraculous *grazie* having been received by persons who came to visit the picture, alms were soon collected for the purpose of building a church. The same story is told by an Augustinian, writing the history of Leghorn in the year 1647; and he expressly tells us that he copied it from an ancient ms. which he had read in the archives of the sanctuary. It is repeated again, thirteen years later, by Father Moraschi, one of the *Gesuati*, the first religious order to whose charge the church had been confided; and it is to be found not only in all the later historians of the shrine, but also in the inscriptions and paintings of the church itself. On the other hand, it has been called in question, not merely by the disciples of the modern school of philosophy, but by really devout and religious writers, such as Riccardi, for example. Our space forbids us to enter upon a critical examination of its merits; we have felt it our duty to record it, as being the popular tradition, and having done so, we must pass on to what is more certain.

In the archiepiscopal archives of Pisa (for the erection of Leghorn into an episcopal see is quite recent) may still be seen the will of a certain Bonaccorso, a butcher of Leghorn, who died in the year 1347, leaving a legacy to the Church of *Santa Maria gratiâ plena* of Monte Nero; and the will of another inhabitant of the same city, dated the 7th of December 1415, leaves a small piece of land to endow "the Hermitage of *Santa Maria delle Grazie* of Monte Nero." This is at least sufficient proof of the antiquity of our sanctuary; and it is worth remarking, that the earliest of these documents is only two years later than the first appearance of the picture, as recorded in the story which has been just given. The title "Hermitage" also, in the second will, is worthy of notice, because it tallies exactly with another portion of the same history, viz. that when this spot was first consecrated, it was tended by a single hermit, who probably was not even a priest, but only a religious solitary, such as may still be seen in many parts of Italy. The devotion, however, to the new sanctuary increased so rapidly (a fact which we should have been led to anticipate from those testamentary dispositions in its favour which we have already noticed), that, by the middle of the next century, it was of sufficient importance to induce the Archbishop to call a number of *Gesuati* (not *Gesuiti*, or Jesuits, but an order that had been instituted about a hundred years before by B. Colombino of Siena) to come and take charge of it,

assigning for their maintenance certain woods and vineyards in the neighbourhood which belonged to the see of Pisa. These religious, having accepted the charge, immediately set about to build a larger church, better suited to receive the numerous pilgrims and confraternities who now came to visit it, not only from different cities in Tuscany, and other states of Italy, but even from the more distant parts of Europe. They also built a monastery,—no easy task, since they had first to prepare a level by cutting away the mountain. However, the work was happily accomplished; and from this time the whole character of the hill was changed; other houses began to be built, until it became quite a populous village. In 1668, the order of the Gesuati was suppressed by Pope Clement IX., and two priests from Leghorn were then sent to supply their place at Monte Nero; but the shrine had become far too famous for so small a number of ecclesiastics to suffice for the discharge of all the spiritual duties which belonged to it. In the next year, therefore, the Theatines were invited to take possession of the vacant monastery; an invitation which they did not hesitate to accept, although the funds which had been originally assigned for its support were now appropriated by the government to another purpose. Finally, in 1783, when the Grand Duke Leopold I. suppressed *these* religious also within his dominions, two secular priests were again appointed, but with the same result; so that, in 1792, the place was consigned to the Vallambrosians, a branch of the Benedictine family, who still retain it.

Amid all these frequent changes of *custodi*, so to speak, the fame of the sanctuary had always steadily increased. It is recorded that, in 1575, whilst it was in the hands of the *Gesuati*, some Turkish pirates, who had landed for the express purpose of plundering its wealth, were struck with blindness, so that they lost their way in the woods and were taken prisoners by the unarmed *contadini* of the neighbourhood. And this miracle having been inquired into and authenticated by the ordinary of the place, a copy of the depositions was presented to the archives of the order. In the autumn of 1684, not many years after the Theatines had taken charge of it, when a most violent pestilence was raging in the city of Leghorn, the people turned for help to this *Madre delle Grazie*; her picture was brought out to the piazza before the church, and solemn benediction given with it to the whole plain beneath; and immediately, it is said, a fresh breeze sprang up, the clouds dispersed, and all the thick vapours, to whose presence medical men had attributed the prevailing epidemic, were blown away. This public *grazia* was the immediate

cause of an appeal being made to the Chapter of St. Peter's for the golden crown which they annually awarded to some "Immagine miracolosa," and the petition was soon granted. The special protection of the Madonna was no less remarkable on occasion of another plague, which raged in 1730. It is testified, not only by ecclesiastical writers who were living at the time and eye-witnesses of what they wrote, but also by formal acts signed by the civil magistracy of the town, that not a single person fell a victim to the disease on or after the 21st of February, on which day the picture was brought out in the sanctuary, and benediction given with it to the suffering plague-stricken people. Lastly, for want of space obliges us to omit other facts equally worthy of record, we may mention the earthquake of the 14th of August, 1846, whose violence was such that the bells of some of the churches were set in motion by it, and men and horses tottered in the streets and fell, yet not a single public building suffered any material injury, nor was a single individual either killed or wounded throughout the whole of Leghorn; whilst in all the other towns and villages, from the mouth of the Arno in the north to the mouth of the Cecina in the south, from Pisa to Volterra, houses were thrown down, churches destroyed, men and cattle buried under the ruins, and all the other terrible accidents occurred, which usually accompany this kind of calamity.

This singular protection vouchsafed to the city of Leghorn above all its neighbourhood on either side was too striking a fact not to call for some special acknowledgment; and the Catholic instinct of the people immediately turned their eyes to the Sanctuary of the Madonna at Monte Nero, whither the whole population might soon be seen hurrying forth to pay their vows of thanksgiving: the poor carrying an offering of a few candles, a little oil, or a handful of flowers; whilst the richer citizens and the various religious confraternities made the more costly gifts of silver lamps, and other vessels for the service of the altar. Nor did they suffer these liberal offerings (which many, Judas-like, may be disposed to condemn with indignation as a needless waste) to interfere with the exercise of Christian charity towards their suffering neighbours. Having first paid their debt of gratitude immediately to God and to our Blessed Lady, they returned to make a fresh acknowledgment of it by relieving the distress of their brethren.

N.

Reviews.

POPULAR SERVICES.

The Spirit and Genius of St. Philip Neri, Founder of the Oratory. Lectures delivered in the Oratory, King William Street, Strand. By F. W. Faber, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Burns and Lambert.

Pious Protestant England entertains a devout horror of Jews. She prides herself upon regarding them all as the Pariahs of the human race, at the best to be endured and made equal to herself in secular things, in order to bring out by contrast her own immeasurable superiority in spiritual things. Nevertheless, in many things she is not a little like the Jews of old, and like them in their worst features. Her reception of the congregation of a great Saint, whose children have lately come amongst us, recalls one especial instance of Jewish perverseness. When the Baptist appeared, clad in sackcloth and preaching repentance, the Jews exclaimed that he had a devil. When our Blessed Lord came and dwelt in cities, and visited men in their homes, and partook of their feasts, they cried, "Behold a glutton and a wine-drinker, a friend of publicans and sinners." Yet wisdom was then justified by her children; and she is thus justified still.

Present herself, in truth, as she may to the carping Protestant, he is never satisfied with the Catholic Church. To-day he attacks her for tyranny, to-morrow for giving too much license. Now he imputes to her a tendency to degrade the intellects of all men to the level of a besotted superstition; now he warns his friends against her as the most accomplished and crafty of intellectual foes. If she fasts, he calls her mad; if she eats, he thinks her sensual; if she prays, he says she neglects the duties of this life; if she works, he esteems her unspiritual; if she celebrates superb functions, he talks of her formalism; if she encourages inward meditation, he classes her with the Methodists.

And now at length the modern "Apostle of Rome" has come in for his share of his Divine Master's reproach. The Protestant world is aghast at the aspect which Catholicism presents in the humble oratories of London and Birmingham. Having spent three hundred years in attacking a certain imaginary Catholicism, its indignation is doubly hot at discovering that Catholicism is utterly unlike what it has for three cen-

turies been imagining it to be. The popular Protestant idea of Catholics and their religious acts has been one compounded of magnificence, sternness, and cunning. Every Catholic service they have supposed to be conducted on a scale of great splendour; the music irreproachable, the priests gloomily imposing, the congregation awe-struck, and the language Latin. It is difficult to meet with a Protestant book in which Catholics are spoken of, without perceiving that the author supposes that we say, or sing, High Mass at all hours of the day and night; that people always pay the priests for giving them absolution; and that, in general, the one great object of the priestly life is to keep the laity in a state of spiritual and intellectual slavery. Catholicism, it is thought, reduces all its followers to one level; it moulds all characters according to one type, it tolerates differences in nothing; and as for supposing that it encourages differences of worship in different circumstances, the majority of Protestants have never conceived of the possibility of such a thing. If you tell them that communion is administered in both kinds in certain churches in different countries; that in the Greek Catholic Church married men are made priests; that there are millions of Catholics who never were present at a High Mass in their life; and that public prayers in the vernacular language of each country are in use throughout all Christendom,—they are disposed to think you are playing upon their credulity, and inventing stories to deceive them. Their one idea of Catholics is, that they are all precisely alike, differing only in this particular, that the priests are crafty and the laity ignorant; and that the policy of the priests is to keep the laity at a distance, and to restrain them from all participation in public religious services, lest they should think fit to have opinions of their own, and, as a necessary consequence, should become Protestants.

Until recently the better-disposed class of Protestants would never enter a Catholic church or chapel, so as to have an opportunity of correcting these impressions. Even those who, either in the spirit of sight-seeing or of Romanising Puseyism, visited Catholic churches abroad, have hitherto made it a point of conscience never to set their foot within a "Romish place of worship" on this side the British Channel. The last year, however, has seen a wonderful change. Mr. Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter have combined with certain converts of the last five years to tempt the reluctant foot within the forbidden threshold, and the white neckcloth of the Anglican clergyman has become a no longer unseen phenomenon in a Catholic congregation. Curiosity to see what ex-Protestant clergymen look like, and what they say, and what

they do, now that they are become real Catholic priests, has overcome that jealousy and coyness which has been hitherto invincible; while the ridicule with which the Church of England has now covered herself has induced many an anxious soul to seek for *some* creed at the hands of her who has been so long despised and so often reviled. Old friendship, old affection, old associations, and a veneration not yet extinct, have further tended to bring Protestants to associate with Catholics and to frequent Catholic services, even in this land so sacred to Anglo-Saxon Protestantism.

And most curious has been the result. Catholicism as embodied in the sermons and services of the Oratorian Fathers is received by the Protestant mind with undisguised amazement and disgust. Hitherto, the Church, like the Baptist, was said to be possessed with a devil. Now, she is gluttonous and wine-bibbing, and a friend of publicans and sinners. St. Philip is a most intolerable saint. The Oratorian proceedings are perfectly scandalous. The Oratories are a kind of Methodist meeting-house, where "the Virgin" is deified, the saints regarded as actually present beings, and our Saviour spoken to and spoken of as if He was really a man. Men educated at Oxford positively make a whole congregation, *including* its Protestant portion, laugh. The Father Superior comes to London and preaches a set of lectures of so strange a character as absolutely to attract some of the most popular comic writers of the day to listen to them. Nothing can exceed the levity of the Oratorian Fathers; they speak of the Church of England as if it were a subject for joking. Their architecture is Pagan; their music detestable; their hymns methodistical; their prayers abound with "Hail Mary's" and "Our Fathers," and the old abuse of "Indulgences" is brought forward more prominently than ever. As for their images, they are indescribable. Their sermons are one day antinomian, another idolatrous, another anti-English, another enthusiastic, another more Popish than the Pope, another as offensive as the rant of the conventicle. Altogether, the astonished Anglican says to himself, If *this* is Catholicism, I thank God that I am a Protestant of the good old Church of England, notwithstanding the Bishop of Exeter, and Mr. Gorham, and the Privy Council and all its decrees.

Nevertheless we entertain the strongest conviction that the Oratories of St. Philip, wherever they are established in this country, will be among the most powerful of the weapons which Almighty God will employ for the destruction of English heresy and schism. Vehement as is the indignation of many Anglican journals, and irritated as are the majority of educated

Protestants who visit the Oratories, the *fact* is, that from the moment the children of St. Philip began their labours, they were not only cordially welcomed by innumerable crowds of Catholics where they settled themselves, but commenced receiving a full share of that stream of converts into the Church which flows in ever-increasing abundance. They are favoured, as all other Catholic priests are favoured, whensoever they come and place themselves in the midst of the desolate masses of our crowded cities. Every where the same spectacle is seen. Let a Catholic church be opened anywhere, and made really a church for the people, and while Catholics hail the day which sees the return of the old religion to its ancient dwelling-place, Protestants also crowd to hear the word of God, and conversions in large numbers reward the labours of a self-denying priesthood. That the organs of Protestantism, whether Dissenting, Low Church, or High Church, should alternately sneer at and assault the congregation of the Oratory, is to be accounted a good omen rather than a bad one. They are compelled by the force of circumstances no longer to ignore the existence of the Catholic Church. Curiosity to know the proceedings of men once so influential as Protestants, is on the *qui vive* among their readers; and few editors can afford to neglect to feed their readers' curiosity. Praise the Oratorians they dare not, even if they would. Editorial duty thus unites with personal feeling to fill the columns of Anglican and Dissenting periodicals with dignified expressions of contempt and disgust; while the secret effect is wrought unnoticed, save by Almighty God.

Attacks on Catholicism, indeed, in the present day, do us more good than harm. Popular feeling has so far changed, that *any thing* that leads Protestants to inquire for themselves is beneficial. We question whether even a little personal violence exercised against some good monk or priest might not be of the greatest advantage to religion. We would not silence Sir Robert Inglis, or Hugh M'Neile, or the speakers of Exeter Hall in general, for the world; unless for the sake of converting these anti-Catholic orators themselves. Innumerable converts have been made by the onslaughts of Protestant controversialists. The desire to know something of a religion which wakes men to so frenzied a wrath induces the listener to read Catholic books and to go to Catholic churches; and there is perhaps not a congregation in England which does not owe many converts to the violence and misrepresentations of the missionaries of Protestantism. The more Catholics are attacked, therefore, the better. All the Church needs is to be heard. Whether Protestants come to our services and read

our books from innocent curiosity or some other motive, it matters *comparatively* little. If they will hear at all, they may hear to their own salvation. If they come to scoff, they will remain to pray. If they go intending to be disgusted with the Fathers of the Oratory, they will end in going to confession to them. If they mock at the decorations of their altars, they will at length bow down and adore Him who resides thereon. If they are shocked at their "Mariolatry," they will go on to say the "Memorare" for themselves. If they deride St. Philip as a buffoon, it will not be long before they invoke him as a saint. The Oratories will take their place among the most loved and honoured of all the many loved and honoured churches which already exist in England, and which are every day increasing in number. Their congregation will be found, so to say, to *fit in* to the circumstances and wants of the time; forming a loyal and self-sacrificing band in that great spiritual army which defies the enemies of God, and summons his elect from every town and village of this immense kingdom. St. Philip will find, as he is already finding, a home beside the tall smoking factory-chimneys, as of old beside the ruins of the Cæsars in Rome itself. He has his own special work to do, as so many other saints have each their own; and the rude Saxon sense of England will acknowledge his supernatural gifts, and still powerful intercession, in the labours of his children.

What this work is, and how St. Philip's Institute is eminently adapted to the habits of mind of the present day, the three lectures recently delivered by Father Faber are designed to shew. They give sketches of the Saint's character, of his relationship to modern times, and of those peculiarities of the Oratory which tend specially to supply the wants of unbelieving England in the nineteenth century. All the three lectures are brilliantly written, full of matter; and though they contain certain opinions from which many will dissent, they yet abound with forcible passages expounding many great Catholic truths which cannot be too earnestly inculcated at such a time as this.

Exception, for instance, may be fairly taken to those passages in the first lecture in which a certain air of exclusiveness is thrown around the portrait drawn of St. Philip, as a peculiar copy of our Blessed Lord. Strikingly interesting as is the lecturer's exposition of the celestial character of the Saint's life, it may be fairly questioned whether an equally ingenious and true parallel may not be drawn between the lives of innumerable other saints and the history of our Lord in the four Gospels.

So, too, we question whether the view of St. Philip as the "representative Saint of modern times" is borne out by facts. In certain portions of the characteristics of modern times the idea may be correct; but how can St. Philip be placed as a "representative Saint" on the same footing with St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Alphonsus Liguori, or even with St. Charles Borromeo? The grand mark of distinction of the last three centuries is surely that intellectual development by which Satan has sought to destroy the faith from among men. As by natural reason man has learnt to know much of the natural works of God, Satan has persuaded him that by the same natural reason he can know God himself in his essence, and because he has studied time can therefore fathom eternity. Such has been and still is the characteristic feature of the modern conflict between the Church and the world; and if we are to select any one Saint as the "representative" of the Church in the struggle, who can claim the same rank as the founder of the Society of Jesus, which has thrown itself like a mighty wrestler upon the *intellect* of the world, and by every possible device, whether by preaching, by education, by secular and religious writings, and by the introduction of a Christianised civilisation among the heathen, has turned Satan's weapon against himself, and constrained reason itself to fight the battle of faith? Or if we turn to the great work of the direction of souls, to whom above all others do we owe the destruction of the most pernicious and far-spreading heresy of modern times, which was in fact the offspring of Protestantism within the Church, but to St. Alphonsus Liguori? What Saint, whether by his personal character or by his writings, has had nearly the same amount of influence in the extirpation of Jansenism, and has so deeply impressed upon the whole Church that evangelical spirit of love and tenderness and joy, whether in the conversion of sinners or in the guidance of the elect to perfection? Or, again, to whom do our ecclesiastical superiors and the clergy owe so vast an obligation, in matters of Church-discipline and the general carrying out of the functions of the priesthood, as to St. Charles Borromeo? The work of the Council of Trent having been twofold, dogmatic and reformatory, it was St. Charles who pre-eminently shewed his contemporaries, and the whole Church after him, *how* to carry out the intentions of the Council, and to embody in details the spirit of its commands. Nor let us forget what we owe to St. Charles for *Sunday-Schools*. Still further, St. Vincent of Paul must not be omitted from the list of representative Saints. To him we owe to a great extent that *organisation* of those who practise the spiritual and corporal works of mercy

in various spheres, which is one of the characteristics of the present age. Is not St. Francis of Sales also a representative Saint? And is the catalogue to be closed even with him? For ourselves, we conceive that the Church has had many such since what are called "modern times" began; and that marked and beautiful as was the character and influence of the "Apostle of Rome," and eminently adapted as is the spirit and system of the Oratory to England, and all Europe and America at the present day, St. Philip is but one star amidst a burning galaxy of heavenly lights, whose radiance still glows upon this island, and upon the whole Church of Christ.

In the second lecture Father Faber expresses another opinion which will sound strange in many ears, though we suspect it is perfectly correct. He thinks that if St. Philip had possessed a "dark Gothic cathedral," he would have pulled it down, and built another more to his own taste. If it is here taken for granted that the supposed building was dark because it was Gothic, and that on this account St. Philip would have demolished it, we protest against the supposition. Some Gothic churches are dark, and so are very many Italian churches; but many Gothic churches are not only light, but, until filled with stained glass, are intolerably glaring. The occasional crotchets of some recent church-builders, indeed, have made many persons believe that it is a necessary feature in Gothic churches to be dark, gloomy, and inconvenient, unfit for use with modern rubrics and modern functions. The fact, however, is far different. As we have always maintained, any thing may be done with Gothic architecture, *provided it be employed in a Catholic, and not in an antiquarian spirit.*

We fear, nevertheless, that St. Philip *would* have pulled down *any* Gothic cathedral, and for this reason, that he lived in an age when the practice of pulling down Gothic buildings was at its height. For one Gothic church that was left standing in wealthy and Catholic countries, perhaps a dozen were destroyed, and Italian buildings erected in their place. Protestants, who cared little for churches at all, pulled down solely to destroy; poor Catholics also left the old edifices standing; but as a rule, throughout Christendom, the Catholics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were as vigorous in the work of rebuilding as the mediæval Christians of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. In the thirteenth century "Norman" churches were pulled down to make way for "Early Gothic;" "Early Gothic" was next thrust aside, and "Decorated Gothic" became all the fashion; then came the "Perpendicular" and "Flamboyant" architects,

and made short work of the masterpieces of their immediate ancestors. At last the *renaissance* began, and churches and cathedrals were levelled more vigorously than ever; the pointed arch was esteemed barbarous, the very knowledge of the principles of Gothic art disappeared, and Popes, bishops, priests, and laity, saints and architects together, with few exceptions, could not rest until they worshipped God in a building with round arches and round or square-headed windows. Such has been the system which has ever prevailed in the Church until our own times; and the only way by which we can attain the distinction of novelty will be, not only to pull down the buildings of our fathers, but to pull down the buildings we have ourselves erected;—a distinction which in some cases we shall not be surprised to see achieved. That St. Philip, then, living when he did, would have pulled down a “dark Gothic cathedral,” we think highly probable; but that if he were now alive, and could get possession of Westminster Abbey, he would pull it down, we think in the highest degree improbable. St. Francis of Assisi would have rejoiced to make use of the Italian St. Paul’s, and St. Philip would have spread his altars far and wide in the Gothic St. Peter’s.

The third lecture, entitled “St. Philip in England,” we think the ablest of the series, and it cannot be too strongly recommended, as containing a large amount of suggestion and reflection, which will be interesting to every person who, whether as priest or layman, has the spiritual good of our common country deeply at heart. From this lecture we shall make a few extracts, before enlarging on that particular characteristic in Oratorian devotions which we conceive to be especially adapted to the circumstances of the Church in England at the present crisis.

After sketching the broad features of the more notorious divisions of Protestantism, Father Faber thus proceeds with his exposition of the fitness of St. Philip’s spirit to aid powerfully in the conversion of this country.

“There are two ways in which St. Philip can speak to us and work with us in England, and which flow naturally from his spirit and genius as already described. The one is by correcting, modifying, or purifying external defects under which we labour, and imparting to us an interior spirit which improves, while it is congenial to, our own. The other is by the adaptation to our tempers, tastes, and necessities, of certain external modes of working, which belong, and are to some extent peculiar, to himself. And St. Philip’s fitness for the English people does not rest in any, or in all separately,

of these points, but in the accumulation and convergence to them all in his one idea; neither does the display or application of his fitness belong by any means exclusively to his own congregation; for his spirit is the spirit of the secular clergy, and to them does he belong, and they can use his arts and walk upon his ways; we of his congregation have no exclusive property in our dear founder; he is the property of the secular clergy always and every where; and this fact will enable me to speak more freely and more broadly of St. Philip's work in England than I could have done, had I thought the holy Father was with us his more immediate children, who wear his livery, and with no one else.

"1. I will speak of the internal spirit first.

"When an old man looks back upon a long life of alternate good and evil fortune, he not only sees the mistakes he has made, but, in the calmness of the unimpassioned retrospect, he sees the principle which has actuated him in all his blunders, and discerns the character of the evil genius which has haunted him. So it is in the study of history. In the long chronicles of centuries, we come to see the evil genius which has from time to time come in the way of a nation, and misled it. One of the worst of the evil geniuses of England has been nationalism. It was in a measure forced upon us by our insular position, then concentrated by the loss of our continental possessions, and last of all exaggerated in our self-multiplication in colonies. It has been the cause of almost all that is little and pusillanimous in us, and has retarded us in all growths, except that of material and industrial prosperity, which it was not its business to hinder, but which perhaps it rather forwarded. I see no reason against conceding this. In religion it produced the Establishment, and in saying that, how much is involved! At present the great Catholic movement throughout the world is distinguished by nothing so much as the clear ascendancy of the grand, magnanimous, and vigorous principle of ultramontanism. It is the tendency of modern civilisation to render more and more nugatory and indistinct all national separations, peculiarities of blood, and territorial boundaries. Philosophy, science, diplomacy, literature, feeling, all go the same way. But to what centre? It is hard to say. So far it has mimicked the divine Catholic system. But we have our sacred centre, all the more sacred because it seems so frail, the Roman Throne, the image of the Throne Invisible.

"You will not think that I am trifling with you, then, when I make much of St. Philip's being especially a Roman Saint; indeed, in a sense in which no other Saint ever was, since authority itself has named him Rome's Apostle. Whatever drifts our affections more and more towards Rome,—whatever increases in us a mysterious love and loyal homage towards the Jerusalem of Catholics, whose claim to our respect rests no more on the character of its populace than did the claims of the Holy City of David on the virtues of the rabble that chose Barabbas,—whatever inspires us

with a fondness for all that breathes of Rome and looks like Rome, —whatever instils into our hearts that old religious instinct which bade our Saxon kings come down from off their thrones and wander in enthusiastic pilgrimage to that strange old city of ruins and of tombs, where God has fixed St. Peter's living Throne, a Throne all eyes world-encompassing, all hands world-subduing, all wisdom world-inspiring,—whatever makes that home and hearth of Christendom dearer to us, and each day more dear, is a real and substantial blessing. Out of it will come Catholic life. Out of it will come generous strength and health. Look at the Church of France, who so nobly leads the way, oblivious of her old selfish Gallican glories. Look at America, and her robust young Church. See, it is the instinct of the earth, every where awakening to the faith, with its wide and princely episcopate, to rise up and throw itself on Rome, and to lean all its weight upon that central point which the finger of God has touched, and which will sustain the world, when all else shall rock to and fro. Is there no significance, then, in the coming of Rome's own Apostle to help us in the fight, and to pitch his quiet but busy little tent amid those of the host of God, waiting for the battle, the tents of Israel that are beautiful as 'tabernacles which the Lord hath pitched, as cedars by the water-side?'

"The other nations of Europe say of us, and it cannot be denied that there is some truth in the reproach, that we are not a happy people. It has been said of us by one of our own writers, that we have produced the greatest poets of any nation in the world, and yet are ourselves of all nations the least poetical; and that the lack of poetry betokens or causes, or both, the want of happiness. This is perhaps an exaggeration; and it is at any rate more true of the higher than of the lower orders. It must be acknowledged, however, that without doubt the aspect of our character is sober, serious, solemn, nay, not unfrequently sour and sombre. We are wanting in light-heartedness. We should have more energy, or perhaps elasticity would be a truer word, if our spirits were more gay. Foreigners exaggerate this. They always misunderstand us. We are as hard a people to understand as any on the face of the earth. No one can lead an Englishman but an Englishman. No one can persuade an Englishman but an Englishman: neither Scotchman nor Irishman, much less a man from over-seas. It may be part of our pride. It may be something else. But so it is.

"It fell to my lot some time ago to have to read some American books, which surely are next door to English. But the very thing that struck me was, 'What different principles the Americans reason on from what we do! Arguments like these would never persuade men in Oxford or in London.' We shut ourselves up, and make ourselves a hundred times more gloomy in appearance than we are in reality. But, now, was this our national character in the old ages? Why, our very nickname was 'Merric England;' and merry did not only mean that her fields were greener than anybody

else's fields, but that her hearts were as light, her faces as bright, and her words as blithe, nay, I will say it, because of her freedom, lighter, brighter, and blither. 'It is an enemy hath done this.' It is our evil genius of puritanism, and that too, as history testifies, not a native genius, but a foreign one naturalised, from Frankfurt and Geneva; burnt into a generation, together with the gall and bitterness of exile, and the rancour of religious strife. You will say all this is an argument against St. Philip, because he is a foreign Saint. But I answer that it is not; first, because I cannot admit that, in matter of religion, any thing from Rome is or can be foreign any where; and next, because St. Philip translates himself into English, and makes himself into a number of Englishmen, before he comes and gives his spirit to many more (may it be a growing number!) than are called by his sweet name. And what I am bent upon saying now is, that his peculiar spirit of playfulness, and gaiety, and tenderness, and insinuating variety, and graceful pliability, and sunshiny religion, is just what we want to neutralise our puritanism, which has impaired by disgusting all the earnestness of the land."

The following remarks we think strikingly true:

"When George Whitfield preached, it was not only the grim-faced colliers with tears making white gutters down their faces, or the excited groups of sunburnt ploughmen, who threw themselves before him, and let the lava of his impetuous heart run over them, and do what it would with them. But Hume and Franklin, Pulteney, Bolingbroke, and Chesterfield, 'maids of honour and lords of the bed-chamber,' came to hear him. Nay, dignified bishops of the Establishment hid themselves behind curtains to listen to the tapster of a Gloucester tavern. Yet the poor servitor of Pembroke College had only a poor pittance of Oxford lore about him. He was there but a little while, and of that little while the most had been spent in praying and fasting with the two Wesleys at Lincoln College, or in meditating and fighting with the evil one for whole nights together in the wet grass of Christ Church meadow. His power was first of all in the heart, and the simplicity and the interior doctrine of his preaching. Bating his heresy, he preached just as St. Philip would have taught him to preach if he had been an Oratorian novice, which, unluckily for his poor soul, George Whitfield never was. And, secondly, his power was in the fact that the English are a *hearing* people. A popular author of the day, of much power and more onesidedness, and whose works are full of a prelusive Gibbonlike infidelity, in enunciating with his usual breadth one of the half-truths which are at once his characteristic and his strength, complains of the English taste for hearing. Be it so: yet it is a *fact*, and you must rule people with their wills, before you can rule them against their wills; and if you believe in individual souls, you cannot afford to lose time in saving them. The 'dumb dogs,' the non-preaching clergy of old times, are a

proverb in English history ; puritanical life was in preaching ; the magic of methodism was in preaching ; Whitfield preached on an average forty hours a week for many years. You cannot drive out the English taste for preaching by ritual or aught else. You must convert them by the excess of the foolishness of preaching, before you can mould them more to your mind, if you wish to do so. Benedict XIV. mentions St. Philip's remarkable devotion to Savonarola ; it almost gave offence ; the Sacred Congregation of Rites, however, found no fault in it, and took no scandal at it. This devotion of their holy Father is not likely to escape the minute and thoughtful attention of his children. When all Rome first rang with Philip's name, what was it men said that he had done ? Established the 'daily Word of God : ' that was the very Protestant-sounding phrase that passed from mouth to mouth, from the Vatican to Santa Croce, from the Porta del Popolo to St. Paul's beyond the Walls : established the daily Word of God ! Think of his times, of men's wants, of nascent Protestantism, of the working of minds, of the irresistible thirst for doctrine that was throwing off swarm after swarm of heresy, fast as the steam-press flings forth the sheets of the popular journal of our day,—and then what wisdom, what significance, what an austere, single, divine idea,—'established the daily Word of God ! ' You see, St. Philip's outward dress, no less than his hidden spirit, fits England to a nicety. If the land had been measured for him and for his Oratory, the fit could not have been completer."

The picture drawn so touchingly in our next extract is still, to some extent, ideal. The "Oratory" as it exists in Rome and elsewhere, attached to the churches of the Oratorian Fathers, is not yet established in England. The Spiritual Mechanics' Institute, as it may very fairly be called, with no violent stretch of language, is still a matter for hope and prayer, though we trust that before long time has passed, we shall be in a position to value its merits, not only by anticipation, but from the sight of its powers in living operation. Still, it is enough to enter one of those two strange-looking buildings in Birmingham and London, on any week-day evening, to judge what may be done by what is done already. A congregation of priests, like those of St. Philip, enjoys facilities for making a church the *home* of the poor man, which can rarely be possessed to an equal extent by the one, two, or three priests who are attached to an ordinary church, and who are overwhelmed with the toils of more strictly parochial duties. And that the Oratorian Fathers have made good use of these facilities, and that Almighty God has vouchsafed an abundant blessing on their zeal, no one can doubt who watches the joy, the earnestness, and the devotion with which, night after night, the children of labour

throng their services, and the intense satisfaction they feel in the privileges thus afforded them. Observant Catholics, both English and foreign, who have long mourned over the hardheartedness of English Protestantism, and have thought it almost impossible to reproduce in this desert land the scenes which delight the devout eye in truly Catholic countries, have been again and again amazed to find with what facility and rapidity a Catholic church and its people can be as it were transplanted from Rome, or Belgium, or France, and placed in the densest masses of our heathen cities. We pray, therefore, that the time may speedily come when the "Oratory," in all its genuine spirit, and adapted to the circumstances of England in the nineteenth century, may be opened not only in London and Birmingham, but in every great town in the empire. The assistance which such an establishment would furnish to the parochial clergy would be immense. It would just do for their people what nothing else can do. During the week it would receive from the various districts of a city its complement of those who on Sundays frequent what we may soon hope to call their parish church; but who on other days require a species of recreation, half secular, half spiritual, which it is utterly beyond the leisure of their parish priests to afford them. But we must allow Father Faber to speak for himself:

"Surely," he says, "the English people are greatly in need of holyday and recreation. These long hours of work, these unwholesome atmospheres, these steel-filings, soap-boilings, poison-polished cards, stereotype-plate castings, gasometers, tan-pits, vitriol-works, and the rest of it, well-nigh drain the life out of a man. His gloomy, wearisome, slowfooted Sunday is all he has for his own; almost to be accounted lucky if, sometimes, work even then interferes with the dead weight of his reflective unhappiness on that day. The English artisans are in need of recreation. They will be a happier people when they have it, and a holier people when they are happier. Yet you must make a man happy in his own way. A king and an archbishop have no divine right to issue a book of sports, and thrust happiness down men's throats, against their will, and out of their own way. As matters are at present, it is most unlikely that the great multitude of serious England will find their recreation otherwise than in their religion. Anyhow, some will look for it there, and some in scientific meetings, literary institutes, and political clubs. Now let us take the first half of the question first. Some will look for their recreation in religion. Given the hypothesis—there have been wilder ones—that St. Philip had an oratory in all the large towns, or places opened on the model of an oratory. The evening comes; the gates of the factories are thrown wide open; the streets are filled with crowds of artisans, each one

of whom is full of noblest capabilities of good, and the worst has an immortal soul. He has time to go home, to wash, to rest, to refresh himself. After all that toil there must be excitement; there can be no rest without it. He goes, if he wills, and hundreds do will, to the oratory. If he is early, he can pray in silence; he can visit the altars; the pictures and the images soothe him and teach him; the silence round the tabernacle of the Most Holy excites him and heats him into more loving prayer. The hour comes; he can join in the English prayers, respond to the Litanies, share the Paters and the Aves, in his own Saxon tongue, which is much to his heart's content. Then he can sing, at least in his way; every body sings there, why not he? he is a hymn-loving animal, as his puritan fathers were before him; this is yet more to his heart's content. Then comes the sermon; a stranger or chance dropper-in would think it portentously long in most cases; the fact is, it was not meant for him; the place is a factory of sermons, meant for people who make a nightly business of hearing; the artisan is an Englishman, and thus a hearing animal, and so this is most of all to his heart's content. So he joins in the next hymn more joyously still; then, perhaps, the altar glows with its starry lights, and he can go home with no less a benediction than His who made him, given to him there and then in His own gracious Bodily Presence. Or if there be aught upon his mind, his Lord is waiting in the free confessionals, ready to bleed balm upon his wounds, and send him home happy, if any son of earth there be that night who is so. What does he think, that body and that soul of his, of Philip's recreation?

"I wonder what St. Philip would have thought of a people's hall or a mechanics' institute. One thing I am quite certain of, that he would not have let them alone. That 'old man of sixty, and wonderful in many respects, and of astonishing prudence and dexterity in inventing and promoting spiritual exercises,' of whom Ancina spoke in 1576, in his letter written May 28th, this very day, would have had *his* people's hall and *his* mechanics' institute, and had his daily Word of God after a fashion within their precincts, just as he had his processions, and his pilgrimages, and his frolics and picnics in vineyards, for carnival times and the like; for Philip's 'Word of God' includes many things; it is not mere missionary preaching; it included Baronius' Annals, with all its secular learning. Perchance men may some day hear St. Philip lecture on Physical Geography, on the danger of Biela's Comet, or the Physiognomy of Plants, in a Mechanics' Institute, or on English Literature or the Principles of Poetry in a People's Hall. He has been seen in odder places, and to some purpose, before now. His views are any thing but narrow. You may trust him for that.

"Now, here is a Saint in the Roman calendar, who founded a congregation three hundred years ago; and, strange to say, he made it a fundamental rule of its communities that they should be fixed in large towns. For himself, he never slept out of Rome

for a good part of a century. No green fields, no wood-encircled monasteries, no countrified noviciates, nor even a house of studies in the fresh air, were his children to have. In the murky alleys, in the half-eternal fog, in the cheerless sight of odds and ends of blue sky now and then seen between the housetops, in the din and whirl, in the fret and 'slow fever,' as one of his holiest children called it, of half-hourly interruptions, they were to live in their cells, and pray as if they were in a wilderness, and preach as if they were in a heathen land; and when their faces got white, and their limbs aching, and their heads stunned and good for nothing, then they might off to some country-house for a while, to get gulps of fresh air, which they were to take in with all reasonable rapidity, like men drinking uncomfortably in a hurry. Now, is not this just what we want? It is as if the old man, the type of modern times, saw far onward. These large towns, unheard-of terrifying agglomerations of over-worked and not over-contented people, sprinkled like black charged storm-clouds all over the land—these are our dread, our difficulty, our problem, our *opprobrium medicorum reipublicæ*. Who will undertake to draw off their electricity in safe and regulated ways? The poor Establishment? Alas! Lord Nelson used to say,—and it was the first moral lesson, perhaps, that some of us remember to have been taught,—that he owed every thing in life to his always being a quarter of an hour before his time. The established religion has just been the reverse. Its characteristic has been, that it has always been a quarter of an hour behind its time; and so it has let the large towns slip, irretrievably now. I think St. Philip could do something for them, which they would not be sorry to see done. Anyhow, his spirit is the spirit of large towns, unmistakably so; and it is therefore quick to sympathise with the masses, which is what we want in England so much just now; not a kindness or a condescension, not a cricket-club or a Victoria Park, but a generous, cordial, human give-and-take sympathy with the masses. And the youth of large towns—it goes wandering about: poor shepherdless thing! it is Philip's flock, the flock of his choice, his first love; it will hear his voice, as of a shepherd, and know it, though it heard it not before, and gather together, and be in peace and joy and gay liberty of spirit round about the dear old Saint. One such troop of factory-youths in a dozen large towns, and St. Philip's work will be worth England's having."

There are other details in Father Faber's exposition of the spirit of St. Philip's congregation, which we must pass over, and hasten on to a feature in their services which is by no means peculiar to Oratorian churches, and to which we imagine the secret of their success is in a great measure, though not solely, to be attributed. It is a feature which there is every probability will be speedily multiplied in Catholic churches of all kinds throughout the country, as it is easy

of accomplishment, and is adapted to services conducted by secular clergy and by the regulars of every order. Of its immense importance in the glorious work of the conversion of erring Catholics to a life of virtue, and of Protestants to the true faith, it is difficult to speak too strongly. We refer to the eminently *congregational* character of the religious services of the churches of St. Philip.

No thoughtful and candid person can avoid being struck with the contrast which too many of our English Catholic churches present to a vast number of the Catholic churches on the continent. A traveller whose ears still ring with the pealing sounds of a thousand voices on the banks of the Rhine, enters a large church in his own land, and marvels to find that, save the priest and the choir, and a few trembling tongues besides, all is mute. In some country church in France or Belgium he has listened with wonder to the loud body of sound which has come forth from the congregation, with one heart repeating responses in their vernacular tongue. Or in some spacious Italian basilica or cathedral, his bewildered head has ached (while his devout heart has rejoiced) beneath the clattering Babel of innumerable voices, singing, perhaps all extremely badly, but all with extreme zeal. With refined musical taste he has almost jumped from his knees at the sound of the dancing strains with which in some broad Milanese, or Sardinian, or Tuscan *patois*, the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar is adored by a crowded throng. Or in that church of many pilgrimages, *Notre Dame des Victoires*, in Paris, his very teeth have trembled at the marvellous march of some rapid French *cantique*, which, in interminable length and most disjointed musical phrase, rises up from a kneeling multitude. Then he returns home, and with all the delightful signs of the spread of religion which he witnesses around him, with all the noble churches, and crowded confessionals, and well-performed ceremonial, which bespeak the zeal of a laborious clergy, and the blessing of God upon this land, still the congregations are for the most part silent. He hears complaints from many quarters that the people will not sing, that only a few will join in the English prayers, that Vespers and Compline, and, in many places, even Benediction, are listened to by the congregation, and sung by the choir alone. Here and there a partial exception may be found; but still, on the whole, the returning traveller, whose ears and whose heart have been equally charmed in Germany, and whose heart in other countries has been so warmed that he has forgotten to think how his ears have been tormented, feels oppressed with the decorous silence of his frigid countrymen,

and too often sets down their voiceless soberness to some incurable defect in the constitution of the Anglo-Saxon race.

That any such defect is the real cause, we have never, for ourselves, for one moment believed. We have ever been confident, paradoxical as many people will suppose it, that the English are a *singing* people; and that the Catholic congregations of England may easily, that is, with a *moderate* amount of well-directed labour, be brought to rival the foreign churches which are most distinguished for their congregational prayers and devout songs; and so far as good taste is concerned, to excel a large proportion of them.

The more purely musical aspect of the question shall first engage our attention. And to decide it, we need but a rapid glance at the musical history of the last three hundred years. In the early youth of musical science, we find English composers second only to the greatest masters of Italy, both in sacred and secular compositions. Cold as are the best Protestant works of the English school, it is yet impossible to deny that, so far as musical genius and learning could aid them, the writings of Tallis, and others of the schools of Palestrina, of Carissimi, of Durante, and of Leo, were the works of *masters* in the art. In secular pieces, where no Puritanism or Anglicanism interfered directly to check the development of their natural powers, the English musicians approached the Italians with a still closer rivalry. Their madrigals are still the delight of tens of thousands, after the lapse of from two to three centuries. No country in the world, save Italy, can pretend to furnish forth such a body of purely vocal choral masterpieces as may be heard to this day performed by the various madrigal societies in England. After the madrigal had passed away, a new species of vocal composition arose in England, to attain perfection in the soil where it first sprung, and to be transplanted *to no other country*. The "glee" is purely English in its origin, and it is *only* English to this very hour. And that the country which gave birth to the brilliant galaxy of glee-writers, whose works are alike the admiration of the learned and the delight of the ordinary listener, is an "unmusical" country, few would be rash enough to assert. A further proof of what we say is to be found in the long series of compositions of the various "Cathedral Schools." Unsatisfactory as are the most of these works, they are assuredly works of very considerable musical genius and learning; and they are more purely *vocal* than any of the contemporary schools which have flourished during the same period. In their immediate connexion are to be noticed the long series of English organ-players. It has been the fate

of organ-playing to retain its purity in England alone. In Italy it has long become a caricature. In Germany it has adapted itself to the eminently *orchestral* tastes of the German race. The French organists constitute no school at all. And to this present hour we have little doubt that this country could supply a larger number of musicians who would play that most glorious of all instruments in a more purely vocal spirit than any other country in Europe. For, it must be observed, we are not contending that England is a land where *instrumental* music has been successfully cultivated. Our deficiencies as orchestral writers are as marked as our successes as vocal writers. Notwithstanding occasional exceptions, in Italy, France, and England itself, Germany is the only home of instrumental music.

And now, in our own times, with what an astonishing rapidity is choral singing spreading among all classes throughout this island! The walls of Exeter Hall for years past have rung alternately with the harsh cries of Puritanism and with the voices of harmonious multitudes of amateur singers. Within the last twelvemonth we have heard a feat there accomplished, which a few years ago would have been accounted a simple impossibility. Six or seven hundred amateurs, under the discipline of an accomplished master, have been brought to sing the most difficult parts of the superb chorus from Handel's *Messiah*, "For unto us a Child is born," *pianissimo*. Most absurd, in truth, was the effect; and it shewed the conductor's misconception of the sacred words and of Handel's music; but it shewed at the same time the admirable capacity of ordinary Englishmen and Englishwomen for choral singing. And Exeter Hall is but one instance among hundreds. Everywhere, even in little country villages, the moment the people are taught to sing, and familiarised with good, solid, and interesting compositions, a zeal is displayed, and a progress is made, which sometimes astonishes the most sanguine. That English Catholics, therefore, *will not* sing, we may safely assume to be a fiction; and we must seek for the cause of their present silence, not in any inherent indisposition, but in some other source.

This source we believe to be twofold. Our congregations are, for the most part, silent when they ought to speak or sing partly because we have formed an exaggerated estimate of their capacity to sing and respond in Latin, and partly because we have possessed so few English hymns. Consequently, customs have grown up in this country which, with certain exceptions, are unknown to the rest of the Catholic Church. It has become a kind of established maxim, that Vespers, or

at least Compline, is the proper afternoon or evening service for ordinary Catholic congregations. Sometimes both Vespers and Compline are sung, sometimes the Sunday Vespers are substituted for the proper Vespers for the day, sometimes other services are added in a subordinate rank; but, still, the general idea with many persons has been, that assisting at Latin Vespers is almost as much a portion of the ordinary lay Catholic's Sunday duty as hearing Mass.

Now the first thing that strikes the mind on thinking over this circumstance is its singularity. Why, we ask at the first blush, should England be different from the rest of Catholic Christendom? Our position and our spiritual advantages are wonderfully changing; and it is of the utmost importance that we should make no false step. If we introduce novelties, and adopt a different system from that which has been sanctioned by general usage in Catholic countries, it ought to be after mature consideration, with a certainty that our circumstances are really peculiar to ourselves, and that the plans we are adopting are eminently suitable to our necessities. Many English people, indeed, believe that in *every* Catholic church on the continent Latin Vespers or Compline are said or sung as regularly as Mass itself. But the case is almost the very reverse. Latin congregational services are the exception and not the rule every where but amongst ourselves. With certain exceptions, Vespers are sung only in cathedral, collegiate, or monastic churches, where they form a portion of the duty of the clergy, not as parish-priests, but as canons, monks, or the like. *One* species of Vespers, indeed, is still to be heard in some churches in Rome and elsewhere, which would fill untravelled English Catholics with amazement. In these churches sometimes one psalm, sometimes the whole of the psalms, is turned into a long and elaborate composition, frequently with a florid orchestral accompaniment, with solos, duets, choruses, and recitatives, which is listened to by the congregation, who, for the most part, walk out when the more splendid portion of the service is over. We could shew to our readers many a "*Dixit Dominus*" which fills a goodly volume, ending with such a chorus of "*Amens*" as would make the most tiresome of English "*Magnificats*," by comparison, quite terse and delightful. *This* species of afternoon or evening service few persons would wish to see adopted in the generality of Catholic churches; of this, therefore, we need say no more.

As to the regular chanted Vespers, we repeat, they are not the *ordinary* afternoon or evening service in Catholic countries. These services are of all kinds, and partake of

that wide spirit of toleration which the Church has ever adopted in the guidance of her children. Sometimes, as in many parts of Germany, they consist of somewhat elaborate liturgical services in German; sometimes they chiefly consist of sermons and vernacular hymns; sometimes of the Rosary or Litanies; sometimes of numerous short prayers, with many "Our Fathers" and "Hail Marys." One rule alone generally prevails: they are such services as the people can understand, appreciate, and take their part in. For the most part, they are in the language of the country, with "Benediction" in Latin. In parts of France, Vespers are not uncommon.

In stating this, our readers will not, we trust, misunderstand us, and suppose that we are in the slightest degree disparaging the exquisite perfections of the offices for Vespers and Compline. Of their inimitable excellence, and their adaptation to those purposes *for which the Church designed them*, there can be no doubt in any cultivated Catholic mind. What we allege is, that they are but a fragment of one beautiful whole, the Breviary office for an entire day; that, torn from the rest of the "Hours," and employed by common lay persons who are strangers to the other offices, from Matins onwards, they are shorn of no little of their beauty and meaning; that in their structure they are eminently adapted to the habits and knowledge of educated minds like those of the clergy, and can be appreciated by educated minds alone; and lastly, that, being in Latin, they never will be even verbally comprehended by the vast majority of our congregations, and therefore never will be really *adopted* by them as the expression of their own devout aspirations.

An idea, we know, is entertained by some few ardent persons, that English Catholics generally may be taught sufficient Latin to enable them to understand Vespers; while others believe that even though congregations do not know Latin, they *may be* brought to sing Vespers through the aid of an English version on the corresponding pages of their Vesper-books. As to the first idea, *when the work is really accomplished, and our congregations do understand Latin*, it will be time enough to act upon the *fact*. At present a congregation understanding Latin is a pure hypothesis. Taking all our congregations together, there are not, on an average, a dozen persons in any one church who could explain the meaning of the Vesper Psalms, Antiphons, and Hymns. That they ever *will* generally understand them, for our own part, we are wholly incredulous. In France, or Italy, or Spain, where the vernacular tongue is more akin to the Latin, the work would be less difficult; but not even in these countries has the know-

ledge of Latin ever become general among all classes. As to countries where they speak a language so unlike Latin as English, we believe it to be utterly visionary to expect congregations to learn sufficient Latin to *understand* the Vesper-service, without a far longer education than is possible for the great mass of the people. Of course, we may be wrong in our expectations; but hitherto undeniable facts are against the supposition that English Catholic congregations can be brought to study a difficult dead language for the purpose of singing and enjoying the Vesper-service.

That an accompanying English version will suffice in the place of any such real knowledge of Latin, facts have already disproved. Vesper-books for the laity are multiplied far and wide, and at every price. Yet our congregations, taken as a whole, do not sing, or seem in any way really to love and enter into, the Vesper-service. The fact is, that very few persons will take the trouble to study a translation of an unknown language to such an extent as to enable them to comprehend the corresponding words and phrases in the original. Let any one of those who themselves understand Latin make the attempt for himself in some other language of which he knows nothing. Let any man who knows nothing of French try the experiment of attending the common week-day evening service which is to be found in so many churches in France, and ascertain whether he would have patience enough to familiarise himself with those French prayers and hymns solely for the sake of joining in the devotions of the congregation. Let any man compare the feelings with which he would sing an ordinary secular song in an unknown tongue, with the gratification and meaning with which he would sing in his own native language. When we try upon ourselves the experiments we expect from others, we find that the notion of a congregation joining, whether in singing or otherwise, in devotions in a strange tongue, is a pure theory, contradicted by facts of all kinds, both secular and ecclesiastical.

Yet it may be said, though congregational Vesper singing (except, of course, in colleges and other unusually favoured instances) is still a thing to be hoped for, Vespers are gladly attended by crowds of Catholics, who shew by their serious demeanour that in some way or other they are edified and pleased. But is this really the case? We shrewdly suspect that with the laity in general Vespers are any thing but a popular service. *What attracts the people is the sermon and Benediction.* Where there is nothing but Vespers, they are the least popular of all services, whether they are well sung

or ill sung—whether drawn out by a poor-school of boys and girls, or sung in the “decorated style” by a “select” choir—whether the Gregorian tones are adopted in all their antique grandeur, or half Anglicised in the common editions in use among our choirs;—when there is nothing but Vespers, the people do not come. To the educated few, undoubtedly, they are a most delightful service; and to a choir which loves to hear its own voices, and discourages all rude, unpolished congregational music, there is a dishonourable pleasure in singing any thing to their own praise and glory; but the people—the immense mass of lay Catholics, men and women, wealthy and poor—love something which they can easily comprehend, and in which with heart and voice they can easily join.

“Would you, then, banish Vespers altogether from our English churches and chapels?” it will be asked of those who share our views on this subject. Far from it. We need not fly from one extreme to another, and in our zeal for congregational services for those who do not understand Latin, forbid the enjoyment of a most exquisite service to those who do. Why can we not do in England as they do abroad? Certainly we cannot sing Vespers at all (except in our college and monastic chapels), if we are to sing them only in cathedrals and large collegiate churches, for the simple reason that we have no cathedrals and no collegiate churches. But why could it not be so arranged in every large town, that in one or two churches, Vespers, or Vespers and Compline, should be sung by as many singers as possible, for the benefit of those who liked such services? Every one who is familiar with the caprices and difficulties of choirs, whether amateur or professional, is aware of the difficulty of collecting as large a body of singers for an afternoon service as for Mass. Probably, on the average not above one-third of those who sing at High Mass can be reckoned upon for afternoon or evening duty. Might it not, then, be worth consideration whether a much better service could not be sung by uniting all available voices in one or two churches frequented by the more educated classes of Catholics? For of all Church music, nothing suffers so much from insufficiency of singers as the tones for the Psalms. Our Vespers, as frequently conducted, are an absolute caricature. Persons who have been accustomed to hear them lackadaisically harmonised by some three or four ladies and gentlemen, sometimes *assisted*—so to call it—by the nasal twang of several scores of children, fresh from the Sunday’s one-o’clock dinner, have no conception of the magnificence of a truly congregational Vespers, such as may be

heard at some of our colleges, where almost every one present has a voice, and not only sings, but knows what he is singing. And though such a perfectly performed service would be impracticable in parish churches, still, in every populous town, by the union of the forces of three, four, or five choirs, a very tolerable result might be ensured, and all parties—so far as such a thing is within the limits of possibility—would be pleased.

A further objection to the opinions we have stated will perhaps be drawn from our admission that *Benediction*, though in Latin, may be made an eminently congregational service. This we not only admit, but warmly urge; and not only urge it, but further admit that even when not congregational, it is a function which has charms for every devout Catholic soul. The Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament is a service which stands, as it were, between the *sacerdotal* service of the Mass, and *congregational* services, like Vespers, the Rosary, Litanies, and so forth. In a certain sense, it is an *act*, like the Eucharistic Sacrifice; it is an act of adoration, consummated most fitly in an unbroken silence, in which the prostrate multitude of believers, each one with his hidden love and faith, bows down and worships its ever-present God. It is, so to say, a "visit" of the whole Church there present to the Blessed Sacrament; and its quasi-sacramental character is so deeply engraven on the hearts of all, that it is at once individual and congregational, at once the expression of the homage of the united body of the faithful, and the approach of each regenerate soul to the Fountain of all pardon and grace. Hence, though the satisfaction felt by a congregation in a Benediction where the hymns or litany are not thoroughly congregational is not as complete as when all sing and all adore, still the result is wholly unlike that of Vespers sung by a select band of vocalists. Vespers, when not congregational, are nothing.

But further, it will not be denied that in too many instances, as yet, Benediction in England is not as congregational as it ought to be. We are not speaking of those intolerable cases, now every day becoming more rare, in which a young lady with a great many notes in her voice, and very few ideas of what she is doing in her head, pours forth an "*O Salutaris*" abounding in rapid cadences and ending with an amazing trill, which but for its odious irreverence would be supremely ridiculous. Where nothing so offensive as this is perpetrated, still, for some reason or other, not one quarter of those who *could* sing do sing at Benediction. This silence, however, we do not impute to the Latin language in which

the service is conducted. The hymns and litany used at Benediction are short and rhythmical, and being incessantly used, and their meaning most palpable, they can be easily understood. Even in England, here and there a vast assemblage may be heard united in reverent jubilation, sending forth before the Blessed Sacrament its one voice of prayer and praise; while in foreign Catholic countries the simple and touching splendour of the Benediction is one of those things which most surprise the traveller accustomed only to the dismal proprieties of home. From what is already accomplished, there can be no doubt that, whatever may be thought of what we have said respecting Vespers, this whole land may be made to resound with the songs of hundreds of congregations, pouring forth a mighty stream of sound before the Adorable Sacrament, and calling upon the Blessed Mother of God for her intercession with Him whom she beholds in his glory, while from our sight He is hidden beneath the sacramental veils.

One more possible objection demands, however, a brief consideration. A suspicion may arise in some minds that the general adoption of English services tends towards an error already condemned by the Church, viz. the wish for a disuse of Latin in the Mass. As we have already implied, they who are familiar with the practices of the Church in Catholic countries will see at once into the fallacy of any such objection, inasmuch as it is the general rule of the Church to employ the vernacular language of each country in almost all her services specially designed for the people. A complete proof, however, that all such suspicions are groundless, is furnished by reflection on the essentially distinct nature of the Mass from all congregational worship. The distinction is twofold: first, the Mass is accomplished, not by the people, but by the celebrating priest, who *individually* represents the whole Church of God; and secondly, so far as the congregation (whether consisting of lay people alone, or comprising other priests besides the celebrant,) is associated in the sacrifice, it is associated *in the act*, and not necessarily *in the actual words uttered*. Hence, on the first ground, the Mass is not a congregational service at all, in the sense that Vespers and other devotions are congregational. We speak of *hearing* Mass; but who ever thought of *hearing* Vespers, except in a totally different sense? One alone stands forth and makes the awful offering. The rest kneel around and share the blessing, and join, it may be, in most of the very words he uses; but he is the sole minister before God; and even were not a solitary believer to be pre-

sent, the sacrifice, both for the living and the dead, would be efficacious and complete. And secondly, the congregation, which in a subordinate place participates in the Mass, participates in it, not as a devout and elaborate form of prayer to Almighty God, but as an act in which the Church, through her ministers, offers Jesus Christ in expiation for her sins, and for all those other purposes for which the sacrifice was instituted. But to participate in the *act* of the sacrifice, it is by no means necessary to participate in the *words* of the celebrant. Protestants, indeed, cannot understand this; they do not comprehend what an *act* of sacrifice and adoration is, and therefore they fancy that because the priest says Mass in Latin, he is *substituting* his prayers for the prayers of the laity. Their idea of congregational worship is confined to the contemporaneous utterance of certain words, whether hymns, prayers, thanksgivings, or the like. Of the union of heart, of intention, and still more of action, which constitutes the very life of Catholic public services, and pre-eminently of the Mass, they are ignorant; and therefore, very naturally, on their own ground, charge the Catholic Church with putting the devotions of the clergy in the place of the devotions of the laity.

Every Catholic, however, by the experience of his whole life, has a personal sense of the essential difference between the sacrificial character of the Mass and the devotional character of ordinary prayers, so profound, that he finds it difficult to understand the feelings of the Protestant world respecting it. Unless some unhappy intellectual twist has warped his judgment, so far from desiring to have the Eucharistic Sacrifice perverted into a literally congregational collection of prayers, he rejoices with gratitude in the liberty of heart which he is now permitted to enjoy. To most Catholics it would be a painful burden to be always compelled to follow the priests precisely in the very words he is uttering before the altar. Uneducated Catholics almost universally very much prefer the use of devotions united in subject, matter, and intention, with the various portions of the Mass, but more simple, more capable of expansion or condensation, more individual, than the actual liturgy as spoken by the priest. And even those who are by education better able to appreciate and employ the almost inspired perfections of the Missal, frequently, and perhaps generally, betake themselves to some mode of hearing Mass in which their personal feelings may be specially consulted, and they may come before their God and Saviour, and lay bare before Him those sins and sorrows, those joys and that gratitude, which He alone can fully know.

Hence that wonderful union of sacrificial, of congregational, and of individual devotion, which a public Mass presents to those who know what is passing in the souls of the kneeling throng. Before the altar stands the celebrating priest; in himself nothing, in himself a sinner, in himself the mere instrument by which the Eternal High Priest offers Himself to the Divine Majesty. Absorbed in his awful work, to an extent which the most devout of those who are not Catholics can scarcely conceive, he prays, he consecrates, he offers, he adores, he communicates, he gives thanks, scarcely conscious the while whether he is alone or surrounded by thousands—whether he is in silence, or whether the church is ringing with the voices of a numerous choir. In the multitude behind him, each Catholic, while he never forgets that he is one with all his brethren in Christ, and is united to Christ by the very act of his adoption into the body of Christ, approaches God, and shares in the Sacrifice, with a full and free manifestation of all his necessities as an individual soul, for whom individually Christ died. In one place kneels some poor, greyheaded, aged man, telling his beads, for he cannot read even his own language. By his side is a young child, with her little book full of pictures, and at each separate division of the Mass she says one of the short prayers before her, and spends the rest of her time in watching the movements of the priest and his assistants, and wonders, it may be, whether there is any thing more beautiful in heaven itself. Close at hand is a steady, sober, respectable gentleman, holding his spectacles in one hand, while with the other he supports a well-bound Missal, in which he attentively reads every word, either in Latin or in English, accompanying the priest as far as possible in every phrase, unconscious of the slightest desire for a more individual expression of his pious thoughts and well-ordered unenthusiastic feelings. Near him, again, is a young woman, with her face buried in her hands, or with a look expressing the intensest adoration and love—gazing at the Adorable Presence before her, forgetting for awhile every pang of heart or pain of body, and anticipating the ineffable joys of the moment when the unveiled Godhead shall be revealed to her for ever. Another, like herself, perhaps in poverty, perhaps in wealth, alternately reads and meditates. She has before her a brief outline of the Passion of Jesus Christ, the course of its incidents adapted to the course of the unbloody Sacrifice of the altar; and at every step she has some special mercy to ask in immediate connexion with the sufferings and death of her Lord: she prays for pardon for some sin, for deliverance from

some temptation, for protection in some trial, for the conversion of some friend or relation, for a blessing on some person who desires her prayers, or who has injured her, or whom she has injured, or on the Church herself, on the Pope, on her country, or she gives thanks for mercies past, or prays in some other of the innumerable ways in which the Christian heart comes near its God. By her side is a person hearing Mass for the second time that day, and after communicating at the first, converting every separate step in the second into a species of thanksgiving for the gift just vouchsafed to him. Or, to Protestant eye most strange of all, close at hand in the midst of the people, a priest is saying his office; turning over the leaves of his breviary, his lips rapidly moving in the recital of psalms and antiphons and collects; yet every now and then, by his rising up or kneeling down, or by his laying aside his book, shewing that he too, in most un-protestant fashion, is participating in the Sacrifice, and sharing the intentions of both celebrant and congregation.

Yet, amidst all this endless variety, there is but one mind. The prayers of the priest are not substituted for those of the people. No living being suspects or is suspected either of priestcraft or despotism. No one desires to force his brother against his will. No one desires to participate in a more congregational service. No one complains that Latin is the only language heard. No one complains that much of what the priest says is heard by no one, and that many of the congregation hear not a single word that he utters. It is the most marvellous union of liberty and law which this earth can shew. It is a more perfect harmonising of the duties of man both as a brother and as an individual than the unbelieving world can conceive. It is the most striking exemplification of that union of discipline and toleration, which is the guiding principle of the Church in her treatment of her children, which she can any where exhibit. Like the direct works of her Almighty Lord, it displays that astonishing unity in variety, which man in his secular works is ever seeking to attain, and so seldom accomplishing. It is at once the joy of the Catholic, the astonishment of the candid Protestant, and the scoff of the vulgar unbeliever. To those who are without, it is a mummary; to those who are within, it is the foretaste of heaven. *O sacrum convivium, in quo Christus sumitur, recolitur memoria passionis Ejus, mens impletur gratiâ, et futuræ gloriæ nobis pignus datur!* The beggar with his beads, the child with her pictures, the gentleman with his missal, the maiden meditating on each mystery of the Passion, or adoring her God in silent love too deep for words, the grateful com-

municant, and the priest with his breviary, have but one intent, one meaning, and one heart. They bow themselves to the dust as sinners; they pray to be heard for Christ's sake; they joyfully accept his words as the words of God; they offer the bread and wine; they unite themselves with the celebrant in the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, which he, as their priest, offers for them; they communicate spiritually; they give thanks for the ineffable gift which God has given them. Their words differ, but their hearts are united, and their will is one. Therefore is their offering pure and acceptable in the sight of Him who knows their secret souls, and who accepts no man for the multitude or for the fewness of his sayings, for his book or for his beads; but for that *intention* with which he has, according to his sphere and capacities, fulfilled His sacred will.

Such, then, being the Sacrifice of the Mass, we see at once why, although it is obligatory upon all Catholics to be present on certain frequent days, the Western Church retains a Latin Liturgy. Many other reasons, indeed, she has for paying no heed to the taunts of Protestants respecting the "unknown" language of her most solemn rite. And similar reasons weigh with her for retaining the Latin tongue to a great extent in her other Sacraments, and in many other of her functions in which the people may share, and love to share. The grounds, however, which we have been especially urging are those which bear most upon the use of Latin in the Mass, in contrast with her use of the vernacular in general congregational services; and feebly as we have stated them, they may serve to shew those who associate English afternoon and evening services with an English Mass, that the two questions are essentially, and ever must be, distinct.*

We venture, then, to suggest an inquiry whether the chief reason why our English Catholic congregations for the most part take so little share in services designed for their special use may not be, after all, no incurable inaptitude in themselves, but rather an expectation of too high a degree of intellectual culture on the part of average men and women. And we have treated the question of congregational worship as identical with that of congregational music, because the best means for inducing a congregation to *speak*, is to get

* Our present remarks, it will be observed, are not designed in any way to be an apology for those English prayers which are said in some churches and chapels before and after Mass, and the use of which, we presume, is upheld on the ground that a Latin Mass is *not* intelligible to the common people. As our observations have been directed to shew how it is that a Latin Mass *is* intelligible to all classes, they will not (we trust) be supposed to have any bearing upon the peculiar devotions in question.

them to *sing*. Many admirable services are in the hands of almost all English Catholics, some of which are in frequent use in a great number of our churches and chapels, both in town and in country places; but still, on the whole, the people do not appear to take that warm and hearty interest in them which would lead them to take their proper part in carrying them out. And that such devotions as Litanies, the Rosary, or the various prayers which are found in the *Garden of the Soul*, demand a thorough congregational use, every Catholic feels and maintains. Unless practically and heartily *adopted* by the congregation, they are frigid and dismal to the last degree. That silence which prevails at Mass, save when the priest speaks, in a voice never very loud, touchingly as it commends itself to the Catholic heart, and necessary as we may even say that it is, is oppressive and ridiculous in public English devotions. It freezes one to the soul to hear the single voice of the priest responded to by two or three acolytes, or the squeaking voices of a few school-children, or the mumbling timid whisper of a few of the more zealous of the female sex, in a vast concourse of people. We ought to hear every voice uplifted as of old, when, as St. Jerome says, the prayer of the Christians was like a shout of joy. And whatever may be the cause of our present coldness, it is certain that the surest, if not the only way to induce a congregation to speak out like Christians and like men, is to tempt them onwards by giving them an abundance of singing of such words and such music as they can understand and enjoy. A congregation that has learnt to open its mouth in order to sing will never rest satisfied with a doleful silence when it ought to speak.

Hitherto, indeed, one insurmountable hindrance has existed to congregational singing in the absence of a sufficient variety of good Catholic hymns, fit for constant use in ordinary churches. For without English hymns no progress can be made. The hymn itself is the very creation of the necessity under which every Christian man who has an ear and a voice feels himself to utter the praises of God to the notes of music. The enormous power of the cultivation of popular hymnody was speedily felt by Luther and his coadjutors in their unholy work, and accordingly, from his day to the present, almost every species of sect has sought to entrap the souls of the people by employing them to sing hymns. And what heresiarchs have done in the work of Satan, the Catholic Church in many countries has ever done in the service of God. Ask any Catholic missionary among the heathen whether he knows of any more powerful stimulus to devotion, or any thing more attractive to the average class of Christians?

Go into one of those venerable old Byzantine churches on the Rhine, and listen to the glorious swell of thousands, as they pour forth hymn after hymn in their sonorous German tones. Or, if any are still incredulous as to the vocal zeal of the English race, go to the humble buildings of the oratories amongst ourselves, and hear the tide of sound which rises from a crowd of men and women of all ranks, who seem to have found their voices by a kind of magic, and marvel that they have so long been silent.

It is impossible, in short, to inquire into facts, without coming to the conclusion that the Church can employ few more powerful auxiliaries, both for the conversion of Protestants and the reclaiming of careless or vicious Catholics, than the frequent use of hymns. Let them be only sung to music that not merely attracts at first, but *wears well*,—let the tunes be at once solid and spirited, removed alike from the flippant frivolity of the theatre and the mournful drawling of the conventicle,—and we are confident that the conversion of sinners and the edification of the devout will advance with redoubled speed. Those who are strangers to the subject can form no idea of the effect produced by hearty congregational singing upon casual Protestant visitors, or of the delight which Catholics, rich as well as poor, will feel in the employment. Striking to the senses as is all Catholic ceremonial, even where it is not at all understood, and useful as are our superb functions in inducing Protestants to come and see what Catholics do, and thus to hear what they say; nothing goes home to their hearts with such instant power as the sight and hearing of a great body of people with one jubilant voice praising and adoring God. In a Protestant church or chapel the contrast between the occasional zeal of the congregation, and the meagreness of the ceremonial, is at once absurd and repulsive. The whole seems to have no legitimate end, to be a mere energetic way of doing nothing. But in the Catholic Church all is natural and complete. The eye sees, and the ear hears, and *the heart feels*, that here indeed is the worship of an ever-present God, and a real faith in his word. Conceive any thing more touching and attractive to a tolerably well-disposed Protestant than a service which—to suppose a very obvious one—commences with a hymn, sung by every person present, old and young, to whom nature has not denied the gift of a voice. Then follows, let us suppose, a well-known devotion, the Litany of Intercession for England, in which hundreds and hundreds of persons are heard calling upon the Saints to pray for England, and to Almighty God to have mercy upon England. Then follows a second hymn,

perhaps in praise of the Mother of God ; perhaps on the subject of the Blessed Sacrament, in preparation for the Benediction which concludes the service. All this the Protestant has heard and understood, and has felt to be introductory to something yet more august and mysterious. He has borrowed a hymn-book, and perhaps essayed his part in the singing ; and of course the sermon has been in some measure intelligible to his darling private judgment. Then, at once, all is changed. Lights break forth upon the altar, till their rays gleam to the farthest recesses of the building ; he sees a manifest change in the attitude of the people ; an increase both of awe and happiness is visible upon their countenances ; incomprehensible movements take place among the clergy and their assistants ; a door is opened upon the altar, the priest falls upon his knees ; certain still more incomprehensible ceremonies follow ; clouds of incense rise ; the English tongue is heard no more, but, in words wholly unknown to the stranger, a sound of innumerable voices swells upwards all around him, and he almost trembles with a new-found emotion and surprise. Then awakes a more cheerful strain. It is still incomprehensible, but from the frequent repetition of a certain phrase, he gathers that they are praying to some Saint, or to the Queen of Saints ; and he asks, is this idolatry ? Again a more subdued and solemn song bespeaks some progress in the thoughts of the people. And after certain brief prayers, all is still ; the priest holds up a golden vessel, the people bow down their heads, a bell tinkles below, and is answered by a pealing note from the tower above ; then, it may be, another harmonious shout of praise, and all is over. The priest and his ministers depart, the lights are extinguished ; of the congregation, some leave the church immediately, and some linger awhile in secret prayer. What, then, is this ? Is it idolatry, or is it the worship of a present God ? Is it mummery, or is it the anticipation of the love and joys of heaven ?

Such must be the inquiry of many a well-disposed Protestant when thus enabled to comprehend just so much of Catholic devotion as to convince him, that in its perfection it is incomprehensible to him, mysterious, full of awe, and full of bliss. The ceremonies of High Mass, and other functions, which are entirely in Latin, or not eminently congregational, are totally inexplicable to Protestants. We greatly deceive ourselves if we think that our ritual generally produces upon them any portion of those feelings and ideas which it awakes in ourselves. They are bewildered, or astonished, or disgusted, or charmed, as with a grand secular show ; but from the fact of our purely Latin services being entirely above their under-

standing, they exercise scarcely the slightest influence in convincing them that Almighty God is known, loved, and worshipped in the Catholic Church in a manner of which they know nothing.

Now we are as far as possible from pretending that Catholic services should be conducted with a *special* view to the instruction and edification of Protestants. We must not take the children's meat and cast it to dogs. If ever there was an unhappy notion, it was that which has too often prevailed, of depriving Catholics of their own natural Catholic devotions and externals through fear of giving offence to the world without.* If ever there was a device calculated *not* to draw down the blessing of God, it is that of paring down Catholic phraseology, banishing Catholic images, and otherwise adopting the *homœopathic* treatment of heresy, with a view of conciliating the minds of unbelievers. Still, let "the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from the master's table." If any of our services can be so arranged as at once to give greater edification and delight to Catholics, and to instruct Protestants in the Catholic religion, the gain is not a little important. And situated as we now are in this country, with Protestants pouring into our churches all over the kingdom, it is almost of paramount necessity that we contrive in some way to enlighten them as to what we really are doing in our religious services. That they should come at all is so far a step gained. But if all they do when they are in church is to stare with open mouths at the priests, to clamber up on the benches to see "what they are doing now," to have their ears tickled with fascinating music, or even to hear a sermon which they afterwards pronounce to be "not so bad, after all,"—little indeed is done towards their conversion. What is needed is, to bring them upon their knees before God, as it were in the outer courts of his tabernacle. What they require is, not so much an intellectual argument as something mighty and overpowering to the whole soul, something which shall force them instantly to perceive that Catholicism is a *faith*—a living, energising, all-controlling, all-exalting, spiritual power; that in its children the worship of God, the love of his Saints, and the belief in all their doctrines, is an actual, never-ceasing reality; that a Catholic church differs from a Protestant church in the very nature of its worship, as well as in the

* Of course, we are not speaking of times of persecution, such as have prevailed in this country until a recent period, when concealment of all the externals of Catholic worship was frequently necessary in order to avoid outbreaks of actual violence. Our remarks refer only to a period like the present, when the tongue is the only weapon we have to face.

splendour of its ceremonial. Then will they begin to acknowledge that the difference between Catholics and Protestants is not so much a question of controversy, as a distinction between men who do not know God and men who do know Him. A certain spell will be cast over their spirits, enchain- ing them, humbling them, attracting them, and making them say to themselves, "If God *has* revealed Himself to his crea- tures, these men are they to whom He has spoken."

And for this end we must enable them to take just so much a part in our services as will make their attendance a practical and religious act on their own part, and not the mere visit to a Sunday show. We must take them by the hand a few steps along our journey, that when we part com- pany they may be touched with a sense of something lost to them by their separation. By permitting them to share our English devotions, we must excite a consciousness that in our Latin services, such as the Mass and Benediction, there is something more glorious, more heavenly, more ineffably sweet and precious. This is what unhappy separatists now yearn for. They need a religion, a worship, an access to that God whom they know not; though, like the Pagans of old, they may feel after Him. Controversy has bewildered them. Their own teachers are preachers of riddles. Their trumpets are mute, or blow an uncertain sound. Let them, then, come but a few paces up the mount of God; let them catch but a few intelligible sentences of that message of truth and love which has been vouchsafed to us; let them but *see* how Catho- lics worship their present Lord; and we shall have done more to break the pride of their intellects and melt the ice of their hearts, than by the most cogent proofs of the inconsistencies of Protestantism and the abuses of the Established Church.

Before bringing our remarks to a close, we must briefly refer to a custom which prevails in some parts of Catholic Germany, which is not quite without parallel in England, but which is not sufficiently known amongst us. In the churches we speak of, the *Low* Masses are frequently accom- panied by a series of German hymns, sung by the congrega- tion while the priest is saying Mass at the altar; just as at an ordinary High Mass the choir accompanies him with certain portions of the Mass sung in Latin, or with an appro- priate offertory piece of music. These hymns are, we pre- sume always, in subject-matter adapted to that particular part of the ordinary of the Mass at which they are sung. At the *Kyrie* they sing a penitential hymn, at the *Gloria* a hymn of praise, at the *Credo* an expression of faith, at the *Sanctus* a

hymn of adoration of the Blessed Trinity, after the Elevation a hymn of adoration of our Blessed Lord there present, at the *Pater noster* a hymn of petition, at the *Agnus Dei* a prayer for mercy, when the priest communicates a prayer for spiritual communion. To many English ears the custom might seem strange, and possibly disagreeable; but we venture to suggest an inquiry, whether in some cases the practice might not be found eminently useful amongst ourselves. In a very large proportion of our churches and chapels there really exist no means for the celebration of any thing like a High Mass. In many others, where a High Mass, or a *Missa Cantata*, is sung every Sunday, the available choir is far from efficient in numbers or in musical skill. There are probably few priests who have not had painful experience of the difficulty of gratifying their people with some sort of a musical Mass on Sundays and days of obligation. Naturally enough, most Catholics like something more joyous than the usual weekday Low Mass; while in many missions, what with the organ, and what with the organist, and what with the singers, it is literally impossible to execute a Latin Mass with any tolerable propriety. Even in some large towns this is the case, while in country missions it is nearly universal. Might it not, then, be found useful, in some instances, to introduce, either throughout the Mass or in a few parts of it, the custom to which we have alluded? Many and many a person in a congregation, who has not sufficient knowledge of music to take a part in the simplest Latin Mass, could join, and would join, in the singing of hymns. At any rate, the subject appears to be well worth consideration, especially in a country like England, where the desire for some kind of music at Mass is so general among all classes.

A collateral advantage would further arise from the adoption of some similar practice. Every one who has studied the *intellectual* condition of the average class of men and women must often have wondered how persons whose secular occupations are wholly unintellectual, and whose education was ended at the usual period of the commercial or labouring ranks, contrive profitably to occupy themselves during a service even as short as a Low Mass. We speak, of course, not of eminently saintly persons, however uncultivated, but of the usual range of well-conducted Catholics, who fulfil all that is of absolute obligation, and little more. Such persons spend but a brief period on weekdays in devotional exercises. Their morning and evening prayers are short. Many of them do not practise daily meditation at all; or if they do, it is for a very limited number of minutes. To such minds the length

of a Sunday Mass, with its English prayers and its sermon, *at the shortest* requires a stretch of attention and an intellectual effort to which few of them are habitually equal. For, it need scarcely be added, devotional exercises are acts of the intellect as well as of the heart; and we know that intellectual development is by no means the necessary accompaniment of progress in sanctity. Many and many a hard-working mechanic or field-labourer, many and many a maid-servant or small shopkeeper, may make wonderful advances in love, humility, mortification, and every Christian grace, and yet find it a very difficult *intellectual* effort to pray for thirty consecutive minutes, or to meditate steadily for a quarter of an hour. And inasmuch as many good Catholics are at the same time not great saints, and not habituated to prolonged mental occupation, it becomes extremely important to *facilitate* to them, as far as possible, those more lengthened public religious acts which the Church either requires of them or recommends to their use.

Now it is well known that the act of singing, or even of listening to singing, does thus facilitate meditation, whether on spiritual or on secular subjects. It is one of the results of the mysterious gift of music, that it enables the mind to dwell with ease and pleasure upon the topics of its thoughts. As the melodious strain winds on, now swift, now slow, the attention is sweetly detained, and the soul has leisure to feed upon the objects of her emotions. The experiment may be tried by any one in an instant. Take up a breviary, and *read* the first hymn that its pages present. Its stanzas are ended almost as soon as begun. If we read them more slowly, they become (unless made the subject of meditation, strictly so called) tedious or unmeaning. Then let us proceed to sing the same. The time occupied is four, six, or eight times as long, during the whole of which the mind has been pleasantly and devoutly pondering upon the subjects suggested by the hymn, and has completed its work without exhaustion or fatigue. Such, doubtless, is one of the uses of a High Mass when the music is what it ought to be; and such, we think there is little doubt, would be one of the advantages of the introduction of appropriate congregational singing at Low Mass in churches where a High Mass, or a *Missa Cantata*, is not satisfactorily practicable. Many a labouring man would be enabled to occupy the whole of the hour and a half, which is (at the least) the average of our Sunday-morning services, in one continuous series of devout exercises, who without the aid of music would have found it impossible to control his wandering thoughts.

The whole spirit of the Church, we all well know, is in favour of the abundant use of singing in her public functions. As in all her practices, so in this, her system is based upon the profoundest knowledge of the natural necessities and capacities of man. Music, therefore, being the most powerful of all instruments by which the average class of minds can occupy themselves in meditation on any species of objects, she has given an almost unlimited encouragement to its use in her public offices. The more, then, our services are rendered musical, in our humble judgment the better. A singing congregation will rarely, if ever, be a careless congregation. Hymns and chants will lead penitents to the confessional, communicants to the altar, visitors to the poor, contributors to the treasury, postulants to the religious house, and youths to seek the priesthood. Adding to the pleasures of religion, they will cherish the spirit of self-sacrifice. The love of God and the love of man will be alike the offspring of those loud-sounding notes of joy and praise.

As to the English hymns at present available for those who desire to cultivate this species of devotions, there is unfortunately not very much to say. A few collections of original compositions have been published by different writers, which are more or less known to most of our readers. That we are yet, however, without any numerous, or generally popular hymns, is but too true. Still, one grand desideratum is already supplied. The Latin hymns of the Church have been translated with unusual success by Mr. Caswall; and a considerable number of his translations are eminently adapted for singing in Catholic congregations. Selections from his *Lyra Catholica* have been published at the lowest of prices;* and their use is gradually spreading in many quarters, both in schools and congregations. Though it is obvious to remark, that many of the breviary hymns are not fitted for *popular* use, still these selections will go a great way to supply all present necessities; while the better they are known, the more they will be prized.

In conclusion, we sincerely trust that the suggestions we have now taken the liberty of offering will not be considered too bold or out of place. Our aim has merely been to put into shape a large number of scattered thoughts and facts, many of which are already familiar to our readers; and to express upon paper, and in public, the views which are frequently expressed in private conversation among all classes of Catholics. The whole subject is unquestionably one of very

* "The Little Catholic Hymn-Book," price one penny; "Hymns for Schools, &c.," price fourpence.

considerable moment ; and we shall be most thankful if our humble remarks may be of service to those to whom the settlement of such matters rightly belongs, or who can take it up with more efficiency, and a better knowledge of its bearings, than we can pretend to claim.

A SOCINIAN VIEW OF CATHOLICISM.

The Prospective Review. No. XXIII. August 1850.
London, J. Chapman.

THE *Prospective Review* is the quarterly theological organ of the English Socinians, or, as they would probably term themselves, Unitarians. As such, its character cannot be otherwise than a subject of interest to Catholics. Every day Socinianism, in some shape or other, is making progress among the more educated classes. Torn and shattered as is the national mind by the controversies of the so-called "orthodox" sects of Protestantism, men who think for themselves are unceasingly either mounting upwards to faith, or subsiding into scepticism. To the latter, Socinianism offers an apparent temporary refuge against utter unbelief and Atheism. Englishmen cannot at once become infidels. Christianity and the Bible still have a hold upon their affections, even when their intellectual belief is gone, as it seems, for ever. Within the ample limits of the Socinian school, each successive stage of doubt finds a natural and easy resting-place. Lulled by the philosophic sounds of peace and charity, the soul glides gently downwards, till it finds itself lodged at the base of that precipice, from whose brink it could never have dared to spring. Descents of this kind are not, indeed, chronicled in the newspapers, for the very reason—among others—that they are thus gradual. Hence, neither Catholics nor "orthodox" Protestants in general, can form an adequate idea of the extent to which this approximation to unbelief is ever going on. Nevertheless, the fact being what it is, the various phases of Socinianism gather daily a fresh and more painful interest in our eyes ; and we watch the characters and movements of its influential leaders, as those of men with whom we must one day come into close collision.

If the object of Catholics in controversy with sceptics of any shade were victory, and not the conversion of the unbeliever, we might be disposed to rejoice in every exhibition

of Socinian ignorance, violence, and want of candour. If our sole object were to hold them up to the scorn of our fellow Catholics and to the derision of the world around, we might be vexed to read such of their speculations on Catholicism as shewed any measure of acquaintance with our creed, or any tolerant or religious feeling towards our practical spirit. A man who fights for triumph loves nought so much as a fool or an ill-informed knave for his adversary. A Catholic only laments that his opponents know so little of his real faith, and are contented without a searching examination into all its claims.

It is therefore not without pleasure that we have at times noted a fairness of tone, and an intelligent though partial study of our characteristics, in certain Socinian publications, which stand out in striking contrast to the shallow violence of other writings, both of the same school, and of the organs of common Anglican and Dissenting Protestantism. The real extent to which Socinianism has possession of English periodical literature is, indeed, in all probability known to few of our readers; while in most cases its hostility to the Catholic Church is as bitter as it is ignorant. Of weekly periodicals, the three most able and influential, viz. the *Spectator*, the *Examiner*, and the *Athenæum*, are purely Socinian in their opinions; and notwithstanding a very rare occasional exception, they can scarcely contain their rage and terror when aught that is Catholic crosses their path. On the other hand, the *Inquirer*, an able and *professedly* Socinian and religious journal, sometimes contains articles on Catholic subjects singularly the reverse of the violent speculations of the ordinary press; and the *Prospective Review*, now immediately before us, rarely overpasses the limits of courtesy, and (so far as we can judge) aims at an honest and intelligent discussion of the awful and momentous questions of which it treats. That a thoroughly philosophic and well-informed account of Catholic doctrine is to be looked for from *any* Protestant source, is of course out of the question. No man even understands what the Catholic faith is, until he holds that faith. No man can enter into our feelings, fathom our motives, or explain our actions, so long as he remains himself without the fold of the Church. It is visionary to expect an unexceptionable accuracy of knowledge in Protestant controversialists; or, consequently, such a charitable interpretation of our conduct as will satisfy our own consciousness of our true character. We must be thankful for any tolerable candour and correctness; and at times must give our opponents credit for a less angry abhorrence of our faith than their words would seem to imply.

Such an approximation to a just appreciation of the Catholic religion is supplied by the last-published No. of the *Prospective Review*. Rigid exactness of description, as we have said, is not to be looked for in it; but it contains so much that is curious and unusual in controversy, that our readers will be glad to see the chief passages to which we are referring. They are taken from an article reviewing Mr. Francis Newman's *Phases of Faith*; a book in which the author records his phases of *unbelief*, and traces his progress from "orthodox Protestantism" to a disbelief in all external revelation whatsoever. In an early page, Mr. Newman speaks of his brother in a manner to which recent circumstances lend a peculiar interest; and it is in connexion with what he here says, that the *Prospective Review* introduces the comparison between Catholicism and Evangelicalism which we are about to quote. We should premise, that we entirely agree in the reviewer's opinion, that it was Mr. Francis Newman's hatred of any approach to the sacramental doctrine in any shape, which caused him (apart from all purely moral and spiritual influences) to exchange Protestantism for Deism. What moral and spiritual influences may have conduced to foster this fearful change, it is not for us to inquire. The secret *springs* of man's conduct are known to God alone; and as we decline to subscribe to the reviewer's opinion, that the two brothers possess "reasoning powers equally acute," and are "equally uncorrupted by passion or by self," so we cannot venture upon personal strictures, or anticipate the judgment of Him who searches our hearts.

"We have often heard the remark," writes the reviewer, "that the radical characteristics of these two men are essentially the same; that the great problem of faith presented itself under like conditions to both; that their solutions, opposite as they seem, exhaust the logical alternative of the case, and are but the positive and negative roots of one equation; and that, but for accidental causes, or the overbalance of a casual feeling, their paths might never have diverged. Upon the evidence of their writings, this estimate has always appeared to us curiously false: and a passage in the present volume, which exhibits the divergence at its commencement, corrects the opinion in a manner deeply instructive. Speaking of his crisis of difficulty respecting Baptism, our author says:

"One person there was at Oxford who might have seemed my natural adviser; his name, character, and religious peculiarities have been so made public property, that I need not shrink to name him:—I mean, my elder brother, the Rev. John Henry Newman. As a warm-hearted and generous brother, who exercised towards me paternal cares, I esteemed him and felt a deep gratitude; as a man of various culture and peculiar genius, I admired and was proud of

him; but my doctrinal religion impeded my loving him as much as he deserved, and even justified my feeling some distrust of him. He never shewed any strong attraction towards those whom I regarded as spiritual persons: on the contrary, I thought him stiff and cold towards them. Moreover, soon after his ordination, he had startled and distressed me by adopting the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, and in rapid succession worked out views which I regarded as full-blown 'Popery.' I speak of the years 1823-6: it is strange to think that twenty years more had to pass before he learnt the place to which his doctrines belonged.

"In the earliest period of my Oxford residence I fell into uneasy collision with him concerning Episcopal powers. I had on one occasion dropt something disrespectful against Bishops or a Bishop, something which, if it had been said about a clergyman, would have passed unnoticed; but my brother checked and reproved me,—as I thought, very uninstructively,—for 'wanting reverence towards Bishops.' I knew not then, and I know not now, why Bishops, *as such*, should be more revered than common clergymen; or clergymen, *as such*, more than common men. . . . I was willing to honour a Lord Bishop as a Peer of Parliament; but his office was to me no guarantee of spiritual eminence. To find my brother thus stop my mouth was a puzzle, and impeded all free speech towards him.'—p. 10.

"Whence this incapacity for sympathy between two minds, both noble, both affectionate, trained in the same home, enriched by the same culture, intent upon the same ends? With reasoning powers equally acute, and equally uncorrupted by passion or by self, they could not have found concurrence impossible, had it been within the resources of logic or of faithfulness. The difference, we are persuaded, ascends behind these, and lies in the original data from which each inquirer proceeded as his primary conditions of belief; and we conceive that difference to be one which radically separates Catholic from Evangelical Churches, rendering their approximation intrinsically impossible, and limiting each to the range of one class of minds. A passing remark of our author's unconsciously opens to us the seat of this difference.

"For any one to avow that Regeneration took place in Baptism seemed to me little short of a confession that he had never himself experienced what Regeneration is.'—p. 15.

"The new birth, that is to say, is something which must be *felt*, and felt under riper conditions than those of the infant soul; felt as a lifted weight of sin, a broken bondage of self, a free surrender to the will of a forgiving God. This reconciliation of heart, this joyful spring of free affection into the infinite arms, is a fact in the history of thousands; and to him who knows it, it is vain to speak of any other Regeneration. To tell him that the sprinkled babe, in whom he sees nothing supervene, and who is evidently conscious of nothing but the water-drops, undergoes the stupendous change of a Divine adoption, seems to him to degrade the economy of Heaven to

a level with the arts of conjuring. When God breaks into the human soul, shall it be without a trace? Must He not shake it to its centre? and as He obliterates its guilt, shall there be no sense of clearness, and no tears of joy to make a fruitful place for every seed of holiness? Thus the Evangelical insists on *consciousness* as an indispensable evidence of a Divine change, and can accept nothing as *spiritual* except what declares itself within the human spirit, and exalts its highest action: and further, the kind of experience for which he looks is not possible to every mind, but is incident especially to passionate and impulsive souls. Not all good men, however, are formed in this mould: many who devoutly seek a union with God, and who believe a new birth to be the pre-requisite condition, are never vividly conscious of any Divine irruption for the emancipation of their nature; and for the erasure of guilt and the visitation of grace they must look back beyond the period of memory to the cradle of their life, and its earliest consecration: when they were born of water, they were doubtless born of the Spirit too. True, the saving touch was reported to them by no feeling; but are there not secret workings of God? and shall we deny Him because his approach is gentle, and his Spirit, instead of tearing us in storm, spreads through us insensibly like a purifying atmosphere? What hinders Him from redeeming and improving a nature that knows not its benefactor except by faith? If his presence lurks throughout unconscious nature, and is the unfelt source of all the beauty, life, and order there, by what right can we affirm that his Spirit cannot evade our consciousness? According to this view, which dispenses with the evidence of personal experience, the soul, in the reception of grace, is regarded externally as a natural object submitted to the disinfecting influence of God: and the Divine Spirit is treated as a kind of *physical* power of transcendent efficacy, or at least as an agency permeating physical natures, and so refining them as to transfigure them into spiritual life. No exact boundary is here drawn between the realm of sense and that of spirit, between the material energy and the moral interposition of God; they melt into one another under the mediation of a kind of spiritual chemistry, descending into organic force on the one hand, and rising into the inspiration of holiness on the other. This appears to us to be the conception which underlies the peculiarities of Catholicism. Hence the invariable presence of some physical element in all that it looks upon as venerable. Its rites are a manipular invocation of God. Its miracles are examples of incarnate divineness in old clothes and winking pictures. Its ascetic discipline is founded on the notion of a gradual consumption of the grosser body by the encroaching fire of the spirit; till in the estatica the frame itself becomes ethereal, and the light shines through. Nothing can be more offensive than all this to the Evangelical conception; which plants the natural and the spiritual in irreconcilable contradiction, denies to them all approach or contact, and allows each to exist only by the extinction of the other. They belong virtually to opposite influences, of

Satan and of God. They follow opposite methods, of necessary law and of free grace. They are cognisable by opposite faculties, of sense and understanding on the one hand, of the soul upon the other. This unmediated dualism follows the Evangelical into his theory as to the state of each individual soul before God. The Catholic does not deny all divine light to the natural conscience, or all power to the natural will of unconverted men; he maintains that these also are already under a law of obligation, may do what is well pleasing before God, and, by superior faithfulness, qualify themselves to become subjects of grace; so that the Gospel shall come upon them as a divine supplement to the sad and feeble moral life of nature. To the Evangelical, on the contrary, the soul that is not saved is lost; the corruption before regeneration, and the sanctification after it, are alike complete and without degree; and the best works of the unconverted, far from having any tendency to bring them to Christ, are of the nature of sin. So, again, the contrast turns up in the opposite views taken of the Divine economy in human affairs. The Evangelical detaches the elect in his imagination from the remaining mass of men, sequesters them as a holy people, who must not mix themselves with the affairs of Belial. He withdraws the Church from the world, and watches lest any bridge of transition should smooth the way for a mingling of their feelings and pursuits. The more spiritual he is, the more will he abstain from political action, and find the whole business of government to be made up of problems which he cannot touch. The Catholic, looking on the natural universe, whether material or human, not as the antagonist, but as the receptacle, of the spiritual, seeks to conquer the world for the Church, and instead of shunning political action, is ready to grasp it as his instrument. As the Gospel is, in his view, but the supplement to natural law, so is the Church but the climax of Government,—a Divine Polity for ruling the world in affairs of religion. It was for want of this view that the younger Newman, while able to honour a Bishop *‘as a peer of parliament’* (irrespective of the legislative faculties of the individual), could pay no homage to his *church functions*, but the moment he turned to these, looked only at the personal qualities of the man. The elder brother, preserving the analogy between the temporal and the spiritual constitution of the human world, recognised a corporate rule for both relations; and saw no reason why, if *office* were a ground of reverence in an earthly polity, it should have no respect in a divine.—We might carry this comparison of the two schemes into much greater detail, without any straining of its fundamental principle. But we must content ourselves with the summary statement, that while (1) the worldly and unreligious live wholly in the natural, and ignore the spiritual; and (2) the Evangelical lives wholly in the spiritual as incompatible with the natural; (3) the Catholic seeks to subjugate the natural (as he conceives God does) by interpenetration of the spiritual. The tendency to the one or the other of these religious conceptions marks the distinction between two

great families of minds. The more impulsive and loving natures, whose good and evil are alike remote from self,—who find it an ill business to manage themselves, but can do all things by the inspiration of affection,—who detest prudence, and are perverse against authority, but are docile as a child to one that trusts them with his tenderness,—are necessarily drawn to the Evangelical side. Where the will, on the other hand, has a greater strength, and the conscience a minuter vigilance; where emotion is less susceptible of extremes, and persistent discipline is more possible; there religion will appear to be less a conquest of the soul by Divine aggression than a home administration quietly propagated from within, and the Catholic (which is also the Unitarian) conception will prevail. Intellectual power may attach itself indifferently to either side. But, if we mistake not, the imaginative faculty can scarcely co-exist in any high degree with the Evangelical type of thought. Its tendency on this side is always to *romance*, which is the invariable sign of feeble imagination; inasmuch as it totally separates the real from the ideal, and keeps them apart like two worlds to be occupied in turns,—the dull and earthly, the glorious and divine. In the Catholic theory, where the perceptive powers are less despised, and the natural and physical world is deemed not incapable of being the receptacle of God, the sense of beauty has free range; it mediates between the spheres that else would lie apart, detects the ideal in the real, and, like a golden sunset on the smoke-cloud of a city, glorifies the very soil of earth with heavenly light. We are convinced that to some want of fulness in this department of our author's mind must be attributed many of the most questionable sentiments characteristic of his book; especially his impatience at the historical details of the life of Christ, and his eagerness to hide the mysterious Jesus behind the clouds of heaven. Describing his impressions on first making the acquaintance of a Unitarian, he says:

“‘I now discovered that there was a deeper distaste in me for the details of the human life of Christ than I was previously conscious of; a distaste which I found out by a reaction from the minute interest felt in such details by my new friend. For several years more, I did not fully understand how and why this was, viz. that *my religion had always been Pauline*. Christ was to me the ideal of glorified human nature; but I needed some dimness in the portrait to give play to my imagination: if drawn too sharply historical, it sank into commonplace, and caused a revulsion of feeling. As all paintings of the miraculous used to displease and even disgust me from a boy, by the unbelief which they inspired, so, if any one dwelt on the special proofs of tenderness and love exhibited in certain words or actions of Jesus, it was apt to call out in me a sense that from day to day equal kindness might often be met. The imbecility of preachers who would dwell on such words as ‘Weep not,’ as if nobody else ever uttered such, has always annoyed me. I felt it impossible to obtain a worthy idea of Christ from

studying any of the details reported concerning him. If I dwelt too much on these, I got a finite object; but I yearned for an infinite one: hence my preference for John's mysterious Jesus.' (p. 102.)

"We are far from asserting that the Unitarians are a peculiarly imaginative people; and the disposition, criticised by our author, to magnify small and inexpressive traits, is a sure indication of defect in that feeling of proportion which imagination always involves. But the tendency to unbelief in looking at pictorial representations of miracle; the inability to find an ideal unity in the real Jesus of Nazareth, or to see in that gracious and majestic form the spiritual glory for which the heart craves; and the apparent admission that *anything* realised, anything 'too sharply historical,' thereby must 'sink into commonplace, and cause a revulsion of feeling,'—appear to us curiously to illustrate the un-idealising character of the Evangelical mind, and its tendency to run into romance."

Such is the aspect of the Catholic spiritual life which presents itself, through a somewhat discolouring and distorting medium, to the chief Socinian organ of the day. To say the least, it is sufficiently curious. With such a writer controversy becomes less odious than usual; and we can only express our regret that an equal amount of understanding and candour is so rarely displayed, even by the most Romanising of Anglican Romanisers.

Our Catholic readers will not need to be told where the reviewer errs and where he is correct; nor are we disposed to enter into a detailed exposition of the inaccuracies into which he has fallen. On one only point we must add a remark. The reviewer's theory respecting the peculiar class of minds which become Catholic is utterly without foundation in fact. That the Evangelicals are for the most part deplorably unimagined, we think as confidently as he does. It is a characteristic of that arrogant sect which has long struck us with singular force. Apart from their heresies, they are the dullest beings in creation. But that a thoughtful and observant person, like the writer before us, should conceive that "the more impulsive and loving natures, who find it an ill business to manage themselves, but who can do all things by the inspiration of affection," are drawn to Evangelicalism rather than Catholicism, is a proof of the marvellous ignorance of *the facts* of Catholicism which besets the fairest of non-Catholic reasoners. Would that we could make all such reasoners acquainted with the true character and present religious life of some ten or twelve intelligent converts to the Catholic faith, chosen at hazard from any large assemblage,

as specimens of the classes of minds which the Church attracts to herself. We say *converts*, and not persons educated as Catholics, because, though the differences are as great among the latter as among the former, an objector might allege that they only remained Catholics through the force of habit, and that naturally they would never have submitted to the claims of Rome. Let any such ten or twelve, then, be chosen; and we have no hesitation in saying, that in all probability they will present as many distinct types of character as there are individuals. Imaginative and unimaginative, docile and wilful, tender and austere, Puseyitical and Puritanical, the lover of freedom and the lover of obedience,—all will be found among them; and more than this, with their natural peculiarities only brought out into the more striking contrast from the unanimity with which they submit to the one authority, and the heartiness with which they appreciate the blessings of Catholic faith, Catholic morality, and the entire Catholic system. No reflecting man can *be* a Catholic for any length of time, and not mark the singular energy and facility with which minds of totally dissimilar characteristics throw themselves into the practical life of Catholicism, and find in her laws, not a despotism, but a true parental authority. It is not unfrequently remarked, that converts, after a few years' life as Catholics, are themselves more intensely than ever. Their natural character comes out more deeply marked, with all its personal peculiarities, than is possible under any shade of Protestantism. The Catholic element is added; what is sinful is, we trust, destroyed, or at least held in check; what is infirm is, we also trust, invigorated; the whole mind, moreover, is employed, and that not servilely, but with a glad filial freedom, in the service of the Church. But with all this, whether they are married or unmarried, whether they become priests or remain laymen, whether they are seculars or monks and nuns, whether they are Jesuits, Redemptorists, Passionists, Oratorians, Dominicans, or of any other religious order, still what is natural in them (without being sinful) is developed and not crushed; they grow upwards in the mould in which they were cast by the hand of Him who first created them, and not in any Procrustean shape, strange to their fellows and painful to themselves. So true it is, not only that the Catholic religion attracts, wins, and subdues minds of every conceivable type, but that when it has absorbed them into itself, it nurtures them precisely as God has made them, and grace over-masters nature, not by a tyrannous power, but by infusing into her a quickening life.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE first volume of *Benedict the Fourteenth on Heroic Virtue*, a translation of a portion of his great work on Beatification and Canonisation, has appeared in connexion with *The Lives of the Modern Saints* (Richardson). Eulogy on such a book would be at once superfluous and almost impertinent. We shall, however, take as early an opportunity of recurring to it, as the subjects which now occupy our pages will permit.

In connexion with this translation, we may recommend one of the works published in the Abbé Migne's series, *The Complete Works of Monsignor De Pressy, Bishop of Boulogne*. They contain an analysis of another portion of Benedict XIV.'s treatise, namely, that which refers to miracles, illustrated by several remarkable examples, which cannot be too strongly recommended to the study of all who are concerned in the publication of reports of supernatural events. The rest of Monsignor De Pressy's writings are also sufficiently remarkable to merit their recent republication. Probably no Catholic prelate ever issued a larger amount of contributions towards philosophico-dogmatic science in the form of "Pastorals" than this learned Bishop. Born in the year 1712, he presided over the diocese of Boulogne for forty-six years, at the time when the philosophic infidelity of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists was preparing the way for the French Revolution. During his long life he laboured incessantly in the great work of Christianising the intellect, and in counteracting the poison of French infidelity. His writings treat especially on the harmony of faith and reason, not only in general, whether historically, dogmatically, or philosophically, but in many of the details of the great Christian doctrines. Besides this, they comprise ascetic and devotional works, and others which are especially useful to the clergy, such as Statutes for the diocese of Boulogne, a Pastoral on Ecclesiastical Conferences, remarks on preaching, and on the duty of instructing the people, and rules for the establishment of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. On the whole, it would be difficult to name a more interesting, instructive, or voluminous collection of episcopal writings, issued by the author in his official character.

A most important addition to the evidences for the Divine origin of Christianity and Catholicism is to be found in the new edition of *The Works of De Riambourg* (Paris, Migne), now just issued. M. de Riambourg, who died in 1836, was one of the brightest ornaments of the French magistracy; and his philosophical and theological writings are precisely of that character which commends itself to many of the most reflecting minds. His *Difficulties of Atheism and of Deism* present a singularly clear and profound view of this particular branch of Christian evidences, and may be most profitably studied by those who are overwhelmed with the awfully

mysterious character of the doctrines of revelation. The *School of Athens* and the *School of Paris* are masterly expositions of the metaphysical systems of Pagan and non-Catholic philosophers. The treatise on *Rationalism and Tradition* discusses the impotence of human reason to discover the knowledge of God, and adds a large amount of information on the Chinese and Scandinavian traditions, and their relationship to the history and doctrines of the Bible. Various other ingenious and profound philosophical speculations complete the volume.

A remarkably creditable specimen of Irish skill is furnished by some *Chromo-Lithographic Drawings of an Irish Ecclesiastical Bell, supposed to have belonged to St. Patrick* (Belfast, Ward and Co.). The drawings are well executed; unusually so, indeed, for a provincial town, whether in Great Britain or Ireland. They represent the bell itself, and the four sides of its enamelled and jewelled shrine. This latter is the work of the twelfth century, and is a very good illustration of the well-known characteristics of ancient Irish art. The upper portion of the shrine, in particular, shews the gradual rise of that peculiar foliage which was brought to so much perfection in the thirteenth century. An interesting essay on the Bell and Shrine, by Dr. Reeves of Ballymena, is prefixed to the drawings.

The last month has been fertile in single Sermons. *The Church and the World* (Dunigan), a lecture by Bishop Hughes of New York, is a vigorously-sketched outline of the relationships of the social and spiritual communities, shewing the origin and rights of each, and expounding the Catholic doctrine on the subject of revolutions.

Somewhat similar in subject is Bishop Gillis's brilliant *Discourse on the Mission and Influence of the Popes* (Dolman), which shews how much the Popes have done, not only for the Church, but for the world, in which the Church is placed.

Not very dissimilar in its topics is one of the last sermons preached in England by Dr. Wiseman, *The Social and Intellectual State of England compared with its Moral Condition* (Richardson). This is one of the Right Reverend Prelate's best sermons, and contrasts the atheism of English commerce with the religious aspect of Venetian enterprise in the golden days of the Republic.

Another Sermon, from a less known preacher, deserves more lengthened notice, from its being the first he has yet published. *A Panegyric on St. Margaret, Queen and Patroness of Scotland, pronounced in St. Patrick's Church, Edinburgh, by the Rev. James Augustin Stothert* (Dolman), is published at the request of St. Margaret's Association, an account of which Society was given in *The Rambler* for April 1849. The discourse itself is, we think, an excellent example of a full, unembarrassed utterance of earnest Catholic thought, in a style thoroughly refined and educated. Mr. Stothert steers clear both of bold commonplace and of vulgar extravagance of rhetoric. He has solved the problem, now more than ever of

serious importance, how, on the one hand, to avoid distressing the cultivated ear by tawdriness and exaggeration, and on the other, to avoid wearying the less informed by cold polish and scrupulosity of refinement. Simplicity, earnestness, and careful thought, it may be said, will ever secure all that reason can require. Yet the very difficulty is for the public speaker, whether in the pulpit or out of it, to be at once earnest and simple. Still, the times seriously demand strenuous effort in this direction; and we hail with satisfaction the fresh proof contained in Mr. Stothert's discourse that the preaching talents enlisted in the service of schism and heresy among our northern neighbours are encountered in the heart of their intellectual capital by a clergy equal to the necessities of the times.

The article which appeared in the *Dublin Review* respecting the notorious *Dr. Achilli* has been reprinted as a pamphlet (Richardson). If the subject of this scourging should again emerge from his present quiescence, we can only trust that some zealous Catholic will always be ready to put these pages into the hands of those who are disposed to believe in him.

The Catholic Annual Register (Dolman) is the first volume of a new serial, forming a species of supplement to the *Catholic Directory*. It contains Papal Rescripts, Pastorals, and other similar documents, with Catholic statistics of various kinds. The opening paper, a retrospect of Catholicism in Great Britain, contains many curious and important facts. It shews in fearfully striking colours the rapidity with which the increase in our Catholic population has outrun the increase in the clergy. In 1780 there were about 70,000 Catholics in England and Wales, and 359 clergy, giving about one priest to every 190 of the laity. At the present time there is but one priest to about 1400 of the laity! These also are disposed in the most unequal divisions. A qualification, indeed, is to be made in the comparative proportions, from the fact that in 1780 there was a far larger number than now of rich men who had private chaplains. Allowing, however, the very utmost for this drawback, in 1780 there was to be found one priest to about every 300 or 350 laymen. In other words, the spiritual necessities of the Catholic Church in England and Wales are now *four times as great* as they were seventy years ago. A quotation, in the same paper, from the Rev. J. Berington's pamphlet on *The State and Behaviour of English Catholics*, incidentally confirms a statement made not long ago in our pages relative to the *numerical*, as well as proportionate, decrease in our wealthy Catholics. "I recollect," says the writer quoted, "the names of at least ten noble families that within these sixty years have either conformed (*apostatized*) or are extinct, besides many commoners of distinction and fortune." Among other interesting matters in the *Register*, a paper on the most celebrated of recent German and Continental converts is worth notice.

A further illustration of the past history of English Catholicism will be found in the August Number of *The Catholic Magazine* and

Register, in a sketch of the late Dr. Baines, with portions of his correspondence.

Another Catholic periodical has ventured into the field of journalism, to which we wish every success. *The Messenger* is a Dublin monthly publication, in shape like the *Athenæum* or *Literary Gazette*. It contains papers on Christian art, on Catholic hymns, on the conduct of the clergy in secular matters, besides fiction, poetry, and criticism.

The Lamp, and its merits, are by this time known to most of our readers. Its chief promoter is one of the most zealous of Catholics in labouring for the diffusion of Christian knowledge among the poor; and we cannot too cordially wish him success in this and his other undertakings for the same end.

Mr. Allies' recantation, *The See of St. Peter the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity* (Burns and Lambert), demands a more lengthened notice than our present space permits. It is extremely able, and reminds one forcibly of the difference between the movements of a blind man when his eyes are opened, and his hesitating helpless wanderings while he remained in darkness.

Dr. Russell's translation of Leibnitz's *System of Theology* has reached us too late for more than cursory notice this month. The value of the work is well known, and its essential value is increased by the editor's introduction and notes.

The author of "One Word on the Existing Constitution of the Anglican Establishment" has written a *Letter to the Editor of the "Guardian"* (Burns and Lambert), in reply to that unscrupulous journal's misrepresentations of his "One Word." It is an excellent specimen of a controversial reply,—keen, self-possessed, and entirely to the point.

A new *Vesper-Book for the Laity* has just been issued by Messrs. Burns and Lambert, which contains every thing that can be desired. It has the merit of containing both the Latin and English for the whole Vespers Office throughout the year; including the proper offices of the Saints of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the Society of Jesus. The prayers are all carefully translated under the superintendence of Dr. Wiseman.

A clever outline of the inconsistencies of Protestant Bibliolatry will be found in an anonymous publication, *The Holy Scriptures; their Origin, Progress, Transmission, and True Character* (Dolman). We have not been able to examine it throughout, but it is clearly very acute, and seems well adapted for circulation among Protestants.

The Empire of Music, and other Poems, by Alfred Lee (Pickering), is a pleasing collection of verses, genuine in feeling and elegant in structure. All the world seems to think it a duty to praise the divine art of sweet sounds on every fitting occasion, but it needs no

acute perceptions to discover that in not a few instances the praise is the offspring of thought and not of feeling. The author of these poems (whose real name, we understand, is *not* Alfred Lee) is an exception to the ordinary rule. He seems to be uttering the tribute of an unfeigned homage to the power of music over his heart.

Mr. Robson's *Constructive Exercises for teaching the Elements of the Latin Language on a System of Analysis and Synthesis* (Taylor, Walton, and Maberley) has reached a second edition in a short period. We should be glad to know the results of his system as tried in one of our Catholic Colleges. It is based on the idea of the *crude-forms* of words, now adopted by many German and some English scholars. The old system starts with one of the complete forms of any one word (whether noun or verb, of any kind), and from it carries forward the entire structure of declension and conjugation. The "crude-form" method, on the contrary, commences with a certain independent word, from which *all* the various cases, persons, numbers, and genders are formed, by the addition of a suffix. The old method thus starts (or professes to start) with the elementary *idea*; the new method starts with the elementary *sound*. In actual teaching, each method has probably its own advantages; and we should be glad to see a fair and extensive trial given to the more novel plan. Apart from its peculiar theory, Mr. Robson's book treats on what are called the rules of grammar with a great deal of sound sense, and endeavours to impart to the learner *ideas of what he is really about*; a thing, we need scarcely add, which forms a very small portion of the aims of many of the antiquated Latin and Greek Grammars of the past. Mr. Robson is one of the Masters in University College School, London, where seven years' experience of the results of the crude-form method of teaching warrants him in speaking in decided terms of its practical utility.

The month has supplied a few musical publications of more than average merit, and likely to be useful to Catholics. Dr. Crookall and Mr. Dolan have published *The Gregorian Tones for the Psalms, arranged for Four Voices, with Organ Accompaniment, as used at St. Edmund's College* (Burns and Lambert). If ever the speculations in which we have indulged in our remarks on "Popular Services" should be realised, and our Vesper Services should improve in quality by diminishing in quantity, this is just one of those manuals we should desire to see in use. The melodies of the Tones are in the first place genuine, so far as Rome and the Papal choir have been enabled to preserve them intact, without Anglification, Gallification, or Germanification. The harmonies are, further, in principle based on the laws of nature, and not on any antiquarian fancy; and, so far as critical choice is concerned, at once simple and unpretending, with that *slight* dash of abruptness which to many ears lends a peculiar piquancy and zest to the superb old melodies. The edition also includes several cadences which have been undeservedly neglected in this country.

Dr. Crookall's "Sacred Song" *Surge Amica mea*, or rather motett for solos and chorus, is a lively and solid composition, which will be popular wherever it is known. If compositions of this kind, at once pleasing to the devout listener and satisfactory to the critic, had been more universal in our churches and chapels during the last twenty years, we should have seen fewer persons flying to a bald and ultra-Gregorianism, as a refuge from the theatrical audacities of vocal ladies and gentlemen.

A cheap and useful manual for schools and singing-classes will be found in Mr. Crowe's edition of *Wilhem's Method of Teaching Singing* (Burns and Lambert). The First Part is now ready. It is somewhat altered from Wilhem's original publication, but less so than Mr. Hullah's edition of the "Method." The "Method," we need hardly add, is little more than a series of exercises, beginning with the first elements of music, so complete as to give the pupil a thorough mastery over all that he pretends to learn. All well-taught professional singers go through a practically similar course, and it is just this *thoroughness* of teaching which, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, enables us in five minutes to distinguish a professional singer from an amateur. Mr. Crowe is engaged in teaching various Catholic Poor-Schools, and we trust his edition of Wilhem will gain access to our schools throughout the country.

Novello's Part Song Book is a monthly collection of Glees, Madrigals, and Choral Pieces, chiefly original, edited by Mr. E. G. Monk. The four numbers before us give promise of a very useful and agreeable series. Most of the pieces are published for the first time, and all for the first time in England. Some of them are of more than ordinary merit, especially Mr. Macfarren's compositions, of which one of the Shakspeare songs, "Orpheus with his lute," is charming and full of meaning. The "Song of the Railroads," by the same composer, is a particularly lively and taking little chorus. Two pieces by the editor are flowing and graceful both in melody and harmony, and the four numbers contain nothing really unworthy of insertion.

Ecclesiastical Register.

THE Synod of Thurles has completed its sittings, and the Pastoral of the Primate, adopted by the entire Synod, announces its results. It need scarcely be said that the Queen's Colleges are condemned absolutely. The *Acts* of the Synod are sent to Rome for the sanction of the Holy See, and when that is obtained they will be formally published. Meanwhile, a Catholic University is to be founded, under the superintendence of a committee consisting of eight Bishops, eight priests, and eight laymen. The Irish clergy are to contribute two per cent on their incomes, and Dr. Cantwell gives 11,000*l.* from funds at his disposal.

NEW CATHOLIC CHURCH AT SHEFFIELD.

ONE of the largest and most complete Gothic churches yet erected has been opened at Sheffield, built from the designs of Messrs. Weightman and Hadfield. There were present six Bishops, and about forty clergy, regular and secular. The size of the church may be estimated from the following details:—The plan of the building consists of nave and aisles, with tower, porch, and side chapel, transepts, chancel with side chapels, and the vestries. The total length from the east to the west wall within is 143 ft. 7 in., the chancel being 38 ft. 2 in., and the nave being 105 ft. long; the breadth of the nave is 24 ft. 8 in.; the breadth of the aisles is, north 18 ft., south 17 ft.; the greatest breadth across the transepts is 82 ft. 8 in.; nave, from floor to ridge, 51 ft. 10 in.; chancel, from floor to ridge, 48 ft. 4 in.; the tower is to the parapet 92 ft. 3 in. high; the spire is, up to the cross, 95 ft. 4 in. high; and the cross and vane is 8 ft. high; making a total height of 195 ft. 8 in.

From a print of the church published in the *Sheffield Times*, it appears to be a remarkably striking building, and eminently creditable to the architects. It will be seen from the measurements that the aisles are somewhat wide in proportion to the nave. The chancel is of ample dimensions, gained chiefly by its length.

OPENING OF A NEW CATHOLIC CHURCH AT YORK.—Another Gothic church, not upon the same large scale as that at Sheffield, but yet of considerable size, has been completed at York, from the designs of Messrs. J. and C. Hansom. Four Bishops and about fifty clergy were present. The church is 105 feet long by 55 broad, and appears to be, though not highly ornamented, yet a striking and excellent building.

NEW CHURCH AT HOWDEN, YORKSHIRE.—The new Mission commenced in this town about two years ago by the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception has made so much progress as to be in a condition to commence a church, the first stone of which was laid by the Bishop of the district. The building (by Mr. J. Hansom) is to be Gothic, of the thirteenth century, to accommodate 400, and to cost—it is said—not much more than 800*l*.

THE WEDNESBURY MISSION.

THIS Mission, situated at about eight miles distance from Birmingham, in the centre of the mining district of south Staffordshire, numbers a thousand Catholics (all of them poor), but is destitute of church, school, or resident pastor. The following letter of the Vicar-Apostolic of the Central District to the Missionary appointed for Wednesbury renders it unnecessary to make any further statement of the case.

St. Chad's, May 21st, 1850.

Dear Mr. Montgomery,—In taking up, at my request, the organisation of the mission of Wednesbury, commenced by the lamented Mr. Crewe, whose soul be in peace, you have in hand one of the most urgent and necessitous works that the English mission can point out. A whole congregation, and that a fast increasing one, has there grown up and come together without having either chapel, school, or resident pastor; and this desolate mission is placed in the midst of a vast population, out of which it is well known that many are longing for truth and grace. I earnestly implore the blessing of God upon you, and upon all who co-

operate in the work on which you are engaged, and pray that a mission may soon be established where it is so very much needed.—I remain, my dear Rev. Sir, your devoted servant in Christ,

✠ W. B. ULLATHORNE.

Contributions are solicited in order to procure for the poor Catholics of Wednesbury a church and school. A Baptist meeting-house has already been purchased by Mr. Montgomery, but he is without funds for converting it to Catholic purposes. Those who know even the *aspect* of the county and population where Wednesbury is situated will not need to be told of its wretchedness, and of its claims upon all who *can* give. Contributions should be paid to the Rev. George Montgomery, Bilston, Staffordshire.

THE BROTHERS OF CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION.

(From the *Catholic School*.)

THE workings of the Catholic Church present many and different aspects. The nurse of all that is poetical, sublime, and heroic, she is no less remarkable for the sober virtue of common sense. Nor is this surprising; for, while concerned with the supernatural, she has a work in the world. To do the will of God is her *business*; and she sets about the task with prudence. Religious Orders form a ready exemplification. As in the affairs of life experience has taught the value of "division of labour," and, acting on the principle, has partitioned every profession and trade and manufacture amongst many hands, of whom every one devotes himself to his own particular function, and from practice attains to success in it; so the Church allots the various works of mercy, corporal and spiritual, among appropriate communities of devoted men and women, and by securing undivided attention, concentrated effort, and well-maintained tradition, reaches a point of high and sustained perfection unattainable by other means. Far be it from us to attribute success to any other source than Divine Providence. But God blesses the use of means; and we repeat that, in working through Religious Orders, the Church selects the means which human prudence indicates as the wisest and best, and in using them, succeeds.

Who converts the poor abandoned woman, pronounced irreclaimable by magistrates and prison chaplains, and boards of reformatory discipline? The Sister of the Good Shepherd. Who best cares for the neglected orphan? The Sister of our Lady of Norwood, or of Mercy of Liverpool. Who visits the poor, tends the sick, teaches the young, befriends the aged,* reforms the convict?† The answer is still the same—Religious *Orders* devoted to a special purpose. Good works thrive under them, and, it would almost seem, under them alone.

Impressed with this belief, the Catholic Poor-School Committee have unceasingly desired to increase the number of schools under religious teachers, and to extend the influence of teaching Orders; and it is no secret that, under the direction of the Bishops, they have for the last two years been maturing the preliminaries for the introduction into England of a brotherhood specially adapted to our wants. The brotherhood in question is that of the "*Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne*,"

* An admirable Sisterhood, whose success is astonishing, has care of "Alms-houses" for the aged and infirm, at St. Servans and other places. Why should it not be so in England? Is not the success of seculars doubtful and precarious?

† See two deeply interesting little narratives, *Les Jésuites au Bagne*. Paris, 1850.

or "Frères Lamennais," flourishing in Brittany under their distinguished founder, the Abbé J. M. de Lamennais. Under the care of this admirable man, the Committee, in 1848-9, placed some good English youths, who will, it is anticipated, be prepared to commence their home-work with the coming year; and in prosecution of their design, they sent the Secretary to Ploërmel in the spring of the present year, with the view to obtain a more complete acquaintance with the principles of the Order.

Twenty years ago, the province of Brittany contained but five religious schools for the poor. Those five schools exist still; but in addition there are between 700 and 800 brothers teaching schools reticulated over the whole face of the province. The Brothers have also extended to Auch, in the south of France, and to the French American islands, where their services are most highly valued by the French Government, and are not unknown to the Ministers of Queen Victoria.

The object of the Order is to provide education for the whole male population of the places they serve. The main principle is to conform with plastic ease to the existing state of society in those places, saving, of course, the fundamental rules of the Order, and to accomplish the good work with economy.

They pursued their object perseveringly, and in a way best illustrated by examples. In a town like Dinan, where they are the only teachers,* they will establish five schools: 1. A boarding-school for the upper classes. 2. A day-school for the same classes. 3. A day-school for the poor, infant and juvenile. 4. An evening school. 5. An industrial school. Each school will consist of as many "classes," under different Brothers, as circumstances require; and will have its own separate school-room and play-ground. The rich and poor will be kept entirely distinct, but treated with the same kindness, and taught the same subjects. The boys, whether poor or rich, who remain at school for the longest time will naturally advance beyond those whose education is of a more perfunctory character. The Brothers will teach any subjects or accomplishments which their pupils desire to learn. Some creditable specimens of drawing and painting may occasionally be seen. Vocal music is not neglected. In such an institution there will, of course, be many Brothers.

On passing from the town into a country district, a change in the school system accompanies the change of manners. Here a delightful simplicity prevails, and combines the whole community, to the exclusion of class-distinctions. One school then is enough, under one Brother. The rich and poor attend together, and learn the same subjects in the same room.

In a third place, perhaps, as at Rennes, where the Brothers of Christian Schools already teach the poor children, the Brothers of Lamennais will institute schools for the middle and upper classes, not interfering with the work of others, but completing what is wanting in the education of the district.

By this means education is in a great measure made self-supporting. Thus, in a country school, let us suppose there are ten boys who pay five francs each per month: these boys, then, supply 600 francs a year, which is the whole pension of the Brother. The Commune has but to find the school-house, and all is done. The poor children receive a religious education quite gratuitously; the rich boys gladly make a re-

* We exclude from consideration schools in connexion with the University, which appear to be utterly unchristian and bad.

turn in money for the blessing of solid instruction kindly conveyed ; the whole parish is trained to godliness ; the wicked school, if there be one, is first deserted, and then closed ; the sacraments are more frequented ; the population is reformed. This is no mere fancy, but fact. May what has been done in Brittany be speedily commenced in Great Britain !

In all their schools the Brothers attend their scholars to Mass in the parish church every morning—a regulation, we do not hesitate to say, which ought to be adopted in every Catholic school.

On tablets round the schoolrooms they suspend short sentences, setting forth the chief duties of the children ; and these play an important part in the school discipline. Thus, if a child come late to school, the Brother, catching his eye, would point with the signal to the tablet bearing : “ It is our duty to come early to school.” This action, accompanied by a look of sorrow, is for the most part sufficient reproof. Corporal punishment is of course unknown. Grave faults would be punished by such a penance as saying a task upon the knees ; or in an extremity, by solitary confinement. Kindness is the soul of the system : the boys love their teachers with a heartfelt affection, and therefore are easily controlled : their affection and confidence are reciprocal.

Nor do they neglect human incentives to exertion. Regularly once a week there is held an examination of every class in the work of the previous six days, and the pupil who has made the greatest advance is decorated with a small cross of the Legion of Honour, which he displays in his jacket for the following week.

The Brothers wear the broad hat and cassock, with a brass crucifix displayed upon the breast.

Every school contains an image of our blessed Redeemer upon the cross ; and the boys, in going through their evolutions, at the first click of the signal always rise and bow to it. Images of our dear Lady and St. Joseph, and holy pictures, are also common.

The Brothers do not recommend large schools, though, where necessary, they do not refuse to conduct them. A larger number of smaller rooms, each under its own Brother, is considered far preferable to one room of very great size. A Brother to 50 scholars is about the average.

Their system is chiefly collective, carried on wholly by the Brother. Little favour is shewn to the monitorial method, upon the ground that the authority of a boy over boys is ridiculous. The boys continue seated during most of their lessons.

Once a year, in the middle of August, the Brothers from all parts of the province assemble at the Mother-house of Ploërmel, and go through their grand retreat. They bring with them to the Father exact statements of the financial condition, debts, and liabilities of their school.

In order to promote economy, every thing required in the Order is made by the Brothers. They make and mend their own clothes, bind their own books, cultivate their own gardens and farms, and carve the fittings for their schools. The carriage in which the Father makes his tours of visitation is the handiwork of Brothers ; and a better carriage it would not be easy to find in Brittany.

The mechanical arts are valued by the Father for more reasons than one : they enable him to receive virtuous young men into the Order, with confidence that, even should they not prove to be competent teachers, they will not be unemployed ; they afford change and recreation to brothers fatigued with mental labour. But they are chiefly valued as a preservative against vanity and pride. The Father considers that the natural effect of simple intellectual occupation upon young men, and especially if taken from the labouring classes, is to engender a conceit

incompatible with the true solid religious spirit: to correct this tendency he looks to manual labour.

The effects of their training and discipline are manifest. The Brothers, content to serve God under obedience to superiors, abandon all self-seeking, and work where they are placed. In a country parish between St. Servans and Ploërmel, the writer was shewn a school: the room was dilapidated, and in all respects out of order. The children were insufficiently clothed, and obviously the offspring of the poorest; they crowded the small school-room quite inconveniently. The teacher was an intelligent, sweet-tempered Brother, beloved alike by the children and their parents, and qualified by his abilities, no less than by his character, to conduct a school of a high class. On leaving the school-room, the Father observed, while something like a smile of triumph passed over his features, "Brother — has laboured in that wretched school for fourteen years without one wish to leave it." When will secular normal schools produce such a teacher as this? Never while human nature retains its characteristics.

The Order demands a peculiar spirit: the Brothers have to maintain the purity of monks, while mixing freely with people of the world. In teaching schools of all ages and classes, it is often needful for them to converse with the mothers, and other female relatives and friends of their pupils; they must not, then, dread the sight of a woman. In this respect they must be like secular priests: accordingly, in their very noviciate, women are employed to wash clothes in the sight of the novices, but in a part of their grounds to which access is prohibited; and it is not uncommon to see a Brother talking with his mother or sister. Nevertheless, they are under no circumstances allowed to take one morsel to eat or drink at the table of seculars. In some cases, and invariably where a single Brother is employed, they take their meals with the parish priest, but are bound to leave the table as soon as the cloth is drawn.

Such are a few of the striking features of the Brotherhood: all their arrangements are full of wisdom and Christian feeling; and if any thing has been said of a doubtful nature, let it be attributed to the ignorance and erroneous representation of the writer rather than to the Order to which he ventures to refer.

The English novices at Ploërmel are full of hope: the Poor-School Committee expect to receive a detachment of them towards the close of the current year, and to employ them in the neighbourhood of London. Their places in the noviciate will be taken by fresh postulants, and a constant supply maintained until such time as England shall have a place of training of her own. By recommending proper subjects, friends have it in their power to aid a work so full of promise to our country. Postulants should be natives of England, from 18 to 25 years of age, of good health and constitution, and well grounded in learning. If possessed of some means, or of friends willing to assist them, so much the better. Their piety must be solid, and their desire to labour for God, in this particular way, earnest and sincere. Without such qualifications, they will but incur disappointment by entering upon a course which, we are bound to say, offers to the natural man much of trial and difficulty and hardship. They must have faith to look for their reward hereafter, and be satisfied, under the patronage of our admirable Mother Mary, to hold in this world a lowly position, full of toil and trouble, obeying constantly the will of others, and striving with a single intention: to secure, after their own salvation, the welfare and eternal happiness of the little ones among the flock of Jesus Christ.

If these remarks should fall into the hands of any wealthy person desirous of devoting his substance to the promotion of religion and education in Great Britain, we would suggest to him to consider whether it be possible to find any object so deserving and so beneficial as the endowment of an English House of Brothers of Christian Instruction. *Mater admirabilis, monstra te esse Matrem!*

ANCIENT CRUCIFIXION IN ENGLAND.

At a recent meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in London, Charles Wykeham Martin, Esq., M.P. for Newport, read "An Account of the Discovery of some Nails of a peculiar form, supposed to have been used for the purpose of Crucifixion, at Bourne Park, near Canterbury."

The information respecting the finding of these nails was supplied to Mr. Martin by his friend Mr. Bell, of Bourne. They were found in 1846, in excavating for the purpose of enlarging a piece of ornamental water.

Mr. Bell, in a letter to Mr. Martin, written April 26th, 1850, says: "There were, I think, either three or four skeletons in a good state of preservation lying near together, about two feet under the surface, without any appearance of a tumulus over them. There were about four nails, or the remains of them, found with each skeleton, more or less corroded." Some were quite straight, others were much bent.

After the second skeleton had been discovered, Mr. Bell directed the foreman of the works to take care that any future skeleton should not be touched till he had himself seen it. "Soon after," Mr. Bell adds, "he came to me with the intelligence that another had just been discovered, and he added, 'There is one of those long nails driven right through the shoulder-blade.'" Mr. Bell went immediately to the spot, but the workmen had disarranged the bones and the nail; when he saw it, it was not in the position in which the foreman had assured him it was when first seen. No other remains beside the nails were found with the bones, nor were there the least indications of any coffins.

About thirty or forty feet from the skeletons were found several sepulchral urns, of the usual shapes; and at the same spot was discovered a vessel of very thin green glass, which fortunately was preserved entire, and the fragments of another. These were the facts of the case. In support of the inference drawn from this discovery, Mr. Martin passed his observations on the peculiar form of the nails, coupled with their unusual size, remarking that the discovery of the urns in close proximity shewed that these remains were Roman, and that the practice of that nation to punish both slaves and thieves by crucifixion was sufficiently known.

THE JESUITS AT DETROIT, CANADA.

A FEW years ago the Catholics of Detroit were few and scattered; they had but one church—no schools, no institutions. Now we can count in the city of Detroit four large churches—one German, one Irish, one French, and the cathedral, which is chiefly visited and supported by the Irish Catholics of Detroit. The Sisters of Charity have already established a large school and hospital, both of which are in a prosperous condition. There are many other academies, institutions, and societies scattered over this large diocese. Besides, there are schools

for the instruction of the Indians at the following places:—Pokagon, Mackinac, Pointe St. Ignace, Little Traverse Bay, Middletown, La Croix, Sheboygan, Manestie, Sault St. Mary's, and L'Anse, Keewenaw Bay. The Indian missions are under the care of the Very Rev. F. Baraga, and are improving and increasing very rapidly.

A review of the rise and progress of Indian missions would be extremely interesting. There are many original documents appertaining to this important subject scattered throughout this State and Canada, which to the historian would be exceedingly valuable; and as many of these manuscripts are written in the different Indian dialects, some means ought to be taken, before these tongues pass for ever into oblivion, to have them translated. The following were found existing near Sandwich, Canada:

1st Vol. Elements of Huron Grammar (p. 1 to 62); syntax (63 to 103); substantives divided into hundreds, according to the five conjugations (104-173); the whole number of the substantives amounts to about 674; miscellanies, including the parts of the human body, the degrees of parentage, earthly animals, birds, fishes, snakes, insects, trees, shrubs and plants, movables of a Huron hut, garments, ornaments, plays, requisites for hunting, instruments of war, hunting, beasts, victuals, diseases, maladies, remedies, and medicines (175-194); description of a Huron settlement on the Bois-blanc island, near Amherstburg, in 1747; the number of the huts, with the names and surnames of all the members of each family, the whole divided into two villages, the small and the great one, numbering altogether 33 huts (195-201); the names of the savage nations having friendship or trade with the Hurons, also the names of the civilised nations and their settlements along the lakes and rivers of Upper Canada; the names of the French commandants at Detroit, from the year 1700 to the English occupation; the names of the French residents in Detroit in the year 1752; the names of the Huron missionaries; the names of all the rivers, creeks, and streams along the lakes known to the Hurons, &c. (209-212).

2d Vol. Roots of the Huron tongue, copied by F. Potier from E. Careil, in 1743 (260 pages).

3d Vol. The same as the 2d vol., with some additions, copied by the same Father in 1751 (295 pages). The whole number of the roots goes to 837, divided thus: 1st conj., 264; 2d conj., 408; 3d conj., 47; 4th conj., 34; 5th conj., 84; total, 837 roots.

4th Vol. Sermons in Huron tongue, with a letter of the Hurons to the commandant of Detroit, M. de Longueil, and the answer of the same to the same, 1746; a letter of F. Laischordie, of F. Richet, &c.

5th Vol. Huron Prayer-book, containing a great many prayers proper for the tribe, hymns and canticles, litanies; two catechisms for the use of the children and of the grown persons, composed by the Fathers Richet and Chaumonot.

6th Vol. A register of baptisms from 1728 to 1796; a register of sepultures from 1748 to 1785, to which is added a list of the objects which are bequeathed by the last will of a Huron; a register of marriages from 1746 to 1775.

7th Vol. A sort of Huron Dictionary.

8th Vol. A Huron Grammar, the same exactly as the above.

These works were mostly written by the Rev. F. Laischordie, a Jesuit missionary, and re-written in 1741 by the Rev. F. Potier.

The Rambler.

PART XXXV.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
RELIGION AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY	373
CELEBRATED SANCTUARIES OF THE MADONNA	391
EXTEMPORE PREACHING	406
REVIEWS:—THE POPE.—The See of St. Peter, the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity. By T. W. Allies, M.A.—The Pope : considered in his Relations with the Church, Temporal Sovereignities, Separated Churches, and the Cause of Civilisation. By Count Joseph de Maistre. Translated by the Rev. Æneas M'D. Dawson	409
MOUNT ST. LAWRENCE. By the Author of "Mary the Star of the Sea"	440
SHORT NOTICES.—Mr. Freeman's Remarks on the Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral—Dublin Review for October—Car- dinal Wiseman's last two Sermons delivered at St. George's —Seven Questions bearing upon the present Ecclesiastical Crisis, by Agathon—A Voice from the North, by an English Priest—The Office of the Immaculate Conception —Psalterium Davidis—Cardinal de la Luzerne's Rights and Duties of Bishops and Priests in the Church—Caté- chismes philosophiques, polémiques, historiques, dogma- tiques, moraux, liturgiques, disciplinaires, canoniques, pratiques, ascétiques, et mystiques, edited by the Abbé Migne—A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Pusey on his practice of receiving persons in Auricular Confession, by William Maskell, M.A.—The History of England for Catholic Children—M. Perret's Drawings of Frescoes, &c. in the Roman Catacombs	449
CORRESPONDENCE.—Popular Services	454
ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.—Elevation of Dr. Wiseman to the Cardinalate: the English Hierarchy—The Catholic Uni- versity for Ireland—New Catholic Churches—The Con- gregation of the Passionists	458

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The Rambler,

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NOVEMBER 1850.

PART XXXV.

RELIGION AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

No. III.

THE MOSAIC COSMOGONY COMPARED WITH THE DEDUCTIONS OF SCIENCE.

WE can easily imagine that our interpretation of the passages we have quoted from the books of Moses, and of Job more especially, will seem to many persons to be a straining of words adapted to fit into a preconceived theory; or at least an adoption of a system which would fix *any* meaning on Holy Scripture. To this we reply, first, that the parallelism drawn between the account of Moses and that of the 38th chapter of Job does not at all affect our main argument. It is quite possible that the object of Genesis may be to describe the creation, and that of Job merely to paint the wonders of nature, without following the chronological order of their formation.* Yet, after all, our interpretation of the passages

* Our view of the destruction of a primitive order of the universe in consequence of the fall of the angels was adopted in the last paper partly as appearing more consistent with the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas (Sum. i. q. lxi. art. 3), but mainly as harmonising with the assumption of this parallelism between Genesis and Job. It is a view that is quite foreign to any scientific inquiry, and we should not have introduced it in our last paper unless it had been required to explain the first eleven verses of Job xxxviii., which appear (on our assumption) to describe the state of the universe prior to the creation of light as it is at present. In a strictly scientific inquiry, however, we have nothing to do with any such views. The earliest fact of which science can possibly inform us is the amorphous state of matter immediately preceding its present formation. In our present paper, therefore, we shall say nothing about any prior states of the universe, except in reference to the alleged improbability of God's creating a chaos. "In the beginning," says Father Pianciani, "matter was in the simplest possible state, without any of those relations which afterwards formed compound substances or homogeneous masses. I suppose, then, that the atoms of simple substances were disseminated in space, independent of one another, but disposed to obey the physical and chemical laws imposed on them by the Creator. It was in some sense a chaos, but not such as Ovid describes: *Non bene junctarum*

from Job is not more forced or distorted than the explanation of an enigmatical and symbolical writing must necessarily appear. For instance, however like a paradox it may seem to maintain, that in 22-30 it is not the natural phenomenon of hail and snow, but the work of the third day, that is described; yet after the name of *water* is once appropriated to matter in its fluid state, how could we describe more naturally the aggregation and solidification of this matter, than by the parallel phenomena of the formation of rain and ice from vapour and water? We do not deny that this well-known phenomenon is the first and most obvious meaning of the passage. But in Scripture there is often a double intention. The history of Joseph, of David, or of Solomon, is related, but with a special reference to our Blessed Lord. A spiritual promise is conveyed in a temporal covering; the day of judgment is described in terms of the destruction of Jerusalem. Why, then, may not the same thing take place in the scientific parts of Scripture? Natural phenomena present as striking analogies with each other as historical events, and the greater may be described in terms of the less, here as well as in the prophetic portions of the sacred volume.

There is no doubt that this typical interpretation of Scripture may be carried too far; but still we must not conclude that all interpretations which at first sight appear far-fetched and distorted are really so. It is quite possible that there should be what are called far-fetched analogies in Scripture; indeed, the necessary obscurity of language when applied to the higher subjects of thought renders it highly probable that there are.

To apply these remarks to the passages under consideration; let us attempt to put the descriptions of Moses and Job into language more scientifically precise, but equally concise, and we shall find that we have perhaps used terms more current and intelligible to the *present* generation, but still *originally* quite as uncertain and obscure. "In the beginning God created heaven and earth," that is, in modern language, *spirit* and *matter*; in Greek it would be πνεῦμα καὶ ὕλη, *breath* and *timber*. Surely there is more real propriety in the Hebrew analogy than in the more modern Greek and Latin choice of terms. We have already remarked the similarity between the prophetic and the scientific language of Scripture; now

discordia semina rerum. In matter, as created by the Sovereign Wisdom, disorder could only be apparent, and pregnant with a marvellous order. The atoms were created in such number, measure, and proportion, as would in the sequel cause them to conjoin and form all that they have since formed, and all that they are to form hereafter."—*Memoir read before the Academy of Sciences at Bologna*, Dec. 1847.

every one knows the obscurity and difficulty of the former. Sir Isaac Newton himself dabbled a little in the interpretation of prophecy;* and in his wish to reduce it to a scientific system, has given us a specimen of a prophetic glossary, in which he informs us, among other matters, that the sun and moon are kings and queens; the moon is the body of the people considered as the king's wife; stars are princes or rulers; new moons, the returning of a dispersed people into a body politic; a furnace, a state of slavery; riding on clouds, reigning over much people, &c. We must also take into account the genius of primitive language and of the old Eastern nations, how it delighted in riddles and dark sayings, and placed its wisdom in "considering a parable and its interpretation, the words of the wise and their enigmas."† Yet these strings of tangled argument may be all unravelled, and the most far-fetched analogies reduced to scientific accuracy, for they were not empty words, but the representatives of real ideas in the mind.

"All that is highest of every species," says F. Schlegel, "can only be apprehended as it is at the same time both logical and symbolical."‡ It appears to us, that our interpretation of Moses results naturally from a strict application of this principle; we first determined the meaning of the symbolical term, either from the definition of the writer himself, or from traditional interpretation; and then we strictly adhered to this meaning of the word, till either the author gave a new definition, or manifestly used the word in a new sense. For instance, the *heaven* of the first verse is evidently something different from the heaven of the eighth verse, which is an after-formation. The *earth* of the first and second verses is also something very different from the *earth* of the tenth verse, where we are told that God applied the old name to a new phenomenon. So, again, the word *day*, where it first occurs in the fifth verse, is defined to mean *light*: "God called the light, day;" it has no reference to time here. The first place where it can be taken in its present sense of a period of time is in verse fourteen, where God makes the sun and moon to be for seasons, and *days*, and years. It is superfluous to say, that there could have been no ordinary *day* before the existence of the sun. We have, therefore, no warrant to take the word where it occurs in the fifth verse, "the evening and morning were one day," and in the similar passages, in a sense that has reference to any measured time whatever. If it means period or epoch at all, it can only be in the unlimited

* Observations on Daniel.

† Prov. i. 6.

‡ Philosophy of Language, lect. vi.

sense of the old word *æon*, or age. We say *unlimited*; for if the introduction of the seventh day put a limit or period to the work of God, it would not be true that God *worketh till now*. God has not ceased working; the day of rest has not put a period to the agencies of any of the preceding days; all these days have dawned from night to morning, from non-existence into existence, but as yet they have had no setting. A *day*, understood as a period of time, however long, must have a limit; the second day cannot begin till the first is completed. But Moses never hints at the completion of any one of his periods. After the creation of man, the agency of the third day was still in active operation, giving birth to new and beautiful forms of vegetable life. "God had planted a paradise . . . in which He placed man . . . and God produced out of the soil every tree beautiful to the sight, and sweet to the taste."* Even still, perhaps, "in the light-illuminated realms of space, myriads of worlds are bursting into life, like the grass of the night."† Therefore we conclude that the Mosaic days are not periods of time.‡

If, then, the days of Genesis do not mean epochs or periods of time, it is most reasonable to accept the meaning which Moses himself suggests, when he says: "God called the light, day." The *light*, that is, the great motive power, the great agent in the formation and organisation of the universe. Take the word, therefore, in the sense of agency, law, or principle of formation, and all becomes clear. The first, or rather the one cardinal day, was the agency of light, the introduction of the principle of motion and life into chaotic matter. The second day is the development of the repulsive forces of matter. The third is the manifestation of the power of gravitation, cohesion, chemical affinity, resulting in vegetable organisation. The fourth, the concentration of the solar atmosphere, and development of the powers of direct and reflected light. The fifth and sixth, the development of animal life in its various stages. The seventh, the principle of stability. If the *days* are to be understood in this sense, and not as chronological periods, evidently it need not be supposed that the work of one day was ended before that of another began; all the agencies might be going on at once. Might not the first motion of the spirit of God on the face of the abyss, the first vibration in the extreme limits of matter, have commenced ages and ages before the production of light? Might not this

* Gen. ii. 8, 9.

† Cosmos, p. 145.

‡ "Moses uses the word *day* solely to determine the order of succession of creation, without wishing to express any portion of time whatever."—*Le Baron d'Altimarc's Refutations*, p. 50, note.

vibration have been at first slow, gradually giving rise to various phenomena, such as motion, repulsion, attraction, heat, electricity, &c. before light appeared? May not all these phenomena depend on distinct vibrations going on simultaneously in the æther, in the same way as in the atmosphere the distinct vibrations of many different sounds, besides those that may be either too slow or too rapid to make any impression on the human ear, may all be going on at once? Perhaps at the first dawn of the vibration of the "extremities of matter," which was at last to produce light, the universe at once waked up, the vapour* began to divide, firmaments or clear fields of æther were interposed between the masses, the process of solidification commenced, and the solids were even clothed with cellular organisms, before light existed in its present state of perfection. For it is well known that light itself is divisible, and that some of the coloured rays result from vibrations considerably slower than others. It is evident also that, if the formation of the firmament was an agency by which the fields of æther were cleared of grosser cosmical vapour, this process could not go on without a corresponding action in the vapour itself, namely, a gathering together of the fluid masses, and their gradual condensation and solidification; thus the work of the second and third days must have been contemporaneous, the latter being but the natural result of the former. Thus also, as we have seen, the waters had produced their fish and birds, and the earth its mammalia, before the vegetable creation was brought to perfection; that is to say, we have no right to look for distinct epochs of vegetable life, of fishes and birds, and of mammalia. The use of the word *day* is merely a mode of representing the *physical succession* of the agencies. The same method is adopted by the man of science when he divides the phenomena of nature into branches of study, and calls them chemistry, mechanical philosophy, natural history. Nature has no such divisions; her laws proceed in exquisite order, unity, and beauty, independently of the artificial mode in which man observes them. Dante furnishes us with another example of the same figure. In the fourth canto of his *Paradiso* he makes Beatrice explain, that although the different orders of

* We are enabled by the kindness of a friend to give the following great authorities for this interpretation of the primitive *waters*. "St. Gregory of Nyssa says, that the water mentioned here is of a different nature from ordinary water, which tends to flow downwards. St. Augustine writes, that the formless earth, called a dark abyss, is here not unreasonably called *water*, because it was softer and more fluid than the earth; and that we ought not here to understand the common water that we see and touch (*De Gen. cont. Manich.* l. i.). St. Ephrem thinks that the water did not exist even in germ after the first creation, nor even on the first day of the detailed creation."—*Father Pianciani's Memoir*, p. 14.

blessed spirits were exhibited to him in different spheres, the lowest in that of the moon, the next in that of Mercury, and so on, this was only an adaptation to his faculties, to give him a sensible proof of the real difference in their condition ; for, in reality, all these spirits, from the Blessed Virgin to the last of the penitents, inhabited the same empyrean. "The highest Seraphim, Moses, Samuel, John, the Blessed Virgin herself, have not their thrones in any heaven distinct from that inhabited by the spirits you have just now seen (in the moon), but all together inhabit the empyrean, where they enjoy different grades of glory. Here were they shewn thee, not because this is their proper sphere, but to give you a sensible indication of their different ranks. It is necessary to speak thus to your capacities, which draw from sensible objects the impressions on which the intellect ponders." Thus also the creation, to which no conception of measured time is really applicable, is exhibited to us as taking place in six *days*, a word that, in spite of definitions, *will* convey some idea of time, simply as being the most intelligible way of representing it.

The word *day*, then, cannot be taken literally to represent an epoch of time ; the only way it can signify time at all is in the sense of succession ; not so much, however, the succession of time, but of cause and effect—physical succession. The first agency, or day, was physically, causally, and logically the first in operation, was necessary in order to make the second agency possible, according to the laws which the Creator had laid down ; yet perhaps no appreciable period of time intervened between the introduction of the first and the second agencies or days. The succession of the six days denotes the physical dependence of the agencies one on another, all derived from the first, in the order set forth by Moses. We must not imagine them to be periods in which one agency was exclusively in operation, nor that when one period finished another began, as is the case in chronological days or periods. In point of succession, then, days are not to be arranged in one line, divided into six parts, but in five branches from one root, any one of which may be indefinitely protracted without interfering with the commencement of another. In this way we may see that Moses may speak of the *day** of creation, it being in one sense as true to attribute it to one day or agency, as in another to six. It is a day like that of Isaias, one day containing the virtue of seven days, when "the light of the sun is sevenfold, as the light of seven days."†

* Gen. ii. 4.

† The following is a very remarkable authority for the view here maintained. At the Council of Treves, A.D. 1148, the works of St. Hildegarde were solemnly read and approved before Pope Eugenius III. and St. Bernard. In her *Liber*

We have endeavoured to follow out the same strict rules of reasoning in assigning the meaning of the other scientific terms of Moses, such as the *waters*, the *spirit*, the *firmament*, the *dry* (land), &c., but with what success we cannot pretend to determine, because, as we proved before, we can never expect to come to the certain understanding of the scientific passages of Scripture, till the sciences themselves are sufficiently advanced to enable us to explain them. Modern sceptics will, of course, insist on our admitting the traditional meaning of these passages, and on our standing or falling by the sense which past ages attached to them;—a proceeding in all respects similar to the absurdity which the Jews committed when they insisted that the ancient predictions respecting the Messiah should be fulfilled precisely in the way that their doctors had imagined, and which had become familiar to the hopes of the whole people, namely, that the Christ should come as a temporal deliverer from foreign dominion, and as the restorer of the old historical glory of Solomon. “Let these prophecies be fulfilled in this way,” said they, “or we will not believe.” But the prophecy was fulfilled, and fulfilled literally, but in a way most contrary to their expectations. The predictions were purposely uttered in a way that could not be generally understood till they were illuminated by the event; so the scientific anticipations in Genesis cannot be entirely and certainly understood till science has by itself explored the great mass of the phenomena of the universe.

We have, then, in our possession a document claiming to be divine, and as a sign of its inspiration, giving us in enigmatical language a description of the formation of the universe, written in the primitive ages of the world, when science was in its infancy, when, as Humboldt says, “the Cosmos was dimly shadowed forth to the human mind;”* and which must therefore either be the result of inspiration, or else, as Humboldt would have us believe, a mere guess, a natural process of the human mind, resulting from its very structure,—“the result of an identity in the mode of intellectual conception, which has every where led man to adopt the same conclusion regarding identical phenomena.”† But what is the fact? Moses gives us a number of minute details (such as

Epistolarum, p. 208, occurs the following answer to the question: How is it that God created all things at once (*creavit omnia simul*, Eccl. xviii. 1), when Genesis says that He created them in six days? *Sex dies sex opera sunt; quia inceptio et completio singuli cujusque operis dies dicitur*. After the creation of the *materia prima*, the spirit of God was borne upon the waters, and at the same moment, without any interval, God said, Let light be made. See Ratisbonne's *Life of St. Bernard*, chap. xli.

* *Cosmos*, p. 2.

† *Ib.* p. 365.

the primitive vaporous form of matter, the universal agency of light, the order of the formation of fishes, birds, mammalia, and last of all, man), which may be conceived to have taken place in a thousand different ways, on which, in matter of fact, there is no identity in the mode of conception; and which cannot be a guess, because they are too minute and detailed to allow us to consider them to be right only by chance. If science confirms the account of Moses, nothing will be left for us but to allow it to have been supernaturally revealed; and we must acknowledge that it stands with good reason at the head of the book of Almighty God's revelations, and is a sign of the supernatural knowledge of the human writer.

Nor must we complain that this description is so enigmatical as to have been hitherto unintelligible. If it had been plainer, it would have been either a great difficulty to philosophers in past ages, as being plainly opposed to all their notions of science; or if it had moulded science, the present theory of cosmogony would have come down to us as a tradition, and it would have been impossible to say whether Moses originated it, or whether he merely wrote it down, as wishing to render his book the expression of popular opinion. Thus the whole evidence which it now gives for the inspiration of Moses would have been lost.

And here we may say a word on the hypothesis which has been so well received among many biblical scholars, that the beginning of Moses has been blended, has grown or been interwoven from two documents, an Elohim document and a Jehovah document,—an hypothesis which Schlegel calls “a remarkable monument of critical error in our century.” No doubt a fresh beginning is made by Moses at the fourth verse of the second chapter of Genesis; but the two accounts are by no means opposed; the first chapter and the first three verses of the second contain an account of the Genesis, which we may fairly regard as a sign of inspiration to men of late ages when knowledge shall have increased; and therefore in that part he tells us nothing but what science has been, or will in time be, able to confirm. Then he proceeds to narrate facts and events which no science can ever discover, and which we must always accept on faith,—paradise, the tree of knowledge, the formation of Eve from the side of Adam, the serpent tempter, the fall of man and original sin, and the promise of a Redeemer the seed of a woman.

But it may be objected, How can the history of the formation of the universe be used as a sign of inspiration? how can its correctness be tested? Our senses, aided by instruments, enable us to describe the universe as it at present

exists, but what materials have we to enable us to trace its variations during the course of ages?

We may answer this question in the words of Humboldt: "The very aspect of Nature records its history; . . . the changes that sometimes occur in the starry heavens belong, with reference to their historical reality, to other periods of time than those in which, by the phenomena of light, they are first revealed to us; they reach us like the voices of the past. . . . The elder Herschel was of opinion that light required almost two millions of years to pass to the earth from the remotest luminous vapour reached by his telescope. . . . The aspect of the starry heavens presents us with that which is only apparently simultaneous."* "As in our forests we see the same kind of tree in all the various stages of growth, and are thus enabled to form an idea of its progressive vital development, so do we also, in the great garden of the universe, recognise the most different phases of sidereal formation."† And then, to descend from the heavens to our globe: "If we would correctly comprehend Nature, we must not absolutely separate the consideration of the present state of things from that of the successive phases through which they have passed. We cannot form a just conception of their nature without looking back on the mode of their formation . . . the globe reveals to us at every phase of its existence the mystery of its former conditions. We cannot survey the crust of our planet without recognising the traces of the prior existence and destruction of an organic world. The sedimentary rocks present a succession of organic forms, associated in groups which have successively displaced and succeeded each other. The different superimposed strata thus display to us the vegetable and animal kingdoms of different epochs. In this sense the description of Nature is intimately connected with its history."‡ It follows, then, that in proportion as Nature becomes known, the Mosaic account of the Genesis may be subjected to the test of science. Let us examine it from this point of view.

The first fact which Moses relates is the void, unsubstantial, amorphous form of matter. This, too, is the foundation of the nebular hypothesis of Laplace, which seems now to be universally accepted. All the solid bodies in the universe are considered to be formed by the condensation and agglomeration of the cosmical vapour.§

His next fact is the motion of the "spirit on the waters," implying the existence of an æther having the same relative proportion to the cosmical vapour as our atmosphere bears to

* Cosmos, p. 144.

† Ib. p. 67.

‡ Ib. p. 54.

§ Ib. p. 67, *et passim*.

the water. Accordingly Humboldt tells us, that "besides the luminous clouds and nebulae, exact observations indicate the existence and general distribution of an apparently non-luminous infinitely divided matter, possessing a force of resistance. . . . Of this impeding, ætherial, and cosmical matter, it may be supposed that *it is in motion*; that it gravitates," &c.*

His third fact is the commencement of the *organic formation* of the universe, the first agency in reducing matter from a dark amorphous state into order and vitality; it is the production of light. And Humboldt tells us that "the world of phenomena, and that which constitutes its causal reality, is dependent on the propagation of light."† "The light of remote heavenly bodies presents us with the most ancient perceptible evidence of the existence of matter." Moses tells us that light was created before the sun; and though this was made a subject of infinite ridicule by Voltaire and his clique of philosophers, yet Humboldt tells us that the vapour of which the sun, as well as all other cosmical bodies, has been formed is *self-luminous*.‡ It was luminous while yet scattered in the form of vapour, before it was agglomerated into its present state.

The next fact of Moses is the division of this vapour into masses by firmaments, or fixed chasms; and, in matter of fact, "the cosmical vapour is dispersed in definite nebulous spots."§ All space is filled with matter of some kind, varying in density from the most solid spheres to the most attenuated æther; and even still "the process of condensation is going on before our eyes."|| We are forced, then, to carry our minds back to a period when all space was filled with amorphous undivided matter; and, next to the production of light, we are forced to conclude that the most ancient cosmical fact is an agency by which the division of this equally distributed vapour into definite masses was effected. This division is distinguished by Moses from condensation and agglomeration, which he attributes to the next agency; we therefore only follow the path he has indicated in attributing it to the agency of *repulsive forces*. And here modern philosophy¶ (which imagines every primary molecule of matter to be surrounded with three consecutive strata or atmospheres of antagonistic forces, the innermost being an enormous force of repulsion; around this a stratum of attractive force; and last of all, an outside stratum of repulsion); must needs agree with Moses, that whether the first motion of the molecules of matter commenced from within or from without, the first force manifested must be one of repulsion. In the 38th chapter of Job this agency is de-

* Cosmos, p. 69. † Ib. p. 143. ‡ Ib. p. 67. § Ib. || Ib.

¶ See *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1849, p. 69.

scribed as entering the ocean of matter, and dividing it hither and thither, like the valves of opening doors, thrusting it forcibly asunder, and rolling it round, thus giving each separate mass of nebulous vapour two distinct motions,—rotary, round its own centre gravity, and translatory, through space; and such is, in fact, the real state of the realms of space. “If, for a moment,” says Humboldt, “we could yield to the power of fancy, and imagine the acuteness of our visual organs to be made equal with the extremest bounds of telescopic vision, and bring together that which is now divided by long periods of time, the apparent rest which reigns in space would suddenly disappear. We should see the countless hosts of fixed stars moving in thronged groups in different directions; nebulae wandering through space, and becoming condensed and dissolved like cosmical clouds, . . . and *motion* ruling supreme in every portion of the vault of heaven;”* all the stellar islands filling space are moving through it. And according to the felicitous conjecture of Kepler, now universally accepted, “the sun itself, whose spots were not then discovered, together with all the planets and fixed stars, rotates on its axis.”† This rotary motion connects this agency with the succeeding one.

The next agency of Moses is the condensation of these masses of vapour into solid bodies. Here we begin to enter on the history of our globe; all that has preceded was prior to the commencement of the formation of our planetary system. Then, according to Moses, the most ancient geognostical fact is, that the waters, or fluid matter, were condensed and compressed, and that the result was the appearance of the *arida*—dry, solid, heated matter. And what does science say? “The existence of the polar compression announces that which may be named the most ancient of all geognostic events; the condition of general fluidity of a planet, and its earlier and progressive solidification.”‡ In another passage the same writer enters more into detail: “Compression, when considered as a consequence of centrifugal force acting on a rotating mass, explains the earlier condition of fluidity of our planet. During the solidification of this fluid . . . an enormous quantity of latent heat must have been liberated. If the process of solidification began . . . by radiation from the cooling surface exposed to the atmosphere, the particles near the centre would have continued fluid and hot—(thus it has been assumed, and confirmed by direct experiments) that with increasing depth the subterranean heat likewise increases.”§

Moses attributes the elevation of the land over the waters,

* Cosmos, p. 139.

† Ib. p. 711.

‡ Ib. p. 736.

§ Ib. p. 164.

and the division of earth and sea, to the same agency. Humboldt says the same: "The consideration of the increase of heat with the increase of depth towards the interior of our planet, and of the reaction of the interior on the external crust, leads us to the long series of volcanic phenomena. These elastic forces are manifested in earthquakes, &c., and even in producing alterations in the level of the sea. Large plains and variously indented continents are raised or sunk, *lands are separated from seas*, &c. The boundaries of sea and land, of fluids and solids, are thus variously and frequently changed. Plains have undergone oscillatory movements, being alternately elevated and depressed. After the elevation of continents, mountain chains were raised upon long fissures, &c., and salt lakes and inland seas forcibly separated. Thus in following phenomena in their mutual dependence, we are led from the consideration of the forces acting in the interior of the earth to those which cause eruptions on its surface."*

Thus we are led from "gravitation, which must be considered as a primitive force in matter," to its consequences,—those "attractions of another kind which are at work around us, both in the interior of our planet and on its surface. These forces, to which we apply the term *chemical affinity*, act upon molecules in contact, and which being differently modified by heat, electricity, condensation in porous bodies, or by the contact of an intermediate substance, animate equally the inorganic world, and animal and vegetable tissues."† Moses accordingly tells us, that the same agency which had solidified the earth, and divided land and sea, went on to produce the dawn of vegetation on the earth. The same chemical laws that had arranged the inorganic matter of the earth go on to produce first of all "the simple cell, the first manifestation of life, and advance progressively to higher structures;"‡ the first origin of cells, Humboldt tells us, is "concealed in the obscurity of some chemical process."§ This process is indicated by Moses in these words, "Let the earth bring forth the green herb," &c. He gives us to understand the three following facts regarding the production of vegetation: first, that vegetation is a characteristic of the dry land or earth, as the first animal life is of the water; secondly, that vegetation preceded animal life on our globe; thirdly, that vegetation commenced before the solar atmosphere was concentrated round the sun, at a period when our planet floated in an opaque luminous vapour.

On the first point Humboldt's testimony is unequivocal: "The solid portion of the earth's surface is suited to the luxu-

* Cosmos, p. 152.

† Ib. p. 360.

‡ Ib. p. 44.

§ Ib. p. 360.

rious development of vegetable life, while in the encircling sea organic life is almost entirely limited to the animal world.”*

With regard to the second point, his testimony is more at variance. “Nothing appears to corroborate the theoretical view that vegetable preceded animal life, and that the former was necessarily dependent on the latter.”† Not, on the other hand, that there is any proof of the contrary proposition, because “the oldest transition strata contain cellular marine plants.” But still, animal remains are more common in the lowest secondary strata than vegetables. “These strata contain but few plants; they present, however, a singular association of animal forms, crustacea, corals, &c.; and, blended with these low organisms, fishes of the most singular forms, imbedded in the upper silurian formations.”‡ But then we must remember that the lowest fossiliferous strata are the sedimentary rocks, which are the deposits of lime and other matters once held in solution by the waters. Now Moses himself tells us, that the period when the waters covered the whole earth was the period when animal life received its first impulse; but he indicates a period prior to this, when the dry crust of the earth brought forth vegetable organisms. Now on what are these sedimentary strata deposited? On the primary rocks, granite, porphyry, basalt, &c., all of which indicate the action of fire. Humboldt writes, “I should deem it more than probable that a primordial granite rock forms the substratum of the whole stratified edifice of fossil remains.”§ There must have been a time when the surface of this granite rock formed the external surface of our planet, when the greater part of that which is now above it, the lime, the carbon, the water, the air, was as yet in the state of vapour, uncondensed and unagglomerated; the water perhaps still partly in its simple elements, oxygen and hydrogen, extending to an immense distance round the radiating sphere of our planet. It is to this period that Moses assigns the first commencement of cellular organisation. Now, of course, as the granite rock has been in a state of fusion since the period of the deposit of the lower secondary formations, it cannot be expected that any remains of vegetable organisation should have survived that intense heat. Still there does seem to be an indication that vegetation was then active on our planet. Two out of the three constituents of granite, mica and feldspar, contain potash; a substance which Humboldt thinks, in many kinds of rocks, “probably antecedent to the dawn of vegetation on the earth’s surface;”|| but it is only a *proba-*

* *Cosmos*, p. 153.

† *Ib.* p. 281.

‡ *Ib.* p. 275.

§ *Ib.* p. 289.

|| *Ib.* p. 272.

bility, while there is also a counter-probability that this potash is the result of a primitive vegetation.

Another point which we must take into account is this, Who can define the precise limit between the animal and vegetable kingdoms? Did Moses reckon the infusoria, the corals, and such-like low organisms, as *descheh*, cellular plants, or as the *reptile animæ viventis* of the fifth day?

Or, again, is it possible to say whether under the lowest rocks of eruption, there may not exist strata that have been overflowed by them, as the granite has covered the slate, limestone, and chalk, in different localities; and whether these yet undiscovered strata do not contain the remains of vegetable organisms without any trace of animal existence?

But Humboldt himself sometimes speaks as if vegetation was a great agent in the very earliest periods of our planet: "At the same primitive period of universal volcanic activity, those enormous quantities of carbon* must have escaped from the earth which are contained in limestone rocks, and which, if separated from oxygen and reduced to a solid form, would constitute about the eighth part of the absolute bulk of the (limestone) mountain masses. That portion of the carbon which was not taken up by alkaline earths, but remained mixed with the atmosphere, as carbonic acid, *was gradually consumed by the vegetation of the earlier stages of the world*, so that the atmosphere, after being purified by the processes of vegetable life, only retained the small quantity which it now possesses, and which is not injurious to the present organisation of animal life."† Add to this, that the skeletons of diatomaceæ have been found in the lava of volcanic mountains;‡ and though Dr. Hooker thinks that the silicious skeletons of these vegetables have passed from without into the lower fissures of the mountain, and then passing into the stream of lava, been thrown out, unacted upon by the heat to which they had been exposed, yet it is evidently possible that they may have been cast up from the volcanic foci in the primitive rocks of the centre of the earth: if this be so, it at once settles the question of the priority of the vegetable world. Neither is it unlikely that these minute vegetable organisms should have furnished the mass of potash of the primitive rocks, when we consider the analogy of the animal kingdom,§ in which the forms which we term microscopic

* Might not this vast quantity of carbon have resulted from the masses of vegetable substance decomposed and consumed by the heat of this period of universal volcanic agency?

† Cosmos, p. 215.

§ Ib. p. 352.

‡ Ib. p. 352, note.

occupy the largest space, in consequence of their rapid propagation.

As to the third point, that vegetation commenced before the solar atmosphere was concentrated round the sun, at a period when our planet floated in an opaque luminous vapour, this follows naturally, if we grant that vegetation was active on the primordial granite rock, when it constituted the surface of our planet, and when all that is now deposited above it surrounded our globe as an immensely extended atmosphere of cosmical vapour. For at that time our earth must have been simply a nucleus of the great solar nebula. Not that Moses implies that vegetation was highly developed at this period, when as yet there were no seasons, no day and night, no provision for the periodicity of vegetable life, but simply that this was the era of its introduction.

The next fact of Moses is the condensation of the luminous solar atmosphere. "The limitation of the solar atmosphere," says Humboldt, "in its *present* concentrated condition, is especially remarkable when we compare the central body of our system with the nucleus of other nebulous stars, in some of which the outer nebulous layer is a hundred and fifty times farther removed from the central body than our earth is from the sun."* The zodiacal light he considers to be caused by a compressed annulus of nebulous matter revolving freely in space between the orbits of Venus and Mars, and which sometimes does not appear to extend beyond our earth's orbit: it is conjectured to be intimately connected with the more condensed cosmical vapour in the vicinity of the sun. This ring is a monument of an epoch when the orbit of our earth was included in the solar atmosphere; and our system, with regard to mutual illumination, must have presented some analogies with the multiple stars,† where two or more self-luminous bodies revolve around one common centre of gravity. By this agency the planets of our system ceased to be self-luminous; an event that must be placed in the same category with the sudden apparition and disappearance of three new stars in 1572, 1600, and 1604,‡ and the variation of numberless other stars. Philosophers have not decided whether the sun still changes its constitution and splendour, like the greater number of the stars; or whether, on the contrary, it has yet attained to a permanent condition.§

* Cosmos, p. 130.

† Ibid. p. 73.

‡ Cosmos, p. 709. Humboldt says that the extinction of these three stars has already led to the assumption of other and non-luminous cosmical bodies.—p. 124.

§ Cosmos, p. 309, note.

With regard to the epoch at which this concentration of the solar atmosphere must have happened, Moses places it *after* the solidification of the main body of the planets. This is confirmed by the zodiacal light, which appears to have been *left* in its present position by the retiring and concentrating solar atmosphere after the planets were all in their present places; and by the analogy of the multiple stars, which may be supposed to be solid nuclei surrounded with self-luminous vapour, if the vapour were to be removed from one such body, and concentrated round the other, it would cause precisely the same effects as Moses describes in the agency of the fourth day.

The next fact mentioned by Moses is the introduction of animal life; he places animals in the following order: 1. fishes, *reptile animæ viventis*; 2. birds; 3. mammalia; 4. and last, man. The first two families he connects with a period when almost the whole earth was covered with water; when, as we may suppose, the oxygen and hydrogen of the atmosphere had combined and had precipitated itself to the earth in the form of water, covering the primitive granite rock with the lowest sedimental deposits. At this period animals made their first appearance; first of all, the animal forms of shell-fish and molusca, corals, and, blended with these low organisms, fishes of the most singular forms: thus "fishes are the most ancient of all vertebrata."* "Saurians begin with the zechstone,"† the second period of the sedimentary rocks. Then with regard to birds, Humboldt has fallen into a grave error; he says, that "the first mammalia are found in the oolitic formations (fourth period of the sedimentary rocks), and the first birds in the most ancient cretaceous strata (the fifth period). Such," he says, "are, according to the present state of our knowledge, the lowest limits of fishes, reptiles, mammalia, and birds." It is curious that Humboldt should have fallen into this error; for, as his translator points out in a note to p. 273, before the year 1836 it was discovered that the slabs of the new red sandstone (second period) in the valley of the Connecticut were impressed with numerous footmarks of birds, proving that these creatures must have existed two whole geological periods, perhaps millions of years, before mammalia began to appear on the earth. Here is an undeniable triumph of Moses over the philosopher, testified to by science itself.

All scientific men seem to agree that man appeared last of all upon the earth. And in the question of the unity or plurality of his origin, Humboldt accepts the former both on his-

* Cosmos, p. 275.

† Ibid. p. 278.

torical and scientific grounds. "In my opinion, more powerful reasons can be advanced in support of the theory of the unity of the human race (one common descent); as, for instance, in the many intermediate gradations in the colour of the skin and in the form of the skull, the analogies presented by the varieties in the species of many wild and domesticated animals, and the more correct observations collected regarding the limits of fecundity of hybrids."* Again, "the separate mythical relations found to exist independently of one another in different parts of the earth . . . concur in ascribing the generation of the whole human race to the union of one pair."† And he concludes: "While we maintain the unity of the human species, we at the same time repel the distressing assumption of superior and inferior races of men." Our work is to "strive to remove the barriers which prejudice and limited views of every kind have erected amongst men, to treat all mankind without reference to religion (!), nation, or colour, as one fraternity, one great community, fitted for the attainment of one object, the unrestrained development of the psychical powers."‡

The last fact narrated by Moses is the seventh day, or day of rest and stability, which succeeded the chaotic revolutions attendant upon the introduction of the agencies of the formation of the universe. And Humboldt tells us that "the awful revolutions" which the earth has undergone "have served after the establishment of repose, and on the revival of organic life, to furnish a richer and more beautiful variety of individual forms, and to remove from the earth the impoverishing aspect of dreary uniformity."§ And although science, in accordance with revelation, bids us look for a day when the earth shall be again laid waste, and tells us that "all geognostic phenomena indicate the periodic alternation of activity and repose;"|| that "the quiet we now enjoy is only apparent," and that there is no reason why the interior forces should not again burst forth and involve all things in ruin; yet it at the same time tells us that the disturbing forces were more strongly developed in the earlier periods of our planet than at present,¶ that we are now enjoying a real sabbath of nature, in comparison of the commotion which once reigned: "whilst on a superficial area equal to that of Europe," says Humboldt, "there are now scarcely more than four volcanoes remaining through which fire and stones are erupted, the thinner, more fissured, and unstable crust of the earth was anciently almost every where covered by channels of communication between the fused interior and the external atmosphere."**

* *Cosmos*, p. 361.† *Ib.* p. 364.‡ *Ib.* p. 368.§ *Ib.* p. 304.|| *Ib.* p. 306.¶ *Ib.* p. 301.** *Ib.* p. 249.

Thus we have in our sacred books a description of six great agencies in the formation of the world; their order, progress, and succession are indicated to us. For centuries these passages have been the ridicule of sceptical philosophers, and a severe trial to the faith of many a scientific believer. But now, after ages of toil, science, approaching its perfection, announces to us as its own profound theories and brilliant discoveries, the same truths which Moses announced three thousand years ago. Science at length tells us that the primitive condition of matter is vapourous, or gaseous, and invisible; that light is the great chemical, if not mechanical agent of the universe; that light is diffused in vast *nebulae* of self-luminous vapour before it is concentrated in suns and stars; that fluidity is the primary condition of our planet; that vegetables are at least as ancient as animals, and probably more so; that animals appeared in the following order: 1st, marine animals, mollusca, fish, and reptiles; 2d, birds; 3d, mammalia, and lastly, *man*, and that the human race is of one origin. Thus Moses, from the midst of the dark period of primitive views of cosmical phenomena, not only announces to us facts which have only recently begun to glimmer on the opening eyes of science, but he also announces a chain of order and connexion, beginning from the first agency of the vibration of the æther, manifesting itself in light, repulsion, gravitation, attraction, and chemical combination,—a chain by which natural forces are linked together, and made mutually dependent on each other. Science has not yet attained to sufficient maturity to pronounce absolutely on the point; but when it confirms the announcements of the inspired writer, its highest glory will be to prove that he was supernaturally in possession of a result which, at the present time, still belongs to the futurity of science, and which, as Humboldt says, “can only be reaped as the fruit of observation and intellect, combined with the spirit of the age, in which are reflected all the varied phases of thought.”* Moses enjoyed the communion of a higher Spirit; and the spirit of the age, which is a spirit of hostility to Moses and to the Spirit that inspired him, has been forced hitherto, in spite of its repugnance, to confirm his account to the very minutest particular; for every advance that science has yet made is a fresh proof of his accuracy.

* *Cosmos*, p. 1.

CELEBRATED SANCTUARIES OF THE MADONNA.

No. III.—TUSCANY.

FLORENCE.—SS. *Annunziata*.

IF Rome is distinguished above other cities for the number and antiquity of her churches dedicated to the Mother of God; and Naples for the simplicity and fervour of the public devotion towards her, Florence too has a very special claim upon those who wish to chronicle "the Glories of Mary," inasmuch as it was the birthplace of a religious order called after her name, and even (for such indeed is the literal truth) founded immediately by herself.

In the early part of the thirteenth century, there stood upon the spot now occupied by Giotto's most beautiful *campanile* attached to the cathedral of that city, a little chapel dedicated to *Santa Maria delle Laudi*. This chapel belonged to a certain confraternity of persons living in the world, who used to assemble here for purposes of prayer and praise, if not daily, yet at least on all holy days, and especially on all festivals of the Madonna, and who hence received the name of *i Laudesi*. It was a large confraternity, and reckoned among its members men from some of the highest families in Florence. On the 15th of August, A.D. 1233, they met as usual to celebrate the Assumption of our Blessed Lady; and when the holy sacrifice had been offered and all the devotional exercises of the confraternity concluded, they left the chapel to return to their own homes; seven of the brethren, however, remained, each too deeply impressed by something extraordinary that had happened to him, to be able to make up his mind so soon to leave the house of prayer. After several minutes of solemn silence, each of the seven marvelling at his neighbour's delay, and unwilling to avow the cause of his own, they seem all instinctively to have turned their eyes upon the oldest amongst them, Buonfigliuolo Monaldi, and to have sought from him the desired explanation. It was not without great hesitation that Monaldi at length responded to this silent appeal, and recounted to his wondering companions a vision which he had had, and which, as it now appeared, had really been common to them all. To each the Blessed Virgin had manifested herself in the midst of a globe of dazzling light, touched him with a ray thereof, and bid him leave the world and retire to a spot which she would direct.

The vision had been vouchsafed to each individually, and

each had received a separate call without any reference to the others who were to be his companions; yet they not unreasonably conjectured that what had been revealed simultaneously to so many was intended to be executed in unison by all; and they lost no time in obeying the heavenly vision. They were all men of rank and of considerable personal distinction, some of them holding official situations in the government; nevertheless, such was their earnestness and zeal, that in the course of three short weeks they managed to divest themselves of every thing that could present an obstacle to the fulfilment of their purpose. Magistracies, wealth, family ties of the closest kind, in a word, every worldly incumbrance that can be conceived most prejudicial (humanly speaking) to a religious vocation, held these men in bondage, when first the Madonna appeared to them on the Feast of her Assumption; yet before the Feast of her Nativity, on the following 8th of September, they had so thoroughly disentangled themselves from every thing, that on that day they were able to go out of Florence, seven poor men altogether destitute of this world's goods. Being laymen, they had provided themselves with the company of a holy priest, one Jacopo da Poggibonzi, who had been their director in the confraternity *de' Laudesi*, and who, when he heard of their proposed plan of life, and had obtained the Bishop's consent, gladly cast in his lot with theirs.

These eight men, leading a life of religious seclusion and of the greatest austerity in a little hamlet not far from the walls of the city, were too striking a sight not to arrest the public attention even in those days of political strife and disturbance. Moreover, their fame was noised abroad still more widely by a miracle which God wrought, not once only, or twice, but three or four times, and in the presence of several hundred persons. As two or three of the holy band went about the city in quest of alms for their support, crowds used to gather together to see them, to see one of the noble family of Falconieri, or Uguccioni, or the others whom they had known as among the wealthiest citizens of the republic, now clad in a mean penitential garb, and going about literally a mendicant. On three or four of these occasions, infants of a few months old, as they lay in their mothers' or their nurses' arms, received the gift of speech, and cried out as they passed, "Behold the Servants of Mary!" One of these children was St. Philip Benizi, who was born on the very day on which the Madonna had called them to this mode of life, and who spoke these words on the 13th of January in the following year, when he was scarcely five months old. At seventeen years of age he became himself one of these "Servants of Mary." Afterwards,

when he was grown up, and had "done the work of an Evangelist," he was called in a special manner "the Apostle of Mary;" he lived to be the general of the new order, and finally was canonised as one of its earliest Saints. The anecdote which we have given is recorded in the lessons appointed for the office of his day; and the general fact is attested by the still more ancient testimony of a Bull of Innocent VIII., bearing date of May 27, 1487, in which, speaking of this order, it is said, that "having been called the Servants of Mary from their very first foundation, by the disposition of God and *as it were divinely out of the mouth of infants*, they have always, out of reverence for this fact, preserved this devout title."

For it must be remembered that when these men retired from the world, it was not with any idea of founding a new order, and therefore they had never dreamt of giving themselves any distinctive appellation; they sought only the salvation of their own souls; and when persons flocked from the city to come and visit them in their cells, their humility and their love of solitude took fright; and in obedience to another vision of the Blessed Virgin, they retired to Monte Senario, a wild uncultivated mountain, distant nine or ten miles from the city, and utterly uninhabited. It was still necessary, therefore, that they should sometimes send into Florence for the means of subsistence; but as the fatigue of the journey to and fro, and of begging alms in the streets, was too great for a single day, and yet they were forbidden by their rule ever to spend the night out of their own cells in the house of any secular friend, they were obliged to provide a second home somewhere nearer to the city. Their old residence of Camarzia lay in another direction, quite out of the way for one who wished to go from Florence to Monte Senario; so they built themselves a little cell on a spot of ground just outside the walls on their own side of the city, called Cafaggio, and this served as a temporary resting-place for their *questuanti* as often as they had occasion to travel so far from home.

At Monte Senario they lived in the strictest retirement for a period of five years, giving themselves up to prayer and meditation, and to the practice of corporal austerities, such as rivalled those of the Egyptian anchorites of old in their extraordinary severity. Indeed it was so extreme, that both the Bishop of Florence, Ardingo de' Trotti, who had always been their warmest friend and most prudent counsellor, and Cardinal Gualfrido Castiglione, who visited them in his capacity of Papal Legate, found it necessary to put a check upon it by the interposition of their authority. During this time, they

had often been earnestly petitioned, both by men of the world and by their ecclesiastical superiors, to allow other persons to attach themselves to the community, that so they might not only save their own souls, but also teach others to do the same; this, however, they always steadily refused, declaring that they were not yet equal to the government of themselves, much less competent to direct others.

At last, on the third Sunday in Lent, A.D. 1239, they were amazed by finding that a vineyard which they had lately planted on their barren mountain had suddenly burst forth into blossom, and was even then bearing a plentiful harvest of ripe grapes, spite of the inclemency of the season (it was only the 27th of February). Confident that this miracle had been wrought, not so much for its own sake, as for the sake of conveying to them some important admonition from above, they sent some of their number to relate the history to the Bishop. He in the mean while had seen something of the same kind himself in a dream, and the "God in heaven that revealeth mysteries" had given him grace to understand the meaning of it. He had seen a vine send forth seven shoots, each shoot bearing seven branches, and all laden with the richest fruit. "The Church," he said, "was often in Holy Scripture compared to a vineyard, and the fruits thereof to the multiplication of the faithful." He did not doubt, then, but that his own dream and the miracle which had happened on the mountain were both intended to convey the same lesson, viz. a clear intimation that these chosen holy men should go forth and labour in His vineyard; that they should no longer be contented with their own perseverance in well-doing, but that they should seek to multiply such good works by inviting others to follow their example, and the success which would attend their labours was typified in the abundance of the grapes which they had both seen.

Unable any longer to withstand the Bishop's importunity, they prepared to admit others into their company, a step which they determined on taking immediately after Easter. But on Good Friday (which in that year chanced to fall on the 25th of March, the Feast of the Annunciation), as they were all assembled together, meditating on the sufferings of our Lord's Mother—for who, in such a coincidence of events to be commemorated on the same day, could fail to think on those words of Simeon, "And thine own soul a sword shall pierce!"—behold, she herself once more vouchsafed to appear to them, accompanied by numbers of the heavenly host, some of whom bore in their hands the various instruments of the Passion, others religious habits of the same colour and fashion

as those which the order still wears, another carried an open book containing the Rule of St. Augustin, and another a tablet with the words *Servants of Mary* written in letters of gold, and ornamented with the palm-branch, the well-known emblem of victory and the type of never-fading glory. Having explained to them the meaning of these symbols, and commended to their special devotion her own mysterious Dolours, she disappeared; and on the following Sunday, after having celebrated the Paschal Mass in his own cathedral, the Bishop, who had again been favoured with the same vision as these holy recluses, came out to Monte Senario, and the new Institute was begun.

Thus we see with what reason writers of this order are in the habit of speaking, as they constantly do, of our Blessed Lady as having been their *foundress*. Neither directly nor indirectly was the Institute the fruit of human wisdom; from first to last the finger of God was distinctly visible in a most remarkable way; first, the Blessed Virgin herself selects her own instruments, and bids them retire from the world; then, "out of the mouth of infants and of sucklings" she gives them their name, and sets them apart in a special manner as her *servants*; lastly, after five years of secret but earnest preparation in the solitude of the mountain, she again appears to give them the rule of life they are to follow, the uniform they are to wear, the banner under which they are to fight; and thus she sends them forth to the battle with every pledge and assurance of victory.

But we must not pursue the interesting story of these seven *beati* any further. In their new character of priests and missionaries they were scattered about in different cities of Germany, France, and Italy, yet eventually they all returned to their own dear Monte Senario, to lay their bodies together in one common grave under the high altar of their church. Our business, however, lies only with the little oratory at Cafaggio, without the walls of Florence, which it was soon found necessary to rebuild and enlarge. The foundation-stone of the new fabric was laid by B. Buonfigliuolo on the 8th of September, 1250; and as, after all, it was but a humble chapel, the work was soon completed, so that in 1252, a Florentine, by name Bartolomeo, was commissioned to paint a fresco upon the wall representing the mystery of the Annunciation. Bartolomeo was one of those artists who trusted less to their skill and knowledge of the art than to their devotion in works of this kind; he looked upon the painting of any religious subject, especially in a church, as a directly religious act, and prepared for it by prayer and meditation, as he would have done for any other great and

good work. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that, in the present instance, an artist such as this should have felt more than usually anxious; for he was called upon to represent the Blessed Virgin in the most mysterious scene and moment of her life, and in a church belonging to men who had enjoyed the privilege of looking upon her countenance, and whom she had specially called to herself, and set apart as her servants.

Bartolomeo had already spent a considerable time in the execution of his task; indeed, a casual visitor might have said that it was almost completed, for nothing was wanting save the faces of the Blessed Virgin and of the Angel. These he had again and again attempted, but always in vain; he was never able to satisfy himself that his pencil would portray with faithfulness the vision which was present to his imagination, nor even that that vision was in any way worthy of its subject. At length the Feast of the Annunciation was at hand and it was impossible to delay any longer. He returned to the church with the desperate resolution of finishing it, took his pencil in hand, but again laid it down, and gave himself up to meditation. In this state he was overtaken by sleep, and when he awoke, after the lapse of a few minutes, the work was done. *Miracolo! miracolo!* was the almost involuntary exclamation of the painter and of the few others who were in the church with him, and who ran together to see what had happened and the fame of this new miracle granted to the Servants of Mary soon drew hundreds of persons to visit the favoured spot. On the day of the festival, the Bishop himself, accompanied by his clergy and the civil magistrates of the city, came in solemn procession to venerate the new picture; and from that day to this the church of the *Santissima Annunziata* has held a very high place amongst the famous Sanctuaries of the Madonna. It was rebuilt again immediately afterwards (that is to say, within ten years), on a much larger scale, by a brother of one of the seven, the father of St. Juliana Falconieri; and when, twenty years later still, the enlargement of the boundaries of the city brought it within the circuit of the walls, was of sufficient importance to induce the magistrates of the republic to order a little gate to be made near it in the new walls, expressly for the convenience of the numerous pilgrims who came to visit this shrine.

Of the public devotion, both in times past and present towards this picture—which, amid all alterations and additions to the church, has ever remained untouched—it is scarce possible to convey an adequate idea. As long ago as the very first year of the fifteenth century, it was found necessary

pass a law, prohibiting any one to put up an *ex voto* offering who was not both a citizen of the republic and "*abile alle arti maggiori*;" that is, foreigners and others might bring money, oil, candles, or gifts of that kind, but it was to be an exclusive privilege of the Florentines, and amongst *them* too only of such as were good artists themselves, or could afford to employ those that were, to hang up those material offerings of statues, pictures, &c., which, about most other famous pictures or statues of the Madonna, bear so eloquent a testimony to the faith of the people, but are far from contributing to the beauty and ornament of the sanctuary. How far it was possible to enforce obedience to this decree (which, it must be confessed, savours more of a devotion to the fine arts than of devotion to the Madonna), I do not know; any how, the fact that it was ever made is a very striking proof of the estimation in which this sanctuary was held, not only by the inhabitants of Florence, but by others also, whose offerings it was thus intended to exclude. Moreover, we know that in spite of it, both a considerable portion of the church itself, and also the whole of the large cloister in front of it, was at one time full of memorials of this kind; and that as recently as the year 1785 a large number of small statues and similar votive offerings in silver were converted into lamps and other sacred vessels for the use of the chapel. Upwards of forty silver lamps, some of them of considerable size and richly gilt, hang before the altar; the altar itself is likewise of silver; and the walls of the ancient Oratory are incrustured to the height of four or five feet with symbols of the Blessed Virgin, the *Rosa Mystica*, the *Stella Maris*, and others, beautifully wrought in *pietra dura* in the style peculiar to this city. This extreme richness of the material fabric of the chapel and of its abundant ornaments sufficiently attests the devotion of the ancient Florentines towards this *Santa Maria Madre di grazie*, as they used to call her; and the number of the faithful who are always to be seen kneeling and praying before it assures us that, in our own times, this devotion, so far from being exhausted, is as strong and fervent as it ever was; neither, indeed, does the present generation fall far behind its predecessors in the number or the costliness of their gifts. Two of the magnificent silver candlesticks which adorn the altar were presented by a Florentine noble in 1810; one of the largest and most splendid of the lamps was given by the King of Naples, and another by a Florentine marquis, both within the present century; and a third, scarcely inferior to either, has been presented during this very year by the people of Florence, in acknowledgment of their speedy deliverance from the horrors of anarchy and

rebellion, by which they were threatened; not to mention what perhaps is the most striking and touching feature of the whole, the more humble but more frequent offerings of the poorer classes. Sunday after Sunday, at certain seasons of the year, long processions of religious confraternities of men and women may be seen wending their way through the narrow streets and over the picturesque bridges of that fair city, all guiding their steps towards the same sanctuary of the Santissima Annunziata. Some are come perhaps from a neighbouring village, others only from a distant quarter of the city; and as they move along with lighted candles in their hands, and bearing aloft the crucifix and the banner of their association, you may hear them chant numerous psalms or hymns to the praise and glory of God, and of her "whom the King hath had a mind to honour." In the rear of each procession follows a heavily-laden donkey, bringing the wax, or the oil, or whatever else they may have been able to afford as an offering to their beloved Madonna. And it must be remembered that this is only a specimen on a larger scale of what is continually going on in private,—a collective manifestation of what is felt by every Florentine in particular towards this most interesting and remarkable sanctuary. "The intense feelings of the Florentines with reference to this picture," writes a stranger who was visiting the city in 1836, "cannot be conceived by one who only hears of it; it can scarcely even be credited by those who witness it;" and certainly my own observations, as far as a short visit of six or seven weeks enabled me to make any all tended to confirm the accuracy of this remark.

PRATO.—1. *Madonna della Sacra Cintola.*

The interest of the next sanctuary which we propose to visit does not depend upon any particular statue or picture so much as upon a relic which has been preserved there during the last seven centuries, and which still continues to attract considerable number of pious visitors every year; I mean, the Cathedral Church of Prato, a city situated between Florence and Pistoia, that may now be reached in little more than half an hour by a railroad from the former place. The relic is the *Cingolo* or *Cintola*, that is, the girdle, of our Blessed Lady, which, according to popular tradition, was given to St. Thomas the Apostle on occasion of her assumption into heaven. I say "according to popular tradition," because it is necessary to inform our readers at once that the original history of the famous relic does not pretend to rest upon any more certain foundation. All the Apostles, with the single exception of St. Thomas, had been brought together to Jerusalem to be pr

sent at the death of the Mother of their Lord, to witness the peaceful transit of her pure soul from this world to the next; they had also laid her body in the tomb, and they supposed it to be still lying there, when St. Thomas arrived and told them that he had seen her in the act of being taken up into heaven, that he had prayed her to leave him some parting gift, as a means of assuring himself, and enabling him to assure others, of the reality of the vision, and that she had vouchsafed, in answer to his petition, to take off her girdle and cause it to drop at his feet. Persons who are familiar with the picture-galleries of Italy will remember that this tradition has not unfrequently employed the pencils of some of the first masters; and travellers in the Holy Land tell us that a spot is still pointed out between Mount Olivet and the Valley of Josaphat as the actual scene of the vision; and moreover that certain indulgences are to be gained by those who visit it with devotion.*

Nevertheless, it is, as we have said, a mere popular tradition, for which no really ancient authority can be adduced; and both St. Antoninus of Florence and Baronius reject it as altogether apocryphal.† It must not be supposed, however, that the rejection of the tradition implies also a denial of the genuineness of the relic; on the contrary, St. Antoninus himself expressly says, that “it may piously be believed (*satis pie credi potest*) that the girdle really does exist on earth, and that it is that which is said to be at Prato, and is there shewn to the people;” and it must be remembered, that in more than one Papal Bull it is designated as such, and the religious reverence shewn to it as such expressly sanctioned and encouraged.

The earliest authentic account, then, of the relic seems to be this, that it was brought to Prato early in the twelfth century by a native of that city returning from the East; that he kept it in his own possession as a most precious treasure as long as he lived, and only on his deathbed, somewhere in the latter half of the twelfth century, consigned it to the superior of the collegiate church of St. Stephen, opposite to which he lived. This priest, it is said, laughed at the story which the dying man related to him, and was only brought to set any value at all upon the relic by certain divine judgments which seemed to follow on his contemptuous treatment of it. And even then, he was only induced to give it a place among the other relics of his church; he did not regard it with any special reverence, nor even think it worthy of being exposed

* Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme, del Cav. G. Zuallardo. Roma, 1587, p. 151. Viaggio al S. Sepolcro del R. P. F. Noe. Bassano, 1728, p. 76.

† St. Anton. Hist. part i. tit. 6, cap. 10, § 1. Baron. ad Ann. 48.

to the people, until an accidental circumstance (if we may so speak) revealed to him its true character and inestimable value. It was on the feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, A.D. 1174, that a poor woman, possessed by an evil spirit, was brought to St. Stephen's to receive the exorcisms of the Church. All the usual relics were applied, but to no purpose, when one of the priests bethought himself of having recourse to this one, which was unknown to most, and but doubtfully received by any. Immediately on its approach, the devil acknowledged its power and his own defeat; and having first, in answer to the inquiries of the exorcising priest, been constrained to declare what the relic really was, he cruelly rent the body of his victim, and then visibly went out of her.

So striking a miracle as this—and it was followed by many others of a similar character—could not fail to have great influence in creating and increasing public devotion towards the instrument by which it had been wrought; just as, in the sixteenth century, the fame of our Lady of Altenotting in Bavaria greatly spread after that terrible, because so protracted, exorcism wrought there by the celebrated Father Canisius upon a member of one of the noble families of Augsburg, who had been possessed for more than eight years. The next public miracle attributed to this relic, of which any records have come down to us, was the deliverance of the city from the besieging army of Pistoia, who were instantly put to rout by it, much in the same way as in the well-known instance of the Saracen army at Assisi, after the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament by St. Clare. This was fifteen years after the exorcism which has been mentioned, that is, it was in the year 1189; and before the close of the next century, we find that the relic had become of sufficient importance to render it necessary for the civil as well as the ecclesiastical magistracy of the place to make certain laws regulating the time and manner of its exposition. From the language of one of these decrees, dated the 10th of May, 1297 and still preserved in the archives of the chancery of Prato we see clearly how strong was the popular devotion towards it, how great the anxiety to come near it, to obtain a close view of it, and to be allowed the privilege of touching it with medals or other sacred objects. The most minute directions are given upon these subjects; and it is ordered that it shall never be exposed, excepting in the presence both of the chief magistrates and of the highest clerical dignitaries.

This rule has been constantly observed ever since; the relic has always been quite as much in the hands of the

judges and other civil officers of Prato, as of the canons of St. Stephen's; at least, its exposition has been quite under their control; at one time two, and at another three, of the four keys which are necessary to unlock the chest in which it was preserved, were in their custody, and the fourth only entrusted to the chapter of the cathedral; frequent quarrels, sometimes ending even in acts of violence on the part of the laity, arose between these joint guardians of the treasure as to the best mode of disposing of the numerous offerings which were made to it; and these quarrels were subject to the arbitration of the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals; in a word, the records of the city of Prato during the latter half of the thirteenth century contain abundant evidence of the intense devotion as well of its own citizens as of the Tuscans generally, towards this interesting relic. Early in the fourteenth century, on the 27th of July, A.D. 1312, an attempt was made by a man employed in some servile work about the church, to carry it off, with the intention, as he himself confessed, of transferring it to Florence, where he hoped to receive a handsome reward for his theft. He was detected, however, in the very act; and the extreme severity, as well as rapidity, with which he was punished—on the very day on which the theft was discovered, he was burnt alive, after having had both his hands cut off, and being dragged through the streets at the heels of an ass,—this sufficiently attests the popular indignation against him, and, by consequence, the high estimation in which the object of his sacrilegious attempt was generally held. Two days afterwards a decree was made for the enlargement of the church, and the erection of a chapel specially destined for the reception and safer custody of the precious relic. Considerable delays, arising from various causes, interfered with the execution of this work; and, in fact, it was only executed, like so many other noble works in days of old, slowly, and by degrees; in the end, however, no pains were spared to render the work worthy of its object. Giovanni di Pisa was the architect; Gaddi painted the walls of the chapel of the Cintola; and the marble pulpit on the outside of the church, from whence the relic was to be exposed to the assembled multitudes beneath, was from the chisel of the famous Donatello, and is reckoned among the finest specimens of his skill; thus furnishing another instance of what is so common in the history of the middle ages, devotion to the Blessed Mother of God proving the most efficient patron of the fine arts, and indirectly giving birth to some of their noblest and most beautiful fruits. It is stated that, at the final translation of the relic, in the year 1395, to the chapel where it now

is, there were present upwards of 30,000 persons; and indeed, in those days, on each annual recurrence of the festival of the Nativity of our Lady, the concourse of people to this sanctuary was so extraordinary, that it was found necessary to expose the relic three times instead of once only,—morning, noon, and evening, that so the crowd might be divided and diminished, for it had become such as to cause serious apprehension of mischief.

It seems not to have been an unusual thing for the government to give a general release of prisoners on this day, by way of doing honour to the relic, just as the first Christian emperors were wont to distinguish the great festival of Easter by a similar act of clemency. On the vigil, each of the eight-and-forty villages which constitute the *commune* or *hundred* of Prato used to bring an offering of a large wax-candle; so did the magistrates of the city on the feast itself, and an offering of money besides; so also did the several guilds or confraternities of scribes, merchants, bankers, clothiers, chemists, smiths, shoemakers, butchers, cheesemongers, sellers of wine, tailors, bakers, pastry-cooks, barbers, and carpenters. At present, the relic is exposed not only on this day, but also on Easter-day and at Christmas, and on the first day of the month of May, as also on all occasions of great public trial and distress, such as a time of pestilence or rebellion, or occasions of public thanksgiving, such as the recent restoration of the Pope; and the number of persons who come together to see it is immense; indeed, one may at all times find persons kneeling before the altar where it is enshrined, then kissing it, and leaving their humble offerings upon it. I was assured by one of the canons that the description which was given of it by a Tuscan writer two hundred years ago might literally be repeated at the present day, that it is "*religione populorum celebre, miraculorum gloriâ illustre, gratiarum imbre opulentum.*" It still retains its ancient hold upon the love and devotion of the people, because of the numberless instances in which prayers offered there to God, through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, have seemed to receive remarkable answers; in particular, it is the favourite resort of persons who are anxious to give up the world, and who come here to beg of God the gift of continence and perpetual chastity. There is not a Tuscan maiden within many miles of the city of Prato who desires to enter upon the novitiate of some religious house that does not first make a pilgrimage to *Sta. Maria della Cintola*, there to ask for the grace and strength which she needs. There is also an extensive confraternity of persons living in the world which is derived entirely from this sanctuary, and

whose members, I believe, wear a cincture made something after the fashion of the original relic. That relic was in former times unfolded, and exhibited without any reliquary at all, at every solemn exposition; but in the year 1638 it was enclosed in a glass case richly ornamented with silver and precious stones, and it has never since been taken out of it. The Augustinian nuns, however, of San Matteo in Prato are in the habit of making girdles according to this pattern, or as nearly so as they are able; and these, after having been blessed, and having touched the original *cintola*, are themselves distributed to the faithful as valuable memorials or relics. Judging, then, from one of these, we may describe the *cintola* as consisting of a band about an inch and a quarter wide, and two feet and a quarter long, with two very narrow ribbons attached to either end, apparently for the purpose of fastening it round the waist. These ribbons are terminated by small tassels; and the whole seems to be woven of green and other silks, with a very slight intermixture of gold thread.

It only remains that we should mention a marble statue of our Lady and of her Divine Son which stands over the altar in the chapel of the *cintola*; it has stood there certainly for more than 350 years, and stories of miracles and special graces are connected with it. It has considerable pretensions as a mere work of art, and the clergy have often wished, therefore, to remove the dress and ornaments with which it has been loaded; but the people, not having as much good taste in matters of art as they have devotion in matters of religion, strenuously resisted the attempt, and the idea has been necessarily abandoned. A few days before my first visit to Prato, the image had been removed by order of the canons, at an hour when there was seldom any body in the church, into the sacristy, for the sake of enabling some artist to take a copy of it, if I remember rightly; anyhow, it had been removed into the sacristy for some purpose or other; but it chanced that a poor person *did* come in; and he, missing the image which his eyes were wont to rest upon, concluded it had been stolen. Without stopping to make any inquiries into the matter, he straightway went out and spread this alarming report; the result was the speedy collection of such an angry and excited crowd, as threatened to lead to quite a serious *émeute*, had not the Madonna been luckily near at hand, so that she could be immediately restored to her place.

2. Madonna delle Carceri.

We must not take leave of this city without visiting ano-

ther of Our Lady's sanctuaries, which enjoys almost an equal local celebrity, and whose history is peculiarly interesting to us all just at this time, from its similarity in origin to that of Our Lady at Rimini, whose fame has begun in our own days, I had almost said, before our own eyes.

In the year 1240, the civil authorities of Prato purchased a house near the castle or fortress of the city, to be a place of residence for the chief magistrate, and at the same time a place of confinement for a certain class of prisoners. Before the end of a hundred years, a more commodious prison had been obtained for political and other offenders, and this house was appropriated to the confinement of debtors only. In the year 1350 these too were removed elsewhere, and henceforward the house was neglected, and allowed to fall into decay and ruin. During the period of its use, however, as a prison, whether for debtors or for public criminals, a picture had been painted upon its walls, representing our Blessed Lady with a flower in one hand, and our Lord sitting on the other, who with his right hand was blessing the world as God, while with his left he was playing with a bird as a little child. On one side of these figures stood St. Stephen, as the principal protector of the city of Prato, and on the other St. Leonard, as the patron Saint of all incarcerated persons, for which reason he holds two fetters in his hands. The same picture was repeated both on the outside and inside of the wall; and underneath it was this inscription, "In the name of God. The rules of this prison are, that whoever is confined herein shall pay one *soldo* towards the lamp; and if any refuse to do so, he will not be allowed to have a share in the public alms." This was the inscription under the painting on the inner wall, for the benefit of the prisoners themselves; and on the outer wall doubtless there was an appeal to the commiseration of passers-by, and a box to receive their charitable contributions, according to the practice which still prevails in many of the prisons of Catholic countries.

The lamp, however, had long since ceased to burn, and nobody ever thought or was even conscious of the existence of this representation of the Infant Jesus and his holy Mother. The whole place was covered with briars and thorns and rank weeds; and as it lay out of the way of any great thoroughfare, few persons ever passed by and saw it. In the morning of the 6th of July, 1484, a little boy of eight or nine years old (one of the family of Feo Belcari, a name well known in the annals of Tuscan literature,) was on his way to school, when a butterfly, or grasshopper, or some other insect, happening to cross his path, he attempted to catch it, and was

gradually led on by the chase till he found himself at this place. Here, having lost sight of the object of his pursuit, his eye was attracted by a brilliant light shining from a part of the wall, and he soon distinguished there the picture I have been describing. Riveted to the spot by the strangeness of the sight, he stood still to gaze at it; and soon the Blessed Virgin seemed to detach herself from the wall, to come down, and to leave the Child Jesus on the ground playing with the bird, which also seemed to be alive, whilst she herself disappeared to the interior of the prison, and filled it with a brilliant light, such as far transcended the brilliancy even of an Italian summer noon. Presently she came back, took the Child again into her arms, and returned to her former place, where her eyes and mouth appeared to open and close, tears to fall from her eyelids, and the whole colour and expression of her face frequently to change. After some hours, the boy ran home and told this strange tale to his mother; but she, believing him to be only inventing false excuses for a guilty absence from school, gave him his dinner, and sent him back again. Of course, he returned to the same spot, where he still saw the same appearances. Once more he went home to call his mother; but she refused to come, gave him a good scolding, and desired him to go to school. It was not to be expected that he should really obey this order; and again, therefore, we find him on the same spot, watching until a late hour in the evening all those remarkable changes in the countenance of the Madonna which still continued. At length a priest passed by, and seeing the boy alone in that solitary place at so late an hour, suspected him of some mischievous purpose. He called him, therefore, to rebuke him; but when he had heard his story, he turned back to look and examine for himself. He was immediately satisfied of the truth of the boy's statement; and being, as it happened, a priest of considerable dignity — Father John Celmi, at that time the Bishop's vicar-general, — people soon flocked together to witness what they had heard reported on such credible authority. Crowds of persons came even on that very night, and saw the supernatural brilliance, the opening and shutting of the eyes, the dropping of the tears, and the changing hues of the countenance. The accumulated rubbish of 130 years was soon cleared away, lamps and other offerings were suspended to the wall, and the whole place began to assume the appearance of a house of God. Every day, from the 6th of July till the 10th of August, these miraculous appearances were continued, and thousands of people, many of whom came from very distant parts, were eye-witnesses of the fact, just as has hap-

pened recently also in the case of Rimini. On the 10th of August they ceased; but were renewed again in October, and on the Feast of St. Leonard in November; and again in the months of February, March, and April of the following year; and lastly, on the 6th of July, the first anniversary.

The subsequent history of the Sanctuary is like that of most others,—offerings were made for the erection of a church; a three days' fast, with sermons on the first and third day, was ordered before the laying of the foundation-stone. It was begun with great pomp and ceremony on the 18th of October, 1485; all the clergy and religious confraternities, as well as the magistrates, took part in it; and there was a procession of 2000 women and of 1200 girls, varying in age from five years to twenty, all clothed in white, and bearing garlands of olive on their heads. The work was completed in the year 1491; and the original painting on the wall was left untouched, where it still remains, the same object of public reverence and devotion as it has been during the whole of the last three centuries and a half. Persons who had received special graces before this picture used to walk to St. Stephen's with garlands of flowers on their heads, to offer their vows of thanksgiving at the altar of *Santa Maria della Cintola*; and children who were baptised in St. Stephen's were brought to the *Madonna delle Carceri* (of the prisons—the name of this new church) to have the sign of the cross made over them with one of those pieces of silk that had been used to wipe off the tears in the first miraculous manifestation of this picture in 1484. In a word, these two Sanctuaries have uniformly divided, or rather multiplied, the devotion of the people of Prato and its neighbourhood towards the Queen of Heaven. We have already seen how ardent is still the popular devotion to *Santa Maria della Cintola*; and as a proof that neither is the devotion to the *Madonna delle Carceri* yet extinct, we need only mention that within the last fifteen years it has received the offering of the golden crown, annually awarded by the Chapter of the Vatican.

N.

EXTEMPORE PREACHING.

OUR attention has been kindly called to a paragraph in the *Rambler* for September last, which has been thought likely (in one or more quarters) to foster a notion that a Catholic

priest, as such, has no need to prepare the sermons he preaches. The paragraph in question runs as follows: "The preaching of the various sects of Protestants is perhaps the most striking which can be selected; and in no other instance is the *safety* which the study of scholastic theology confers on the Catholic priesthood more manifest than in the difference between Catholic and Protestant sermons. A Catholic priest can *trust himself* to preach without writing his sermon beforehand, and if necessity calls, with scarcely a few minutes' forethought. If he is only duly prepared for his work by a sound education, and has stored his mind, and strengthened what we may call his theological faculties by the diligent study of the great writers of the Church, he will no more talk nonsense, or heresy, or weary his readers with dull repetitions, or hesitate for matter on which to speak, than a sensible and educated man of the world will talk like a child, a lunatic, or a country clown, on matters of secular interest."

On reflection, we cannot but think that the words we thus used are really correct. Still, we are anxious to take the earliest opportunity of repeating the qualifications which we made at the time to our general statement. It will be observed, that the utmost we said was, that a Catholic priest might safely preach "with scarcely a few minutes' forethought, *if necessity called*;" that is, of course, the necessity of *duty*. It never could be expected that a necessity which was the consequence of indolence, of carelessness in making the most of time of leisure hours, or of a general mismanagement of the intellectual or moral faculties, would be followed by an extempore sermon such as *all* sermons ought to be. It is only when the imperative demands of the sacerdotal office *compel* a clergyman to speak with scarcely any preparation, that he can calculate upon such a Divine blessing in the utterance of a sermon as may be reasonably looked for when he has neglected no means of preparation which really lay within his reach.

Still more, we introduced this further qualification, that to enable a man never to "talk nonsense, or heresy, or weary his readers with dull repetitions, or hesitate for matter on which to speak," it is necessary that he should be "duly prepared for his work by a sound education," and should have "*stored his mind, and strengthened what we may call his theological faculties by the diligent study of the great writers of the Church.*" Without such *thorough* study—for it will be noted that it is no superficial training which we presuppose in the preacher—it is obvious that nothing less than a miracle will generally enable a priest to preach tolerably well at a few

minutes' notice, whenever called upon. Such miraculous aid he has clearly no right to look for, even if the necessity of unprepared preaching be the result of the strictest performance of his other duties.

Again, after all, we did not imply that, even under these special conditions, the average class of minds who are called to the sacred office could hope to preach what are often called *good* sermons, *i.e.* not merely orthodox, sensible, intelligible, and devout, but striking, and more than ordinarily excellent as compositions. It is very possible to avoid "nonsense," "heresy," and "dull repetitions," and never to "hesitate for matter on which to speak," and yet to preach a very dull discourse. The case appears to be exactly parallel to what is daily seen in secular matters. Of a thoroughly educated man we cannot, indeed, say precisely the same as was said of Swift, of whom a great critic declared, that "he could write finely, even on such a subject as a broomstick." Yet, cultivate properly the general faculties of any person of average abilities, and store his mind with a sufficiency of knowledge of the subject on which he has to speak, and you will find that at any time—provided he is reasonably self-possessed—he will express himself without discredit, that he will have something sensible to say, and that however defective he may be in eloquence or fluency of words, he will be supplied with matter for his discourse. Yet perhaps he will be far enough from speaking *well* in the eyes of the critical, though the majority of his hearers may be both pleased and instructed by what he says.

Considering, then, how boundless is the field of subject which lies before a Catholic preacher from which to supply himself with matter, even at a moment's notice, and how extensive and deep has been the study which we have presupposed him to have gone through; recollecting, further, that preaching is a *frequent* work with him, so that he must necessarily have attained a tolerable degree of self-possession and fluency; and lastly, implying—as we necessarily implied—that his whole soul is absorbed in his work, and that he is conscious that he is uttering the word of God to his people, and not—after the Protestant fashion—letting off a discourse consisting of his own views; we cannot but think that *under the circumstances* such a result as we have supposed may be fairly looked for. At the same time, we trust that what we have stated will not be taken to imply more than it strictly means; and we venture to hope that any who may have taken exception at our first statement will concur in it as now more fully expanded.

Reviews.

THE POPE.

The See of St. Peter, the Rock of the Church, the Source of Jurisdiction, and the Centre of Unity. By Thomas William Allies, M.A., author of "The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism." Burns and Lambert.

The Pope: considered in his Relations with the Church, Temporal Sovereignities, Separated Churches, and the Cause of Civilisation. By Count Joseph de Maistre. Translated by the Rev. Æneas M'D. Dawson. Dolman.

It will sound like a paradox in many ears, but yet we venture to express our conviction that there is something peculiarly suited to the English mind in the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy. We do not say, indeed, that it will be acceptable to Englishmen in every detail of their character. It will not please their haughtiness; it will not please their selfishness; but it will please their practical common sense. Make an Englishman a thoroughly religious man, and convince him that Almighty God has actually given a revelation of supernatural truths, a belief in which is necessary to salvation, and his common sense will turn to the Pope as the needle to the pole.

For if there is any one quality by which the genuine Englishman is distinguished from men of other countries, it is his passion for what seems practical. He argues on all subjects by a method unlike that of other races. The logic, the historical inquiries, the poetry, the romance, the devout aspirations, the metaphysical speculations, which, in various combinations, exert so powerful an influence on the continental mind, for the most part go for little or nothing with our island countrymen. They ask one question when any theory is proposed to them. "How does it answer?" is all they have to say. If it answers, they adopt it; if it does not answer, reasons why it *should* answer, and *will* answer, they account a profitless theorising. Hence that singular phenomenon which the English nation presents to the eyes of foreigners. Hence that union of independence and obedience to the laws which constitutes our national safeguard against the prevailing revolutionism of the age. Hence the belief in Acts of Parliament as something all but divine. Hence the discipline in our army and navy, a discipline to which spirits the wildest and most rebellious in politics and religion, submit with willingness, as

to a necessity for the achievement of victory. Hence the "satisfaction" with which the "public" has received the Privy Council's decree against the Bishop of Exeter. And hence the innumerable examples which our private and public life presents, in which we forget the past, ignore the future, and live only in the present. What *was*, is a piece of antiquarianism; what *is to be*, is a speculation; what *is*, is the only question of practical moment. And therefore, for three hundred years the most independent people in Europe have abjectly acquiesced in the Royal Supremacy; and for the same reason, if Almighty God grants them grace to learn their own sins, and to believe that Jesus Christ has revealed his will to man, they will flee to the Pope as their spiritual guide and sovereign.

That Englishmen in general are troubled with any very grievous historical or theological difficulties respecting the Papal Supremacy, we do not believe. Their difficulties are chiefly those of absolute ignorance. It is not that they understand the Catholic doctrine respecting the Pope, and yet reject it. In their hearts, the enormous majority of the English nation no more *believe* the Pope to be Antichrist, than they believe him to be Emperor of China. They are tormented with two or three historico-theological bugbears, which warp their faculties whenever they think (to use a complimentary word) on the matter; but the prevailing Anglican, Evangelical, and Dissenting cant about Antichrist, and the "pure word of God," and the Church "before the division of east and west," has no hold whatsoever either upon the heart or the intellects of the great bulk of the people. They know that certain Protestants were once burnt in Smithfield by Queen Mary and Bishops Gardiner and Bonner. They fancy that if a man acknowledges the Pope, he thereby becomes a slave, who may be forced some day to believe that two and two make five, and that the earth is square. They have a sort of dreamy horror of monks and Jesuits, and think of convents as their very antipodes of their own "domestic temple," that is, their comfortable firesides. But as to sharing the theological horrors of their own clergy, or really hating the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy *as such*, we no more believe that the English nation, as a body, does this, than we believe that it hates monarchy or the articles of war.

In fact, English people generally do not believe in any thing sufficiently to hate any thing else. With all the vast amount of benevolence, good feeling, respectability, and (so to call it) religiousness, which prevails, there perhaps never was a period in our history when the national mind really had so little *faith* in any doctrines as being the Word of God. The

land echoes, indeed, till we are deafened, with the watchwords of various parties. Texts fly about in church and in chapel, in drawing-room and on platform, in book and in periodical. Sentiments about religion were never more universal since the Reformation than in this very year. Yet after all, those who are even slightly interested about religion are the minority; and of these a singularly small fraction can be said to believe in any thing except the powers of Parliament, the laws of physical science, the omnipotence of money, and the indefeasible rights of all Englishmen of respectability to freedom,—personal, moral, intellectual, and political. And thus it is that the bulk of the more educated commercial classes hate the Pope negatively rather than positively. They do not reject his supremacy on any directly religious grounds whatever. They abhor the notion of being themselves fettered, impoverished, and dictated to; and being possessed with a vague suspicion that all these evils would follow from an admission of the Papal claims, so far they denounce the Pope and all his supporters. On the other hand, let them be at length awakened to a sense of the inexpressibly awful deadliness of sin, and of the worth of their own souls; and at the same time let them learn what are the facts relating to the Papal supremacy, and become convinced that Almighty God has given a revelation and set up a visible Church, and instantly their natural tendency will be to accept the Papal claims *as a practical and immediate solution of all their difficulties*.

Let us follow, however, the course of such a mind a little in detail, and trace its steps as it arrives at a recognition of the Pope's authority. Let us suppose the case of an ordinary English gentleman or tradesman, of shrewd independent faculties, who has hitherto contentedly acquiesced in the popular platitudes of the day, himself persuaded that, after all, it matters little what is a man's creed, provided his life be practically right. Impelled by some outward influence, by some book, or sermon, or casual remark, or sudden illness, or frightful calamity, a conviction at length grows upon his mind that the unseen world is a reality, and that his own future condition after death is a subject demanding immediate serious consideration. Silently, but surely, the feelings strengthen; he views Almighty God no longer as an abstraction, but as an actual ever-present Being. At the same time, a sense of his personal accountability to God springs up within him. He exchanges his notions about conformity to a moral law, for a belief that *obedience* is due to a Divine Judge and Master.

Immediately, his old theories respecting the Christian religion take a new shape, and appear for the first time to be

things of any real moment. "Is it," he asks himself, "an historical fact that the events narrated in the Bible really occurred? Is this Christianity in which I am living neither more nor less than the result of a positive revelation from the God to whom I am accountable, but whom I cannot see?" And thus, for the first time, the idea of religious *doctrines*, as such, strikes with vivid force upon his intelligence. Judging by the rules of historical evidence, he feels convinced that Jesus Christ did indeed once live on earth, and that most undeniably He taught *something* to his followers as a revelation from God. What that might be which He taught is a further question. That He taught *something* can be denied by no man who is not prepared to disbelieve the evidence of his senses, and to deny that Mahomet, Luther, or Julius Cæsar ever existed. This he *cannot* doubt.

Then, it may be, a frightful suspicion crosses his mind: "If Mahometanism is false, why not also Christianity? Of the whole human race, only about one-third believes in the *truth* of Christianity. Was Jesus Christ, then, authorised by the invisible Creator of mankind to declare his will to his creatures?" As we are not now establishing the truth of Christianity, we have no need to shew how our inquirer convinces himself that our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ is really to be obeyed as a teacher sent from God. We only suppose that such is his conclusion, and that he proceeds to attempt to realise the consequences of this tremendous truth. "If God *has* spoken," he continues, "*what* has He said?" Immediately his mind is opened to a certainty, that the bewildering theological conflicts of the day are not a mere strife of words. Often, perhaps, as he seeks a clue from out the tangled labyrinth, he is *tempted* to persuade himself that they *are* nothing more than a senseless logomachy; and that to ensure a happy eternity, it is sufficient to pay a general reverence to Jesus Christ as a mysterious and divine Being. But no such conclusion really satisfies him. To suppose that an edifice like Christianity, of eighteen hundred years' duration, and embracing unnumbered millions of souls, is literally based upon *nothing*, is too palpable an absurdity to be tolerated by any man with open eyes and a determinedly earnest heart.

Where, then, is the source whence a knowledge of what Jesus Christ taught is to be attained? Our inquirer, being an Englishman, conceives that the sure way to try the various professing modes for learning religious truth is actually to put them to the test. A theory that will not hold water for a moment is clearly worthless. He therefore proceeds to examine what are the results of the application of the theological

nostrums whose praises he hears on every side. Naturally enough, he turns first to the Bible. Here, at least, is a record which all but an insignificant minority of Anglo-German religionists agree in accounting to be true. This book which he holds in his hands, though nearly eighteen hundred years old, is absolutely the Word of God. Thus far he proceeds on the concurrent testimony of those who are called Christians. As all are unanimous on this point, and as he is proceeding by the road of common sense, gradually informing itself as to facts, he conceives himself justified in accepting "the Bible" as a record, if not as the only record, of the teaching of the Founder of Christianity.

Instantly, however, difficulties beset him. *Two Bibles* are before him: which of the two is *the* Bible, written by inspiration of God? As to the innumerable varieties in the Greek and Hebrew text, and in the various ancient and modern versions, these he does not think it necessary to inquire into. In the present state of his information, he has not advanced far enough to appreciate their discrepancies; and he sees that, if they differ in many things, they agree in many more. Nor does he imagine that he is bound, at least at present, to identify himself, as an inquirer, with other inquirers who cannot read, and to whom, therefore, the study of the Bible is practically impossible. He is asking what is right in his own case, and in his own case alone; and these refinements of polemics (as they seem) he sets aside. But one difficulty he cannot set aside: Which is the Bible sanctioned by Almighty God, the Catholic Bible or the Protestant Bible? The former contains many more books than the latter: are the Protestants justified in rejecting the claims of the deuterocanonical writings? Here is a preliminary inquiry, on which he must pause awhile. He buys various works on the "Apocrypha," Catholic and Protestant, and is speedily plunged into the depths of the controversy. Every step he takes compels him to take a further step. Fresh subjects open up at every turn. Before he has half completed the reading of what is already before him, he perceives that to study the question thoroughly, that is, honestly, will occupy half his life, supposing he lives to be an old man; and what if he dies in the course of a year or two! The extent of historical reading which is required for the verification of the statements he finds made on both sides, is impossible for an ordinary person. There must be some other broad path open before him, in which he will find his difficulties diminish, and not increase, the farther he proceeds.

However, he is content to wave the difference between

the Protestant and the Catholic Bible, and proceeds to the investigation of the writings which are common to both. A few hours throw him into difficulties to which the question of the "Apocrypha" is a trifle. Is the Bible *all* inspired in the same sense of the term? Is every word of it literally and eternally true? If so, is it necessary to believe that the sun goes round the earth, and that the creation of the universe was completed in six times four-and-twenty hours, not to mention a long catalogue of historical and critical difficulties? Still further, bewildered as he is by the use of a phraseology which, however common in sermons and religious books, is nevertheless full of expressions to which the visible world (the only world which, as yet, he knows) presents no correlatives, he nevertheless meets with many statements sufficiently intelligible to add to his general confusion. He finds certain writings referred to which are no longer in existence, unrecorded works of the Divine Author of Christianity alluded to as innumerable in number; and in one place one of the chief writers drawing a distinction between what he speaks himself and what the Lord speaks. All this forces upon him the entire subject of the inspiration of the Scriptures. Granting that the Gospel narratives are true, as narratives, and consequently that they correctly record the words as well as the actions of Jesus Christ, how does the general acquiescence of all Christians in the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament prove the inspiration of all its writers? What is meant when it is said that St. Paul and St. John were inspired? How do we know they were inspired, in any sense? The unanimous consent of Christians to the circumstance that the New Testament is true as a narrative is a ground for believing it, because the question involved is one of mere matter of fact, cognisable by the senses, and within the province of human testimony. Not so with inspiration. To allege that all Christians *say* that St. Paul was instructed by God to write his epistle, is just nothing. How do Christians know this? Inspiration is not a thing to be seen and handled with the eyes and hands. There is no proof that St. Paul even said himself that the greater part of his letters were inspired. Why should not all Christians be deceived in this matter not cognisable by the senses? The whole world has been thus deceived repeatedly before. Until recently, no one believed that the blood circulated throughout the human body. At length a man was born, who put together the facts which his senses shewed him; and now every educated man no more doubts the circulation of the blood than he doubts his own existence. What is the opinion of the whole

human race worth on a subject beyond the province of its faculties?

But let all these difficulties pass, and suppose that our inquirer assumes that it is right to take up the Protestant Bible, and learn a creed from its pages, believing every thing to be inspired which he does not himself conceive to be contradicted by modern science. What is the result? First of all, a hopeless entanglement of his faculties in a labyrinth of difficult texts. If here and there a sentence or a chapter seems clear, and a certain interpretation undeniable, these cases are exceptional. Being a clear-sighted man, he rigorously binds himself to an *independent* inquiry. He will tolerate no dictation from any quarter. Why should he pay heed to the Thirty-nine Articles, or the book of Common Prayer, or to the creeds, or to the theories of Luther, Calvin, or Wesley? Who are all these popular preachers of the day, that they should prescribe to his private intellect a certain scheme of theology, and persuade him that all the passages in the Bible which this theory seems to contradict are comparatively worthless? It is clear to him that not one of all the Protestant sects can account for the existence of a vast number of the texts he reads. *They* think nothing of shelving long sentences, but *he* can consent to no such dishonesty. It is no satisfaction to him to be informed that such and such passages are "very difficult," "very mysterious," "only to be understood by the spiritually-minded." He has a shrewd sense of imposture, when he sees professed Bible-worshippers coolly instituting an invidious contrast between one class of texts and another, and insinuating that his own worldly-mindedness is the only reason why he thinks an equal value ought to be set upon the texts which the "enlightened" love, and upon those which they pass by as leavened with something unsound and unclean. In his own personal criticisms, the knowledge of these disingenuous proceedings serves only to add to his perplexities. The more he reads, the more he perceives that he has to learn; the more he thinks, the more hopeless appears the task he has undertaken.

Then he turns to the religious creeds and parties about him, and setting aside private speculations, asks for some proof of the utility of the private-judgment theory in actual realised results. Being a modest man, and not given to believe in his own infallibility, he is disposed to give other persons credit for consistency, and thinks that, after all, the fault may be with himself. "Surely," he says, "there *must* be something in the view of so many respectable and excellent

persons. If they all agree in telling me that the Bible is clear on all points necessary to salvation, I must suppose that they mean what they say, and know what they mean." Being also, as we are supposing, a practical man, he conceives that his right course will be to proceed as in any similar circumstance in secular affairs, and inquire of the writers of books and preachers of sermons, what they *do* mean. Written words he knows are often susceptible of various interpretations. What seems clear to one mind, to another is vague. What even seems nonsense to a superficial observer may prove to be profoundly philosophical on more accurate investigation. He adopts, therefore, the common-sense plan, and pays a round of visits to the leading divines and writers of the time, calling with careful impartiality upon Oxford and Cambridge professors, London and provincial orators, authors of elaborate publications, editors of religious journals, and even upon the most distinguished of the "bench of Bishops." As his object is not to controvert, but to learn; to discover fundamental agreement, and not to exaggerate verbal differences; he pursues a very simple and obvious method in his various interviews. He ascertains, as well as he can, what are the chief forms of doctrinal statement adopted and put forth by each person whom he visits, puts the whole into writing, and simply asks for a distinct explanation of their *complete* meaning in straightforward English language. Who can possibly object to this? he thinks, in his simplicity.

Marvellous (to him), however, is the result. He begins with five or six of the Anglican prelates, and requests their interpretation of the concluding paragraph of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe [in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church, the communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting." On every one of the doctrines here mentioned, save the two last, he finds that the said prelates differ from one another; while even on the two last, it is broadly hinted to him by more than one of them, that the resurrection of the body is a question attended with many philosophical difficulties, and that the word "everlasting" means "*not* everlasting." As to the other articles, our inquirer's head aches before he has mastered the episcopal differences on the very first of the four; and when it comes to an exposition of what they mean by "believing in the holy Catholic Church," the only fragment of intelligible sense which he can extract from the mountain of verbiage is an assertion that it is right to belong to the Established Church of England. As to "the communion of Saints," he perceives that their only idea is, that it is just the

same as the communion of sinners, that is, no communion at all; while he is told that "the forgiveness of sins" means simply that sins are forgiven, but how, when, why, and by whom, they know not, excepting only that *they* cannot forgive sins,—a thing which our inquirer has very little difficulty in believing. From the Bishops' houses he proceeds to the study of the most celebrated Evangelical preacher of the day, and respectfully asks for an explanation of his last Sunday's sermon, of which the subject was Justification. In this sermon it had been stated, that we cannot be saved without good works, but that yet good works have nothing to do with our salvation, for that we are saved by faith only. As this *seems* to be simply nonsense, an exposition in plain phraseology is respectfully requested. A courteous reply is vouchsafed, followed by a somewhat lengthy private sermon, and a flood of texts, most of them consisting of single verses, or portions of verses. The result is nevertheless so exceedingly unsatisfactory, that, coupled with the preacher's positive assertion, that his doctrine is as plainly written in the Bible as the sun is plain in the heavens, our friend is reminded of the tricks at legerdemain of a conjuror, who substitutes one card for another before our eyes, and defies us to say how or when he effected the change. With a saddened spirit he next seeks the editors of the most dogmatic of the various religious periodicals, whose dicta he hears quoted as something quite decisive; and at every fresh visit his heart sinks deeper within him. On most subjects they all disagree; and even in stating their own "views," while each of them considers himself as alone in the right, and alone agreeing with what he calls the "Church of Christ," he cannot meet with a single individual who has so thoroughly investigated his own opinions as to bear being questioned by a shrewd and unprejudiced man. On one point they agree, but even here it is only in feeling: they agree in disliking, fearing, and hating the Church of Rome; though, strange to say, their notions as to the real character of Rome are manifold.

His last resource amongst "orthodox" schools, whether Anglican or Dissenting, is some celebrated "Anglo-Catholic" divine. He makes his selection, ascertains the abode where he is to be found, knocks at the door, sends in his card with a letter of introduction, and is ushered into an apartment, where, as chance would have it, a large number of "right-minded" men are assembled to discuss the present crisis in ecclesiastical affairs. "An excellent opportunity!" he remarks to himself; and begging that he may cause no interruption, he sits still and listens. "Here at least is uniformity of language," he

thinks; "these men certainly are agreed, and they clearly have been taught by some supreme authority. 'The Church' is *their* guide, whether rightly or wrongly." His spirits immediately rise, and at length he summons courage to propound a query. "You speak of *the* Church," he says to his neighbour; "may I take the liberty of asking to what Church you refer?" Other ears have caught his words, and a general silence ensues, while the person questioned replies with instant readiness, "The Catholic Church, of course." "The *Catholic* Church!" echoes our inquirer; "surely you do not mean the Church of Rome?" "God forbid!" cries a voice from another corner of the room; while the individual immediately addressed replies more mildly, "Surely not: I mean the Universal Church, prior to the division of east and west." Our friend is puzzled; but he collects his thoughts and says, "Pardon my dulness, but I do not catch your meaning. When you say you believe in the Universal Church of the year (say) 500, do you mean that you believe that there was a Catholic Church then, and that there is not a Catholic Church now?" "Far from it," replies the other, looking grave and suspicious; "I mean that we must believe what the Catholic Church taught then, and not what it teaches now." "My dear ——!" interposes another divine, "what *are* you saying? Not believe what the Catholic Church teaches now? Impossible!" The party in general now look bewildered and shocked, and in the brief silence that ensues, the inquirer proceeds with his deductions. "Do I understand the gentleman who spoke last to mean that we *are* to believe what the present Catholic Church teaches us?" "Certainly," responds the person appealed to. "May I ask for a definition of the *present* Catholic Church?" is the next query. "All baptised persons constitute the Church," is the reply, "whether of the Roman, Greek, or Anglican branches." "*All* baptised persons?" is the reply. "All!" respond three or four voices in decided tones. "In speaking of *all* baptised persons," continues the visitor, "I presume that German Lutherans, Scotch Presbyterians, and English Dissenters, are included. Is it so?" he continues, observing the response lingers. "No!" answers one of the party. "Yes!" cries a second. "Undoubtedly!" ejaculates a third. "Very much the reverse!" exclaims a fourth. "Unquestionably it excludes them!" interposes a fifth. "God forbid!" murmurs a sixth. "Why do you say 'God forbid'?" asks a seventh. And so on in alternate assertion and contradiction, till every man present has propounded his view. "I am sure, gentlemen, you will pardon my importunity," proceeds our inquirer,

"but I am searching, in plain terms, for a religion; and finding it a very difficult matter to ascertain *what* Christianity consists in, I am anxious for some intelligible direction to a source from which I may learn what I seek. I see clearly that even you are not unanimous as to the *real* nature of the authority to which you profess to defer; but perhaps you may be unanimous in action and detailed doctrine, though not in your fundamental idea. Can you, then, oblige me by pointing out to me some straightforward practical method by which I may learn *what* the Divine Founder of Christianity taught his disciples? I am not a theologian, but an ordinary person. I am very much occupied by my professional duties, so that I have no time for abstruse discussions; but nevertheless, I have my natural share of common penetration, and being a practical Englishman, all I wish is to know *what* I am to believe, and *why*. I do not expect to find no difficulties, but I do expect that when once I am in the right path my difficulties will diminish, and not increase. In every method I have yet tried, the more I have studied, the more I have been puzzled; and you will pardon me if I add, that since I came into this room my difficulties have multiplied more rapidly than ever. However, I do not *wish* for difficulties; and all I ask is, that you will kindly explain matters, and refer me to the source whence you yourselves draw your religious belief."

A general silence follows. All look uncomfortable, some angry, some vexed, and some excessively confused. Receiving no immediate reply, our friend again speaks. "Perhaps," he says, "I shall make my wishes clear, and disentangle the subject, if I go back to what was said a few minutes ago. You all seem to agree that for some hundreds of years the Catholic Church was united, and taught, as well as believed, the unadulterated truth. *Where* shall I find what was then taught?" "In the creeds," a voice, as of one much relieved, quickly replies. "In *what* creeds?" "In the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds." "That is, I presume, in the Nicene Creed alone, which comprises all that the Apostles' Creed teaches." "Yes." "Then is that *all* that we know of what Jesus Christ taught?" Again a silence ensues, soon broken by a declaration that we ought to believe all that can be historically proved out of the primitive Fathers. "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,*" murmurs another voice. "How would you advise *me*, then, to proceed?" asks our inquirer of the individual to whom his visit was specially paid. "Study the Fathers, surely," is the rejoinder. "I cannot read Latin with facility, or Greek at all." "Then study them in translations." "Are they all

translated?" "No, not yet." "Are they nearly all translated?" "Why, hardly that, I fear." "Then perhaps something very important may be omitted in the published volumes, which would appear in those not yet accessible to me." "You should consult learned and grave divines on the subject." "But are all learned and grave divines agreed? For instance, Mr. Allies, I hear, has published two books on the Papal Supremacy, containing (I am told) as nearly as possible the very same quotations from the Fathers in each of them; but in his first work he considers that these quotations disprove the Supremacy, and in the second that they prove it. I confess this is a puzzle to me." "Poor Mr. Allies is sadly fallen indeed," sighs the host; "but he is only one person, and the whole body of the Anglo-Catholic Church is against him; that is, all right-minded, *true* Anglo-Catholics are against him." "I am afraid, gentlemen, I shall seem very rude," pursues our friend, "but you will excuse my urgency when so momentous a matter is at stake; supposing *you* were all to change your opinions like Mr. Allies;—you *might* do it. Mr. Allies once thought he never would do so, yet here he is, a Roman Catholic at last. In saying this, I presume you all agree with Mr. Allies in his original views. Is it so?" "I do," answers one. "I do not," exclaims another. And to our inquirer's utter amazement, the same division of opinions which so astonished him on Dissenting and Lutheran baptism is again repeated. Not yet thoroughly disheartened, however, he insinuates a query, which elicits from the majority of the persons present a confession that, so far from having themselves studied all the Fathers, they have read only a few fragments of their writings; while two or three admit that they never read a single entire work of any Father whatsoever.

"Well," continues the pertinacious visitor, "these may be, after all, critical trifles; and, as I have said, I am only a practical man. I look to the broad results. Theological niceties and historical inquiries I leave to the professional divine. The only right I reserve to myself, and that, I suppose, even the Pope would allow me,—is the right of questioning. This, it seems to me, is the only thing which is really and honestly in the power of the generality of Christians. They cannot argue; they cannot study; but they *can* exert their common sense, and say, What do you mean? what am I to believe? what are the *facts* which you have met with in your historical pursuits? Now, then, I will take the liberty of repeating a statement which, I am told, is made by the Romanists; and if you, gentlemen, can either explain it away, or prove the contradictory, or advance a parallel fact of

equal importance on your side, I am prepared to overlook a great deal of what appear to me to be your inconsistencies. The fact I allude to is this. The Romanists say, that the whole line of Popes, from the first Pope until Pius IX., have all held and taught identically the same creed. If this is so, I confess that it strikes me as a fact of which the importance cannot be overrated. It will not prove the Romish religion true, nor will it overcome my English hatred of despotism and priestcraft, but it will remain an unexplained phenomenon in the history of man; and unless some other parallel fact can be set up in favour of Anglo-Catholicism, I shall never believe that Anglo-Catholicism is other than a delusion." "I deny the fact," is the instant response from several voices. "Forgive the liberty I take," pursues their interrogator, "but I must refer my questions solely to those who have diligently studied the whole history of the Christian Church. May I ask you, sir," turning to his host, "whether you can prove that the modern Popes teach doctrines different from the ancient Popes?" "Undoubtedly I can." "On what subjects, may I ask? For instance, on the Invocation of Saints and on the Real Presence?" "On both of them. There exists no proof whatsoever that the early Bishops of Rome either invoked the Saints or believed in Transubstantiation." "But is there any proof that they *disbelieved* these doctrines? Can you mention any one of the whole series who said that it is *wrong* to invoke the Saints, and that the substance of bread and wine remains after consecration?" "Not precisely that; but there is no need to shew that they thought invocation wrong, in order to prove that they did not hold it. The absence of proof that they did hold it is sufficient." "Excuse me, my dear sir, but there *is* need of this. You surely do not mean to tell me that you can find historical contemporary testimony, of a trustworthy character, from which you can prove all the details of the Faith of each of the ancient Bishops of Rome, such as you yourself admit it to have been? You say, I conclude, that they believed in the Holy Trinity. But where is the contemporary proof?" "There is no need of contemporary proof when the Nicene Council asserted solemnly that this had been the faith of the Church from the first." "No doubt they *asserted* it, and *said* that they had proof, both written and traditional, to support their assertion. But so the Council of Trent *asserted* the same respecting Invocation, Transubstantiation, and all the other Romish doctrines. Or do you mean that the Council of Nice had *written* proofs, and that the Council of Trent had not? Did they not, *both* of them, professedly rely on an unwritten

tradition? This, therefore, is what I want explained: how do you shew that the early Popes believed in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity by any better proofs than the assertions at Nice, while you refuse credit to similar assertions at Trent?" "The Council of Trent was not an œcumenical council, and therefore might be deceived." "That is not the point we are discussing: the Council of Trent called itself infallible, and the Council of Nice called itself infallible also, and in both cases certain parties denied the title claimed; but what has this to do with the historical proof of the doctrines held by individual Popes? You say the Popes have changed their doctrines, and that the ancient Popes *denied* Invocation, Transubstantiation, and so forth. Again I say, where is the proof? Did the Council of Nice say that they denied these doctrines? All I require is a satisfactory historical document on which I can lay my finger, and say, Here is a proof that such and such a Pope *rejected* such a Romish dogma. I know well enough that there exist no documents expounding at length the creeds of all the Popes downwards. Yet we all agree that they all *did* believe a great many unrecorded doctrines; therefore I conclude that they *may* have believed all the modern Roman creed, though neither they themselves nor their contemporaries have recorded it. Again I repeat, shew me the document which asserts that St. Peter, or St. Clement, or St. Leo, or any Pope whatsoever, believed that the substance of the bread and wine is *not* changed by the consecration of the priest."

We need not detail the replies to this very natural request. They may be easily conceived; or rather, it may be easily conceived that no real reply followed. We must accompany our inquirer in his reflections, as, excessively confounded and somewhat disgusted at the result of his conference, he proceeds with his researches, and examines the alternatives yet remaining to him. "It *is*, in truth," he whispers to himself, "a portentous fact, a *most* portentous fact, this apparent unity of creed for eighteen centuries; for certainly the balance of proof in favour of the unchanged nature of the Roman creed is much more than the proof against it. In fact, there is no proof at all that the Papal belief is *altered*; there is only a deficiency of contemporary proof as to what the Popes did hold on the points in dispute; and this deficiency is just nothing, for it is undeniable that they held many things equally unrecorded at the time. I can understand the Romish theory. It may be false, but still it holds water. I can understand how, in a vast complicated system, it might take hundreds of years for the accidents of events to produce

a written narrative of the whole system in all its workings; but I cannot understand how, if the Popes *changed* their creed, there should be no record to say so, nothing to prove that the old Popes positively denied the faith of the modern Popes. These Anglo-Catholics, as far as I comprehend, say that the Popes have added to the ancient creed. But that is a pure inference. A man may seem to be adding to his opinions when he is merely adding to my knowledge of them. If he tells me that he always held the same, I must take him at his word, unless I can shew from his past sayings that he once held the very reverse. Certainly, this fact about the Papacy is marvellous, whatever be its meaning. Protestants admit that they have no parallel fact in their own favour. I can draw but one conclusion. There is a great probability that the creed of Rome always has been what it is now, and primitive Christianity is substantially identical with Romanism."

But here a fresh doubt intervenes. What if, after all, this whole historical creed is but a figment, a mere eighteen-hundred years' delusion; and Romanism, Anglo-Catholicism, and "orthodox" Protestantism, are all dreams together? What, if the Rationalist view is true, and Jesus Christ taught nothing but morals? That such a supposition would naturally occur to the person whose course we are picturing can scarcely be doubted. At first sight, it would *seem* to him to furnish just the practical severing of the knot that would silence his speculations, if not convince his judgment. Still, the mighty phenomenon of the Christian Church appals him. It passes all his powers of credulity to receive *as a certainty* the theory that the whole Christian world, with its unnumbered millions of millions, for eighteen consecutive centuries, in every clime and throughout every stage of civilisation and barbarism, should have suffered itself to be deceived as to the historical fact on which their faith has ever rested. For be it observed, that it is as certain a fact as any which the whole range of history presents, that the whole Christian Church, and all persons calling themselves Christians, till within a few years ago, unanimously agreed that the Author of their religion did teach *some* dogmatic statements, which his followers accepted as a distinct revelation of truths from God, and not as mere moral precepts. Can any rational mind, then, rest satisfied with an hypothesis which starts with the assumption that every follower of Jesus Christ, from his own time until now, was wrong in this supposition? Is it credible that the twelve Apostles, St. Paul, and all the first Christians, laboured under a delusion when they considered that their Master's teaching

was not a mere allegorical system of morality, but a revealing of the nature, will, and actions of Almighty God? Which is the more credible, that the Papal system should be a faithful transcript of that revelation, or that no revelation at all should have been conveyed by Jesus Christ? Modern Rationalists, we are aware, accept the latter alternative as thoroughly accordant with right reason. *How* they do this, we must confess it passes our imagination to conceive. But that the average class of Englishmen, gifted with clear heads, earnest and determined hearts, and ordinary information, will *generally* take up with this fantastic scheme, we account to be very nearly an impossibility. If they become not Catholics, they will not ultimately content themselves with honouring Christianity and the Bible, even in name. They may indeed clothe our adorable Lord in a purple robe, and put a sceptre in his hand, and crown his royal head; but the crown will be of thorns, the sceptre will be a mocking reed, and they will tear off the robe to drag him with insults to Calvary. As for such a man as we are supposing our inquirer to be, he may be struck, confounded, and bewildered for a while, by the temptation to deride all creeds together; but if he continues his reflections, and still more, his prayers, the recollection of the continued existence of the one great body of the Roman Church, and its line of Pontiffs, will haunt him day by day, and forbid him to rest until he has investigated her claims to his submission.

Thus, at last, a very simple device occurs to him, and he is astonished that a practical person like himself should not have thought of it before. Why should he not do in the case of the Catholic doctrine what he has done for the Protestant? Every Protestant theory he has taken on trial, at its own word, and on its own professions; surely, common justice and common prudence require the same test to be applied to the pretensions of Rome. Will Rome break down on trial, like Geneva, Augsburg, and Oxford? Is the Roman theory a paper theory only, or one that works, and turns out what its advocates profess it to be? How, then, shall he ascertain this? Surely, by the same experimental test which he has already applied to Protestantism. He has read Protestant books, heard Protestant sermons, and tried to comprehend the Bible on the Protestant principle, and in vain. The more he has read, thought, and listened, the more helpless he has found himself. Then he has betaken himself to individual Protestants of all kinds and of the highest reputation; and the gloom has thickened into tenfold darkness. Clearly, the Protestant theory is false, because the more you depend upon it, the more

inextricable is the entanglement into which you are betrayed. Does Rome, then, treat you in like manner? Do her fair professions vanish like the dew before the sun? or can she claim that without which all professions are a glaring hypocrisy, namely, a unity of creed, and an intelligible exposition of what that creed is? To the trial, then, our friend proceeds.

The first results seem any thing but promising. After some deliberation, he resolves not to weary himself with much reading of Catholic books, or attending at Catholic services. Experience has taught him that the *ultimate* test must be an inquiry at the lips of living men and women; and having heard much of the peculiar authority of the priesthood in the Roman Church, he resolves at once to question the very first ecclesiastic he can meet with. Like a true Briton, nursed in a belief of the wickedness of Romish priests, he shrinks from the task with the usual undefinable dread of evil; but he is no coward, and he braces himself for the task. *Fortes fortuna juvat*; and that very day, on entering a second-class railway-carriage for a long journey, he perceives a party of persons already seated, one of them a strangely habited individual, with the hair shaved off the crown of his head, another dressed in a peculiarly-cut suit of black, and the rest looking much like average respectable gentlemen. The latter are reading newspapers, and the two former have each a little book in their hands, and seem to be mumbling (as he calls it) certain words to themselves, ever and anon reading their books and turning from one page to another, backwards and forwards, and at certain intervals shutting their eyes while their lips still move, with an expression of countenance perfectly new in our friend's experience, and of which he cannot determine whether it is puritanical, business-like, saint-like, happy, hypocritical, or sincere. "What strange people these must be!" he says to himself; and while he is watching them from the corner of his eyes, one of the two puts his book in his pocket, mutters a few more words, and then looks out of the window. The other shortly performs a similar ceremony, closing his book and muttering to himself, and almost simultaneously the rest of the party fold up their newspapers. After a few trivial remarks, a very animated conversation commences, which makes our traveller lift up his eyebrows with astonishment. On every topic that is started, each individual of the party seems to have an opinion of his own. The exact nature of the subjects discussed is a mystery to our traveller. They seem, however, to be all more or less ecclesiastical and theological, now and then verging upon questions of the profoundest importance, while the names of bishops, priests, and

even of saints, are freely introduced, as supporting or opposing one or other of the opinions advanced. By and by the conversation turns upon continental Catholic affairs, and the allusions boldly made to ecclesiastical disputes, jealousies among religious orders, condemned books of theology, and even to cases of scandalous conduct among persons of influence, reduce our friend to a point of amazement almost resembling stupor. Really, he reflects within himself, if these are Catholics, they are ten times worse than Protestants; I never heard such differences expressed in the whole course of my life till now. After a while he resolves to speak; but the train stops, the party jump out, run after their luggage,—priest, monk, and all,—and our traveller is left to his meditations.

For several minutes his reflections take an extremely Protestant turn, when gradually a feeling comes over his mind, that in some way or other the disputes he has been listening to were very different in kind from the dissensions among the Protestants at whose hands he has sought for information. He tries to analyse the difference, but can make little of it; and before the journey is over, he resolves to call upon a Catholic priest in the very town he is about to enter. In the course of the day he proceeds to put his intention into execution, finds his way to the quarter where the chapel is situated, and seeing a shop-window with Catholic books for sale, enters and inquires his way. The bookseller and a customer are in conversation, and our friend waits and turns over the publications on the counter. He takes up a pamphlet narrating the progress of a dispute between a Catholic Bishop and one of his clergy, in which the latter accuses the former in round terms of conduct the reverse of episcopal and paternal, and threatens an appeal to the Pope. As he turns over the edifying pages, from which he gathers that the Bishop was in the right, he is attracted by the dialogue between the bookseller and his customer, which waxes in interest and fervour. They are clearly differing as to certain devotions recently introduced into the town; and the visitor is further extremely angry with certain publications which he characterises as indiscreet, unfitted for English readers, calculated to scandalise Protestants, and, in fact, tending to heresy and idolatry. All this promises ill for our inquirer's satisfaction; but he proceeds, ascertains the priest's house, presents himself, and is courteously received. A long conversation ensues, of which the result is briefly this: that our friend makes up his mind to visit a large number of Catholic clergy, to go to convents and monasteries, and examine matters for himself. The priest tells him that he may confidently expect to find real unity of faith in all the

numerous doctrines which the Church has defined; that the differences of opinion he has heard are on subjects which the Church has hitherto left open; and that whatever may be the theoretical opinions of Catholics of different schools, he will learn that in actual practice they will all submit to the decision of the Pope, on any subject whatsoever, whether doctrinal, moral, or disciplinary. If this be the real result, he confesses that it will almost convince him. It is just what he wants. It is a practical solution of difficulties. To such a Church he *can* yield obedience.

To his labours he accordingly betakes himself. He journeys north, south, east, and west, and always with one result. Of Catholic disagreements and Catholic infirmities he sees enough, and more than enough; and he sees also much that edifies him, and much which he is convinced might appear to be eminently holy and Christian, if he could familiarise himself with its character. But above all, he finds it impossible to deny that the faith of Catholics is at once one and intelligible. The further he proceeds, the more he understands. The more he thinks, the less become his difficulties. Knowledge does not, as on all Protestant principles, appear to add to his perplexities. The more he sees of Catholics, the plainer is their fundamental agreement on all things of importance. Their infirmities are on the surface; the closer he examines them, the brighter shine their merits. Some strike him as saints; many as very excellent, self-denying Christians; still more as honest and sincere, though imperfect and weak, both in morals and intellect; but on the whole, he sees that the popular Protestant accusations are utterly groundless, and that most undeniably they possess not only a theoretical but a living and practical unity of faith and discipline. Above all, the fearlessness with which they challenge inquiry, and even refer him to individual Catholics, of whom they themselves entertain no high opinion, for proofs of the oneness of their creed, strikes his English heart with admiration; and he acknowledges that, whether they are right or wrong, they are just what they profess to be, while no Protestant system whatsoever is the same in profession and in fact. Everywhere he finds, further, that this marvellous unity in faith, with its accompaniment of diversity in matters not of faith, is attributed by Catholics to their recognition of the Papal Supremacy. He never hears two opinions on the point. It is the Pope who settles all. Gallicans and Ultra-Montanés, Englishmen and foreigners, Goths and Anti-Goths, the more strict and the more lenient, the saintly and the worldly, the apple-woman and the learned theologian, with

one heart and voice attribute every thing to a recognition of the supremacy of the Pope. A united Church without a Pope, they treat as a self-evident absurdity. Christianity, without a visible and supreme head, they view in much the same light as a mathematician would view a circle said to have no centre. The thing is simply impossible, unless God had given a distinct revelation to each individual soul, which He certainly has not given.

On the whole, our practical investigator feels an attraction to so eminently business-like a system, totally unlike every thing he ever felt towards the most plausible of Protestant speculations. If only it is *true*, it is as practical as it is gloriously divine. Still he is not satisfied. He wishes to know whether, as an historical fact, the Papal Supremacy has been recognised by the Universal Church in the same practical way in which he perceives that it unquestionably is received by all living Catholics. He is well aware that the entire body of the separatist Greeks disown it in practice, though he understands that in theory even they attribute a primacy to the Bishops of Rome. This, however, will not affect the main argument in his judgment. He wants to get at the broad fact of the existence of some vast body of Christians unbroken in personal and official succession, who from the earliest times *have* thus in action submitted to the Papal judgment. It is nothing to him that the Greeks now dissent and rebel, unless it appears that they can in like manner present a complete chain of evidence against the Pontiff's claims. It is quite certain—he understands—that they can produce no parallel series of Patriarchs or Bishops, all agreeing in doctrine, which can be made to confront the long line of Popes. But still, waving that difficulty for a time, he desires to contemplate their present communion as one vast body claiming direct descent from the Apostles. What, then, is the judgment of history? Can the Greeks shew that while one vast portion of the Church acquiesced and gloried in the claims of Rome, another vast portion, contemporary with the former, disputed those claims as a matter of doctrine, and as a matter of fact refused obedience to the Pontifical decisions? And thus we have brought our inquirer to Mr. Allies' last publication. *The See of St. Peter* is just that clear, broad, and boldly sketched picture of the course of early Church history, which will convince any straightforward examiner, not only that the Pope was ever admitted to be supreme in action and judgment, but that the Greeks themselves have been among the foremost to exalt and submit to his claims.

Many of our readers are aware that, some few years ago,

Mr. Allies wrote a very elaborate treatise, termed *The Church of England cleared of the Charge of Schism*. Its object was to prove that though the Christian Church in the ages anterior to the Greek schism admitted a *Primacy* in the Roman Pontiff, they refused him a *Supremacy*. This theory was made to subserve the cause of the Anglican Church by means of another theory, which alleged that the great principle of the English Reformation was a rejection of this Supremacy, as a tyrannical usurpation and a virtual denial of the divine rights of the entire Episcopate of the Christian Church. A more singular hypothesis was never broached, and the learning of its author equalled the singularity of his views. With perfect unconsciousness of the obvious meaning of his quotations, Mr. Allies cited a long series of passages from the ancient Christian writers, which he deemed conclusive in his own favour. How powerfully they told in the very opposite direction was speedily shewn in an admirable little work, *The Unity of the Episcopate*.^{*} To a Catholic, indeed, the cause of Mr. Allies' inability to read aright the history of the past was sufficiently clear. He never grasped the idea of the Church as a living body with a living executive *government*. He understood the ideas of an episcopal succession, and of the existence of a class of men qualified by a special ordinance to become channels of divine grace from God to man. But how this system was practically to work, how these Bishops and priests were to be directed and controlled in the *exercise* of their functions, it never occurred to him to inquire. Such, in fact, is the fundamental error of the whole school of Protestants who profess to believe in a visible Church and yet deny the supremacy of the Pope. They do not perceive that *order* and *jurisdiction* are two distinct things. They imagine that a priest or a layman is bound to obey Bishops simply as Bishops, and without reference to the question, whether any individual Bishop has jurisdiction over *him*. This, at least, they would mean, if they meant any thing practical and intelligible. The episcopal order they recognise as superior in itself to the priesthood and the diaconate; and they conclude that *therefore* a priest or deacon is bound to obey every Bishop. If their theories were realities, and not baseless speculations, designed for controversy and not for use, they would instantly perceive that they might as rationally argue that because all lawful secular rulers are to be obeyed as God's vicegerents in secular things, therefore every Englishman is bound to obey all and any of the sove-

^{*} "The Unity of the Episcopate considered," by E. H. Thompson, M.A.

reigns of the whole continent of Europe. Hence Mr. Allies was possessed with the belief, that a doctrine which placed the Pope in the position of a monarch over the entire episcopate was tantamount to a denial of the divine rights of that episcopate as the ruling body of the Christian Church. He counted the Papal Supremacy an invasion of the *order* of Bishops, and would tolerate nothing but a Papal primacy or presidentship, much the same as is delegated to the Speaker of the English House of Commons.

At length a gleam of light struck upon his eyes. A pamphlet which he published on the Gorham case delighted his Catholic friends, and gave them hopes of his conversion. He was clearly beginning to perceive that the Christian episcopate is not a paper theory, like one of the Abbé Sieyès' constitutions, but a living body, designed for incessant and united action throughout Christendom, and until the end of the world. The progress and issue of the Gorham trial was shewing to all reflecting Anglicans that four-and-twenty Bishops can never be really the head even of a "branch Church," and that a *supremacy* must exist somewhere. Just, therefore, as any Christian of the first ages, who had learnt to believe in the Papal Primacy, discovered that a real Primacy *is* a supremacy, so the Anglo-Catholics learnt that the moment their "branch Church" was compelled to act *as a body*, a supremacy, if not in a Pope, then at least in a Queen, must be called into play, and its decisions must be final.

And thus was Mr. Allies intellectually prepared to co-operate with the grace which Almighty God vouchsafed him. The prayers of many souls were at length answered. "They bring to Jesus a blind man, and they besought Him that He would touch him. And taking the blind man by the hand, He led him out of the town; and spitting upon his eyes, and laying his hands upon him, He asked him if he saw any thing. And looking up, he said, I see men, as it were trees, walking. After that again He laid his hands upon his eyes, and he began to see, and was restored, so that he saw all things clearly." Such was the healing of one more of the innumerable souls whom Almighty God has called out of darkness into his marvellous light.

The *See of St. Peter* is Mr. Allies' offering at the feet of him in whom he at length recognises "the rock of the Church, the source of jurisdiction, and the centre of unity." It is certainly one of the most remarkable books ever written by one who was not actually in possession of the blessings which communion with the true Church confers. A more masterly outline of the historical argument in favour of the

Papal Supremacy originally written in our language, we cannot at present call to mind. It opens with a brief statement of the palpable present facts of the Christian Church, and puts before the reader the existing power of the Pope, as entirely without parallel or rival in the body of persons calling themselves Christians. Then follow sections on the Scriptural proof, and on the end and office and the power of the Primacy, as testified to by Christian antiquity. To these succeed the most important portion of the whole, in which the witness of the entire primitive Church to the *supreme* character of the Primacy is shewn beyond the possibility of disproof; and the essay concludes with a contrast between the Royal Supremacy and that of St. Peter and his successors. The whole is excellently worked out; for the author has advanced not merely in logic and common sense, but in style; and a more useful manual of the historical question can scarcely be put into the hands of the ignorant or wavering. We shall quote two passages, and so commend the entire work to our readers' study.

The first is from the opening section, "On the Primacy of St. Peter as an existing power."

"Christianity is now more than eighteen hundred years old; and when we look around, we find it planted, and more or less flourishing, among all the nations of the earth which are conspicuous for their power, their knowledge, and their civilisation. This common term 'Christianity' distinguishes them broadly, but decisively, from all other nations outside of its pale. But a second glance makes it necessary to analyse this term itself; for it shews a great variety of differences in the religious belief and spiritual government of those whom we have thus classed together. About two-thirds in number of all calling themselves Christians are closely united under one head, whom they believe to be of divine institution, namely, the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, and in one belief and one communion, of which that Bishop is the special bond. Of the remaining third part, two-thirds, again, profess a belief very nearly, save in one point, identical with the former, but distinguished in that they do not now acknowledge the Bishop of Rome as the bond of their unity, though they freely admit that he once stood at the head of that patriarchal system of government which they still maintain. These form the Oriental communion, embracing the Greek and Russian Churches. Of other eastern sects it is not necessary here to speak. The rest, forming the other third of this latter third, or one-ninth, numerically, of all Christians, may be classed together as the Protestant or Anglo-German phase of Christianity. Most deeply opposed in many of their tenets, and in their whole tone of thinking and feeling, to the last-mentioned communion, they yet agree with it in rejecting the headship of St. Peter's succes-

sor, and indeed are wont to add every contumelious epithet which language can supply to the claim of authority which he puts forth and exercises. Not, however, that this Anglo-German Christianity is united itself as to its spiritual government, or even as to its belief. For whereas in England, and partly in America, it is governed by Bishops; in Prussia and Scotland, and again in the United States, it has thrown off such control. Nor, again, that its component portions have one creed, for it has been found impossible to draw up articles of belief to which they could all agree. Nevertheless, this Anglo-German Christianity may be called one mass, for it broke off, or at least was severed, at the same time from the great communion first mentioned which still acknowledges the headship of St. Peter's successor. And with many minor diversities and gradations, it has in common certain fundamental principles; such as the entire rejection, in some portions of it, and in others the attenuation, of the doctrine of Sacramental Grace, and in all the maiming of that great sacramental system to which all the rest of Christianity adheres: and again, which is a part of the above, a denial that the spiritual government of the Church is lodged by a divine succession in certain *persons*. This idea, in some of its portions, as in Prussia, and in the Protestant sects of America, is utterly rejected; in others, as the Anglican Church, made an open question, it being notorious that part of its clergy consider such a notion a corruption of Christianity, while part as warmly maintain it to be necessary for the Church's existence. Again, all are united in rejecting the Roman view of the great mystery of the Real Presence, and of that reverence to saints which flows forth from it, such as the ascription of miraculous effects to their relics, and of such prevailing power in their intercessions, that they may lawfully and profitably be asked to pray for us. Perhaps this peculiarity of mind may be summed up in its most remarkable instance. For whereas that before-mentioned great Roman Communion, and no less the Eastern, is distinguished by a very special and wholly singular love and reverence towards the most blessed Virgin Mary, as the Mother of God our Saviour; whereas all hearts within it are so penetrated with the thought of her divine maternity, that they cannot behold our Lord in his infancy without seeing Him borne in his mother's arms; nor gaze upon Him suffering on the cross without the thought of his mother transfixed with sorrow at his feet; so that He and she are indivisibly bound together, on earth in the days of his flesh, in heaven at the right hand of God; and the mystery of our redemption, completely accomplished in Him, yet enfolds her as the instrument of his incarnation, has an office and a function for her; whereas these are daily household thoughts, and the dearest of all sympathies, in minds of the Roman and the Eastern communion, the Anglo-German phase of Christianity is quite united in looking upon this reverence and love to the Blessed Virgin as dangerous, and tending to idolatry, and derogatory to our Lord.

"On the whole, then, we may set down the actually existing

Christianity as divided into three great portions: the Roman Catholic, united in government and belief, and comprehending two-thirds of the whole; the Oriental with the Russian, and the sects parted from it; the Protestant or Anglo-German.

"At this moment, then, a variety of nations, having the most various worldly interests, and the most distinct national, moral, and political character, are united in acknowledging, as the head of their religion, the successor of St. Peter, the Bishop of Rome. And after all the divisions and conflicts of Christianity within itself, two-thirds of all professing it are still of one mind, and more than one hundred and sixty millions of souls, by the confession of an adversary, see, in the divine framework of the visible Church which holds them together, one main-spring and motive power, controlling and harmonising all the rest: in the circle which embraces them and the world, one centre, St. Peter's See, the throne of the Fisherman, built by the Carpenter's Son.

"The Anglican Church professes a belief in episcopacy. It is not unworthy of its attention, that of about eleven hundred Bishops now in the world (admitting the claim of one hundred of Anglican descent), eight hundred own allegiance to the Pope. If a general Council could sit, there would be no doubt on which side the vast majority would be. If nations could represent the Church, as at the Council of Constance, there would be as little uncertainty in the result.

"Such is the aspect of things in the present day; but Christianity numbers more than eighteen hundred years. 'Remember the days of old: consider the years of many generations. Ask thy father, and he will shew thee: thy elders, and they will tell thee.' Of eighteen hundred years let us go back three hundred and fifty, from 1850 to 1500.

"Where is the Anglo-German phase of Christianity? What nations did it number? What powers of the world did it set in motion? *It was yet to come.* Its principle, indeed, had lurked in the restless mind of Wickliffe; had seemed, and but seemed, to expire in the ashes of Huss. It was darkly and mistily agitating unquiet thoughts in England and Germany, flying, like a bird of ill omen, round the proud towers of the Church of God, or festering in corners of corruption over high powers misused. But in fixed shape and consistency, as yet *it was not.* That which now claims to be the pure and reformed Church *had no existence.* The Anglo-Saxon mind had been formed and grown up under the control of St. Peter's See: and the country of Luther still with one voice revered that Winfrid, who, from the island won to the cross by St. Gregory, went forth to his successor, begged his apostolic blessing, and planted in Mayence the crosier which he had received from Rome. The Churches of Germany and England owed to the Papal See their whole organisation, and had subsisted, the one for eight hundred, the other for nine hundred years, under that fostering power. The claim which Germany and England now reject was

then written on every page of the ecclesiastical legislation of those countries. Their first metropolitans had received their jurisdiction from the Pope; the diocese of every German and English Bishop had been defined by the Pope; the institution of every Bishop to his see had been received from the Pope; and at the most awful moment of his life, every spiritual ruler had sworn that he would uphold the See of St. Peter and its occupant, 'principem episcopalis coronæ.'

"Go back but three centuries and a half, and this ninth part of Christianity—this busy, prying, restless mind, which criticises every thing, and believes nothing; pulls down, but never builds up; analyses the principle of life, and by the dissection kills it—which treats the holy Scripture as the ploughboy treated the watch, pulls it to pieces to look at its mechanism, and then wonders that it will not go; which grudges to men even the Apostles' Creed, and will not let them hold that there is one baptism for the remission of sins, but on condition that they communicate with those who deny it; this spirit which, in its most advanced development, casts Christianity itself into the alembic, and makes it come out a volatile essence of Pantheism—in one word, Protestantism *was not*."

The second exposes the origin and working of the supremacy of the temporal sovereign in the Established Church of England.

"As a matter of fact, for more than nine hundred years the See of St. Peter was in this nation the supreme ecclesiastical judge, and matters of faith could be carried before it, as the court of appeal in last resource. And as a matter of fact, for nine hundred and sixty years sixty-nine Archbishops sat in the seat of St. Augustine at Canterbury by the authority of him who sent St. Augustine. But by whose authority did the seventieth sit? who gave to Dr. Parker, not his orders, not his episcopal character, but *mission* to execute the powers which belong to that character in the determinate see of Canterbury, and *authority* to execute the powers of a Primate in the province of Canterbury? To this no answer can be given but one,—Queen Elizabeth gave, or at least attempted to give, that mission and that authority. Let us simply state historical facts.

"Queen Elizabeth, at her accession, found the ancient relation, which for nine hundred and sixty years had subsisted between the See of St. Peter and the Church of England, restored by the act of her sister, after its disturbance by her father and brother. This relation consisted mainly in two points,—that the Pope instituted all Bishops, and was the supreme ecclesiastical judge. Queen Elizabeth caused an act of Parliament to be passed, depriving the Pope of these two powers. And this act was passed in spite of the remonstrances of the Episcopate, the Convocation, and the two Universities. But she did not stop there. Who was to possess these two powers? Somewhere they must be. She coveted them for her

crown; she took and annexed them to that crown. She made herself supreme ecclesiastical judge by causing the appeals, which had ever been made from the Court of the Archbishop to the Pope, to be made to the crown. More need not be said on this head, as all the Courts of the kingdom have just affirmed this power to exist in the Crown; and as her Majesty, in exercise of her authority as supreme ecclesiastical judge, has just reversed the sentence of the Archbishop's Court, and decreed that the clergy of the Church have it wholly at their option to preach and teach that infants are regenerated by God in holy baptism, or that such a doctrine is 'a soul-destroying heresy:' nay, as the perfection of liberty, the same clergyman can now at the font, in the words of the baptismal service, declare his belief in the former doctrine, and in the pulpit proceed to enforce the latter! She took to herself likewise the power of instituting Bishops, which is of originating mission and jurisdiction; for every Bishop of the Anglican Church has been from that time instituted by order and commission from the Crown, and by that alone. Now it has been well said that 'sovereigns who covet spiritual authority have never dared to seize it upon the altar with their own hands: they know well that in this there is an absurdity even greater than the sacrilege. Incapable as they are of being *directly* recognised as the source and regulators of religion, they seek to make themselves its masters by the intermediacy of some sacerdotal body enslaved to their wishes: and there, Pontiffs without mission, usurpers of the truth itself, they dole out to their people the measure of it which they think sufficient to check revolt; they make of the blood of Jesus Christ an instrument of moral servitude and of political schemes, until the day when they are taught by terrible catastrophes, that the greatest crime which sovereignty can commit against itself and against society is the meddling touch which profanes religion.'*

"Dr. Parker was instituted by four Bishops without a diocese, who had no power whatever of their own to give mission to the See of Canterbury: they professed to act under Queen Elizabeth's commission. But to shew how the fountain of this mission and spiritual jurisdiction was made to reside in the Crown, we need only refer to the law which enacted, that in case an Archbishop should refuse within a certain time to institute a Bishop at the command of the Crown, *a case which in three hundred years has never occurred*, though Dr. Hoadley and Dr. Hampden have been among the persons instituted, the Crown might issue a commission to any other Bishops of the province to institute, thus overruling the special authority of the Archbishop, as Archbishop.

"Moreover, the letters patent of every Colonial Bishop declare in the most express words that episcopal jurisdiction to govern such and such a diocese, which the letters patent erect, is granted by the Crown. And not only does the Crown *grant* this jurisdiction, but

* Le Père Lacordaire.

it can *reca*l it after it has been once granted. Take the latest exercise of this power:—

“ ‘The Queen has been pleased by letters patent under the great seal of the United Kingdom to *reconstitute* the Bishopric of Quebec, and to direct that the same shall comprise the district of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Gaspe *only*, and be called the Bishopric of Quebec: and her Majesty has been pleased to name and appoint the Right Rev. Father in God, George Jehoshaphat Mountain, Doctor of Divinity, *heretofore Bishop of Montreal, to be Bishop of the said See of Quebec*. Her Majesty has also been pleased to constitute so much of the ancient diocese of Quebec as comprises the district of Montreal, to be a Bishop’s See and Diocese, to be called the Bishopric of Montreal, and to name and appoint the Rev. Francis Fulford, Doctor of Divinity, to be ordained and consecrated Bishop of the said See of Montreal.’

“ All that the Archbishop has to do in such a matter is to give episcopal consecration to a person so designated, on pain of having his goods confiscated, and his person imprisoned; *but he does not give the diocese or the mission*.

“ Her Majesty likewise, in the exercise of Papal authority, has created sundry Metropolitans, as of Calcutta, to whom she has subjected all India; and Sydney, to whom she has subjected not only Australia, but Van Diemen’s Land and New Zealand. Now here let me observe two things. First, that the power to nominate for election, or to elect one to be a Bishop, is quite distinct from the power to institute or confirm, which latter is *the deliverance of the spiritual power of government*. The former privileges may be and are exercised by the civil power; but the latter authority must be derived from a spiritual source. Secondly, the civil power may, if it so choose, give the sanction of civil law to the assignments of dioceses made by the spiritual power, and attach a certain *civil* validity to the spiritual acts of Bishops instituted by spiritual power. But here the case is quite different. The diocese is made and erected, divided and altered, solely by the civil power. The spiritual jurisdiction actually possessed by a Bishop over his flock is taken away, as concerns a part of that flock, and conferred upon another. The Bishop is purely passive under this. And so particular Bishops, already supposed to be under the see of Canterbury, are without permission of that see subjected to an intermediate Metropolitan.

“ Now the whole principle of the Anglican Reformation consists in these two things,—that the civil power is made the origin of mission and spiritual jurisdiction, and the supreme ecclesiastical judge. Those who ask for these things to be altered, ask that the Reformation would be pleased to undo all that it did amiss, and so restore itself to Catholic unity. Would that they may be heard! But there are few signs of it.

“ And the whole of what I have written in the preceding five sections shews that the Papal authority consists in exactly these two points. And thus it was that Queen Elizabeth took and transferred

the Papal Supremacy to herself. And thus it is that authority to administer the sacraments of our Lord Jesus Christ in this or that place or district, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the power to bind and loose, are pretended to be given by an earthly sovereign. Can there be found in the history of eighteen hundred years a heresy more directly antichristian than this? It strikes at the very heart of the Church of God. From the beginning, the crime of being a creature and a slave of the State has been alleged against the Anglican Establishment. Is this charge true? and if so, in what does it consist? It is not because a communion is *established*; because its Bishops are *nominated* by the Crown and sit in Parliament; because their acts have a civil validity; because its clergy are civil officers; that it can be justly called a creature or a slave of the State. All this may be innocently, may be rightly, may be most happily. But a communion is the creature and the slave of the civil power when the origin of its mission and spiritual jurisdiction, and the supreme judgment upon its doctrine, are vested in the civil power.

“But to return to Queen Elizabeth. Armed with this civil law, which extinguished the supreme jurisdiction of St. Peter's See, and its institution of Bishops, and transferred both these powers to the Crown, imposing an oath for their maintenance, she ordered this oath to be administered to the existing Bishops. The Primacy was vacant, and sixteen members of the Episcopate alone survived. Of these, *fifteen* refused to sever that link between their sees and the See of Rome which had subsisted for nine hundred and sixty years, from the very foundation of the Church, refused beside to acknowledge the transference of the two above-named spiritual powers to the crown. In virtue of that law they were deposed. One Bishop, Kitchen of Llandaff, had the heart to accept these conditions, and continued on in his see, surrendering to courtiers the greater part of its endowments. But even he took no part in the confirmation or consecration of the new Pimate.

“And so the ancient Episcopate, which derived its succession from St. Augustine and its mission from St. Peter, became extinct in banishment, in captivity, and in *duresse*. The Episcopate which for well-nigh a thousand years had formed and civilised and blessed England in a thousand ways, and by which it was a member of the great Christian body, was swept away; and a new Episcopate, deriving its mission from Queen Elizabeth, and perpetually dependent for its jurisdiction on the Crown of England, and owning in that Crown its supreme ecclesiastical judge, arose. This is its origin, this the principle on which it is built,—the subjection of the spiritual power to the civil in spiritual things, in faith and in discipline. *Humanam conati sunt facere Ecclesiam*. They attempted, and they have succeeded. For myself, now that after long years of pain and distress, of thought, of inquiry, and of prayer, since by the mercy of God the light has broken upon me, let me say as much as this—for not to say it would be to conceal the strongest conviction, nei-

ther formed in a hurry, nor reached without great suffering,—let those who can put their trust in such a Church and such an Episcopate, those who can feel their souls safe in such a system, work in it, think for it, write for it, pray for it, and *trust their souls to it*. But the duty which I owe to Almighty God, and the regard which I have for my salvation, compel me to declare my belief, by word and by act, that it is an *imposture*, all the more dangerous to the souls of men, to the affectionate, to the obedient, to those who believe that there is ‘one Body and one Spirit,’ because it pretends to be a member of the Catholic body, with which it has broken the essential relation, and to possess spiritual powers, which it has indeed forfeited.”

But we must return for a few moments to our practical inquiring Englishman. That he will remain unconvinced by Mr. Allies is scarcely possible. So far as the history of Christianity can tell what Christianity is, the cause is decided. Yet will his English mind for awhile rebel. Long standing and dearly cherished prejudices will not yield before one argument, irresistible though it be to the unbiassed reason. Though he distinctly sees that the Pope alone remains as a possible guide to the knowledge of Christianity which he is seeking, and that he must either submit to him or altogether renounce his belief in a doctrinal revelation, he is still haunted with the terrors of his childhood and youth. The dark phantom which for so many years has brooded over his imagination *cannot* be, he concludes, nothing less than an angel of light. It is impossible. If the Pope were the representative of Almighty God upon earth, *could* he be what he has ever been accounted, or any thing nearly so fearful? Is it credible that the man who is placed on the throne of Jesus Christ to teach his message of mercy to mankind should have tortured the bodies and shed the blood of heretics, should be the bitterest opponent of freedom, the instigator of rebellion, the enemy of Scripture-reading, the persecutor of science, a reveller in wealth and grandeur, and sometimes a man notorious for his crimes? His whole nature shudders at the thought. Protestantism may be a deceit; Bible-reading may lead to every folly; Mr. Allies may prove to a demonstration that the early Church revered the Popes as supreme; what is all this after the fires of Smithfield, the dungeons of the Inquisition, the excommunication of sovereigns, after Galileo, and after Alexander Borgia? The world and its civilisation evidently cannot go on if the Papal pretensions are permitted. Better believe nothing than suffer such a tyrant to place his feet upon the neck of the whole human race.

Such for a time will be, perhaps, our inquirer's meditations. The doctrine of the Papal Supremacy is presenting itself to his mind in all its bearings. Still preserving his practical character, he desires to be satisfied as to the working of the Roman system. He cannot clasp a conclusion to his heart, convinced as he may be that *no other* conclusion is logically possible. This may be the French method, or the German method, or the enthusiast's method. *He* ever looks to results; and before he can acquiesce in the doctrine that the Papal Supremacy *is from God*, he must know more of its effects. If, in fact, it turns out not to be the monstrous despotism he has been habituated to believe it, then—he is not yet prepared to say what will be his ultimate conclusion, but—it is no longer impossible that he may become a Catholic.

In this state of feeling we should refer him to Count De Maistre's great work, *Du Pape*. Mr. Dawson's translation has just made it accessible to every English reader; and it is precisely adapted to the completion of the conversion already begun. Its merits are already known throughout Catholic Christendom; and we are scarcely guilty of exaggeration in saying that few modern books have exercised so powerful an influence on influential minds. Mr. Dawson has our sincere thanks for his version; and we should rejoice to learn that it has fallen into the hands of every doubting Englishman, such as we have supposed our inquiring friend to be. Its publication is especially opportune at the present moment, when events have displayed the Royal Supremacy in a more odious light than ever to every person who sincerely believes that the kingdom of Jesus Christ is not of this world; and that when He enjoined a faith in his doctrines as the condition of salvation, He did not mock the people whom He had redeemed by leaving them without a trustworthy exponent of what those doctrines are.

And thus we take leave of our inquiring fellow-countryman. What would be the ultimate issue of his investigations, we need not speculate. Our purpose has been solely to shew the probable workings of minds of the peculiar character supposed to belong to our island nature, when led to contemplate the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy as a solution of religious difficulties. We are not tracing the process of conversion, whose origin and ultimate accomplishment must be sought elsewhere. The grace of God, which alone converts the soul, overpowers *every* obstacle, whether of country, rank, age, or natural disposition. Before its burning heat the ice of indifference and the rock of prejudice are alike

compelled to melt. We have merely followed the movements of Nature, as she accompanies, or rather yields to the operations of a power more mighty than herself. And if we have at all succeeded in carrying our readers along with us, we shall have gone far to convince them that the old notion that Englishmen are too shrewd and business-like to submit to the claims of Rome is one of the most baseless of the popular fallacies which were accounted to be eternal truths by past generations.

MOUNT ST. LAWRENCE.

Mount St. Lawrence. By the Author of "*Mary, the Star of the Sea.*" In 2 vols. Longmans.

Mount St. Lawrence belongs to a class of books hitherto grievously scarce amongst us. In a certain sense, it is a religious novel, or rather a novel written on religious principles. It is not a "religious novel" of the kind in which controversy constitutes the plot, and all the personages are literally fictitious, that is, such as neither nature nor grace ever produced in real life. Stories in which the literary frame-work is prominently subservient to the inculcation of theological doctrine are rarely tolerable, either as stories or as theology. The heroes and heroines, and other devout characters, have it all their own way, with such gratifying facility, that the practical result of perusal varies between a minimum of instruction, a minimum of edification, and a minimum of pleasure; and the exhausted reader turns to a *real* novel—that is, in all probability, an irreligious one—for refreshment and something like nature.

Yet Christian novels are unquestionably most agreeable and useful companions to our leisure. Fiction has become so intimately a part of our modern civilisation, that the Catholic can never overlook its importance. Every body, or nearly every body, reads novels. The profoundest thinker delights in the rest which their lively scenes supply to his wearied brain. The gravest theologian at times skims over their pages, and we doubt not draws an occasional hint for the most weighty of purposes. There is not one person in a hundred, who is not absolutely forbidden such studies by his rule of life, who does not turn now and then to something in the shape of a story for half an hour's easy repose. Of ordinary

persons the number of novel-readers is prodigious, and considering what is the nature of the immense majority of novels, the injury they thus suffer is incalculable. It is not that English fiction is generally what is called immoral. It is for the most part decent and correct, and even occasionally religious in its own way. Nevertheless, it is so intensely worldly in its tone, in its recognised aims, and in its catastrophes, that we cannot doubt that it is one of the devil's most subtle instruments for enslaving unwary and ill-formed minds.

As to getting rid of novel-reading altogether by absolutely forbidding it, it is simply impossible. We might as reasonably expect the average class of Catholics to live the life of Trappist monks, as to refrain wholly from novels. Nor, for our own part, can we overlook the real and serious *benefits* which fiction has it in its power to confer. If private domestic conversation can be made edifying, without becoming didactic and sermonising, why should not a written story or dialogue join in the good work? The personages of a novel are our companions for the hour. We feel with them, we feel for them. Their sentiments affect us, almost as the words of living men and women. We are secretly tempted to imitate them or avoid them, according to the fate they meet with. Theorise as we may, with the weak and susceptible their practical power is immense; with the strong and cold it is very far from imaginary.

What we want, therefore, is not controversial novels, or books of instruction with a plot and regular catastrophe. We want books in which Catholics are like real Catholics, and Protestants like real Protestants; in which virtue has such a reward as is within the limits of probability; and beauty, rank, and ten thousand a year are not perpetually held up before our eyes as the *summum bonum* of human felicity. We want stories in which the scenes wear just that mingled colouring which actual life displays; where what *appears* is for the most part secular, and the hidden springs of Catholic life and devotion burst forth when occasion calls for them, and only then. Stories like these—presupposing always that their literary merits are not below par—are undoubtedly not merely agreeable, but positively useful. They not only conciliate and win the unbelieving, but they instruct and edify the devout. We are not harassed with that incessant worldliness which interferes with our enjoyment of almost all Protestant fictions, and which prevents us from even thoroughly enjoying the very best of them.

Such a story is *Mount St. Lawrence*. The theological portion, properly so called, occupies but a small portion of its

pages. Its characters are, for the most part, as pretty specimens of undisguised worldliness as any chance country or London house would furnish. All the people are not converted in the end, nor are all the Protestants great sinners and all the Catholics saints. There is plenty of gossip, plenty of love-making, and plenty of petty domestic intrigue. There is even a fancy ball, and a hunting party, and dinner and breakfast conversations *ad libitum*. All the "machinery" of the real novel are here. But there is just this difference between *Mount St. Lawrence* and the ordinary tale, that not for one moment does it place earth above heaven, or trespass beyond the limits of a perfect delicacy and refinement. How it winds up, and how poetical justice is executed, we shall leave our readers to ascertain for themselves; as we shall be much disappointed if *Mount St. Lawrence* does not obtain even a larger popularity than the charming little volume which was its author's first contribution to Catholic literature.

As a work of art, we are disposed to assign to *Mount St. Lawrence* a very high position. The story itself is simple and ordinary enough, as is, in fact, the case in all good fictions which paint the private life of the present day. The moment the novel or tale verges upon the romance, it changes its character for the worse. The very every-day character of the plot (so to call it) is only in harmony with the every-day and genuine character of the actors; and it is because *nothing* crosses us in *Mount St. Lawrence* which we have not seen a hundred times in real life, or which we know to be perpetually happening, that the entire result is so complete and satisfying. The whole family of the St. Lawrences are the very type of what a household would naturally be under their circumstances; and, on the whole, there is scarcely a page which is not the result of many a year of silent watching of the greatneses and littlenesses, the infirmities and the graces, of cultivated and wealthy English life; while the wit, liveliness, and sweet feeling with which the whole story is told, make it one of the most agreeable books we know of.

It is a difficult matter to quote from a story, and at the same time do justice to the story itself. Fragments torn from the context are dull, and half unintelligible, and we suspect that few persons trouble themselves to read them. Perhaps we shall best consult our readers' pleasure by extracting the very first scene in the book, and so help them over what is always the hardest part of a novel, the commencement. It is a tolerably fair specimen of the mingled delicacy and force of colouring which are one of the many charms of the whole book.

“It was late in the afternoon, at that season of the year when the heat of the sun’s rays begins to be tempered, while as yet the chill of approaching autumn has not invaded the early evening hours. An open window on the ground-floor of an old-fashioned mansion, whose exterior spoke of some centuries back, while its comfortable though hardly luxurious interior as plainly bespoke the present century of bodily ease and refinement, still invited the free ingress of air from the pretty garden into which it opened. The beauty of this garden, which was small, consisted mainly in its sweet look of privacy, a high screen of laurel and other evergreens completely shutting it in, and giving it that peculiar air of retirement, which some reckon dull, but which is very soothing to the minds of others, to whose imagination a garden enclosed brings, as it were, the charm of a recollected Eden.

“Be this as it may, this little confined space of mossy green and flowery beds (for no gravel-walk had been permitted, while offering its accommodation, grievously to interfere with the imagination) formed the delight of its youthful mistress, and furnished her an inexhaustible field for contemplation; not idle contemplation or dreamy reverie, for Rose was neither idle nor sentimental; but this garden was to her a kind of living book, a mirror reflecting back to her in type her deepest thoughts and aspirations, and suggesting to her endless subjects of meditation. Her eyes, however, rested not on it at this moment, but on the pages of a large and closely printed folio, which lay open on the carved desk before her. Rose’s beauty was of a very peculiar kind, and one not common in this country; but this peculiarity was heightened, perhaps, by that of her dress, which, being scarcely suitable to a girl of eighteen, imparted something singular to her appearance. There was a combination of costliness and simplicity in it which might be the result of a refinement of vanity, or the mere exhibition of a peculiar taste. The reader must be content to wait, in order to form a guess at the reason; or rather, if he will give a glance at Rose’s guileless countenance, he will decide at once against the former supposition. And truly a guileless countenance was hers, with something beyond her years of pensiveness when grave, and something less than her years of gaiety when she smiled. Rose had not lost the smile of childhood yet; perhaps she may never lose it. But the pensive mood had full possession at the moment we are describing, and it formed the general character of her countenance. She had a face rather full than oval, with that remarkably colourless fairness which will sometimes accompany black hair—a fairness never stained by the slightest suffusion, save when the colour was called there by a blush, or by the fresh air of heaven. Her large dark contemplative eyes riveted your attention from a mysterious depth in them, rather than from a highly intellectual character. They had a strange fascination, those thoughtful eyes with their sable fringe; while her coal-black hair, parted on the smooth forehead, and wound in long braids round her head, harmonised well with their expression. Her mouth, which

was small and delicately formed, had the full contour and innocent sweetness of childhood. Add to all this, that she had a rather small but very graceful figure, with which her black velvet gown and its simple collar of costly lace, scarcely more white than the throat it encircled, suited well from their very simplicity; and it will be admitted that Rose O'Donnell had no small claim to admiration. She wore no ornament, unless an ebony chain might be considered such; and whatever might be attached to it was evidently cherished from love, not worn for show, for it was concealed in her bosom.

"Rose was reading, as has just been observed, or rather she was meditating on a passage she had just read, while her eyes still rested upon it. And what was the subject of this book? Was it some stirring romance of the olden time, or some highly-wrought modern tale of love? It was indeed a story, in comparison with which the wondrous deeds of ancient chivalry might well seem commonplace and trifling—it was indeed a tale of perfect and devoted love. For what deeds of heroism which human motives ever inspired, what purest and tenderest love which ever filled a human heart towards the earthly treasure of its affections, can truly deserve the name of heroism or love? They are but the pale shadows of spiritual acts and affections. And so thought Rose as she meditated on the life of the saintly Virgin of Peru, the flower of the Indies, the blessed Rose of Lima. Suddenly a thought arrested her in the full glow of her fervent imagination, and she looked round on the room in which she was seated. 'Is this real? is this genuine?' she said to herself. 'Am I not deceiving myself? Do I really admire and love this? Do I really long after any resemblance to this, however remote? Do I desire, I say not the crown of thorns, but one thorn even out of the crown? I sit, I walk, I sleep in the midst of luxuries; I even pray in the midst of them. I know not if even the flowers in my little oratory, and the wreaths I weave for my sweet Mother, and the jewels with which I deck her, are the true expressions of love; perhaps I love in my imagination only, and not in my heart. Alas! if these should after all be only sentiments and feelings, and my will be untouched!' Rose recoiled from the painful thought; and yet she said, 'Oh, no, no! I cannot believe it!' And taking the silver crucifix from her bosom, never forgotten though concealed, her Friend and Resource in all sorrows and difficulties, she gazed at it with deep tenderness. 'Oh, no!' she murmured to herself, 'I love—I do love; I desire to love, at least. But I need a guide, and I have none. But who have ever been allowed to suffer for that which they lacked not through their own fault? If there be really a true love of God in my heart, He will not suffer it to die; and, oh, may I die rather than extinguish it!' Then devoutly kissing her crucifix, she returned to her accustomed tranquillity.

"Her eyes were again on the page, when the door gently opened, and Colonel O'Donnell entered the apartment. He was a tall man of about fifty, with the military air of one who has actually seen service. A high and thoughtful forehead, a quiet self-possession,

and the ease and tact of a man of the world, distinguished Colonel O'Donnell; while a certain almost melancholy expression in his whole manner, as if some great misfortune or bitter loss, recovered but not forgotten, had cast its shadow over his life, gave an interest to his appearance. And so it was. Colonel O'Donnell's affections were warm and deep; and the early loss of a beloved wife, not long after the birth of their only child, which at first nearly drove him to despair, had left a furrow on his brow which had never been effaced. And now his widowed heart had turned for consolation to his remaining earthly blessing, his darling, his beautiful Rose. Oh, the misery of deep and passionate affections treasured up in vessels of clay! She too, his idolised, his beautiful Rose, may fail him! And then whither will he turn?

"Colonel O'Donnell's manner was preoccupied when he entered the room; but his face beamed, as it was ever wont to do, with affection at the sight of his daughter. He sat down by her and encircled her with his arm, while she repaid his caress with that loving, child-like smile of hers. If Colonel O'Donnell had any matter of importance in his mind, his first words had no reference to it, but seemed suggested by the circumstances of the moment. 'What are you reading, my child?' he said, glancing at the open volume. 'The life of my blessed patroness,' answered Rose; 'you know it is my birthday to-day into this world, and it was hers to glory.' 'Yes,' answered her father with a sigh, 'it was your dear mother's last wish that you should be called after the saint on whose day you were born. This book was hers, and you value it, I am sure; but, my Rose,' he continued, gently closing the book, 'you have spent, I fear, but a sad birthday. What would you say if I had a surprise for you this evening?' 'I have not been sad, dear father,' said Rose; 'but I don't think I like surprises: they frighten me; and I prefer knowing things beforehand.' 'Well,' replied her father, 'there is nothing, at any rate, to frighten you to-day. Horace returns this evening. You are glad, are you not?' 'Oh, that I am!' said Rose, joining her hands with almost childish glee. 'You love Horace, do you not?' said her father, not looking at her, but half-opening and shutting one corner of the large volume. 'To be sure I do,' said Rose; 'for I have no brother, and you know Horace was like an elder brother to me.' Colonel O'Donnell's countenance almost imperceptibly fell. 'Do you wish he was your brother?' was his answer. 'Oh, very much!' replied Rose readily. 'Why?' said her father, with some anxiety. 'Oh, I don't know,' said his daughter; 'but I think it is because he would belong to us more, and would not go away.'

"Colonel O'Donnell's face relaxed into a smile of satisfaction as he kissed his daughter's fair forehead. A short silence ensued, which was broken by Rose. 'Does Horace stay long?' 'Not long; that is to say, not long at present,' answered her father, with some mystery. 'But when he returns he *may* stay long—very long. It depends upon'—and Colonel O'Donnell hesitated.

Rose looked in his face with curiosity and anxiety; he made an effort, and concluded his sentence with more firmness—‘upon you, Rose.’ ‘Upon me! how is that possible?’ was her reply. ‘My child,’ resumed her father, ‘I have ever found you a dutiful and affectionate daughter, seeking your happiness in seconding my wishes, and placing a full trust in your father that his wishes could have no other end than that happiness. I feel certain, then, that when you know that I have cherished, ever since your childhood, a favourite project with respect to your future life,—I feel certain, I say, that I shall find you disposed to enter readily into it. I trust also that you cannot but naturally be favourably inclined towards the companion of your childhood, and the son of my earliest and best friend. Left as Horace has been to my care, and standing to me in the place of a son, I have looked forward with fond hope towards a future union between you, which shall separate neither from me, and ensure the happiness of both my children.’

“While Colonel O'Donnell spoke, the colour went and came in Rose's face, but left it at last paler than usual. She attempted to stammer some answer, but the words died on her lips. ‘Enough, enough, my child,’ said her father; ‘I know all you would say. Your silence is sufficient answer. I knew that my wishes would be your guide. I need not assure you that it is also the dearest wish of Horace's heart.’ ‘Oh, hear me a minute!’ said Rose, joining her hands with a look of anxiety and dismay. ‘You know, dearest father, your wishes are always my law; and if I marry, there is none I could prefer to the companion of my childhood and the object of your choice; but in this matter, is there not another's will to consult—can we decide at once that I *am* to marry?’ ‘What means all this?’ interrupted Colonel O'Donnell, impatiently; ‘who has been putting these foolish prejudices against marriage into your head? I thought better of my Rose than to expect a piece of affectation from her.’ ‘It is not affectation or prejudice,’ replied Rose earnestly; ‘neither has any one spoken to me about it; it is every good book I read, every saint's life, that tells me we ought to pray to God to know the state of life He intends us for. I have never—it is my own fault I know—but I have never made it yet the subject of prayer, and can I come to a decision before I have done so?’ ‘I knew it,’ said her father, pushing the desk and book away; ‘it is the poring incessantly over these books night and day which puts these fancies into your mind.’

“Rose might have answered, that if it was so, this was but one of the good effects the lives of God's saints were intended to produce; but like most young persons speaking to those they respect, she felt as if she had to apologise for and excuse herself, rather than to assume any higher ground. ‘Not these books only, father,’ she answered, ‘but every book speaks the same language; the book of devotion you yourself gave me the other day contained prayers for choosing one's state in life.’ Colonel O'Donnell gave no heed, but continued in a satirical tone: ‘And so you expect to be an-

other St. Rose of Lima or St. Theresa? Really, if the idea were not perfectly ludicrous, as coming from my little indolent comfort-loving Rose, I might answer it seriously. What! one who can scarce come down to breakfast in time of a frosty morning; who has her cup of tea in her room if she has a little cold; who sits with her feet in the fender for four or five months of the year; who goes out to see the poor — ay, I know you are fond of doing that, and would spend every sixpence upon them, if I did not insist on a certain sum being laid out on your dress; but who goes out in her little pony-chaise to the village in her well-wadded fur cloak in winter, and carefully shaded in summer by her veil and parasol,— does *she* fancy she has a vocation for a hard convent-life? This was really no sufficient answer to Rose's observation; but shame and the natural diffidence and sensitiveness of her disposition made her feel as if she were in the wrong, and as if she had been guilty of some presumptuous and misplaced remark; she looked down abashed, and the tears came into her eyes. 'And how long,' continued her father, dropping his ironical tone, 'have you had this notion in your mind?' 'Not long,' faltered Rose; 'sometimes lately it has occurred to me.' 'Have you ever spoken to Father Gerard about it?' 'No, never.' 'But how comes it,' he resumed, 'that you have not spoken to your Confessor of that which you consider of such importance?' 'It has never occurred to me till lately,' replied Rose gently; 'and you know we so seldom go to Confession; besides, I have had no very definite ideas upon the subject. What you have just said to me brought it more distinctly before my mind than I ever remember it before.' 'I don't know what you mean by seldom going to Confession,' said her father gravely. 'We go at the eight Indulgences; and considering the distance of Portmore, I think more can hardly be expected.' 'I know that,' said Rose; 'I was not finding fault; I was only accounting for what I had said.'

"Rose's affections were deep, and her sensitiveness extreme; she was, besides, naturally of a yielding disposition; moreover, what she had said was true, her ideas were as yet very indefinite upon this subject; or rather, the first faint whisper perhaps of divine grace to her soul, calling her perchance to a higher life than that of the exercise of the domestic affections and household duties, had as yet much to contend against. It seemed silent now, or at least was unheard amidst the rushing tide of her natural feelings. Rose almost regretted what she had said, and remained silent. After a moment's pause, Colonel O'Donnell took her hand, and began to speak in his usual kind tone. 'My dear Rose, do not suppose I am ignorant that there is such a thing as a vocation. No good Catholic can be so; but I am also not ignorant that God does not leave persons in doubt where such exists; still less does He leave it to be decided by the enthusiastic and inexperienced judgment of an imaginative child. Can there be a worse guide than imagination in these matters? Do you suppose you are able or fit to do

all that you admire? When your heart beats with admiration at the story of some heroic deed of arms, do you believe, because your blood flows quicker and your cheek glows, that you have therefore yourself the courage to mount the breach, or rush into the field? No, my dear Rose, a vocation shews itself in a fitness for that life which it requires, at least a commencement of such fitness; and where there is a total absence of such disposition, to take the imagination for a guide would be ruinous. Believe me, Rose, I have watched you since infancy, and know you better than you do yourself. However, it is far, very far from my wish to control you; I shall interfere with no authority; only I do not choose that the feelings and happiness of my friend's son should be trifled with; and if I am to understand what you have said as the deliberate expression of your disinclination to marry, Horace shall not remain, no, not a day.' 'But, father, leave me some time to think,' said Rose; 'I wish to do what is right, I wish to please you; but I am bewildered, I am confused.' 'This is what I desire to do,' replied her father; 'and I shall much prefer it to any further painful conversation on the matter. If your decision is against my desire, and that you feel that you have an insuperable repugnance to marriage, I never wish to resume the subject again. Now hear me, Rose: Horace comes this evening, but he will not know that I have as yet spoken to you. When you retire, I shall apprise him of your determination; and if adverse, he shall leave Crewe Hall for good, before you have risen to-morrow morning. Now I shall know whether you have so decided by this token.' Here Colonel O'Donnell drew from his bosom a small jewel-case. 'Hitherto, Rose, you have shewn an unwillingness to wearing any ornaments, and I have never pressed you to do so; I now request you, however, to wear this evening this diamond ornament. Your mother wore it the day she pledged her faith to me at the altar. I may yet see it again with pleasure on her child, her living image, and I shall know what it means. I shall know that it means that you desire to please me, should your own inclinations not oppose themselves to my wishes; for, of course, I do not pretend to extort any irrevocable promise from you. But if I see it not,' and Colonel O'Donnell's voice faltered, 'then I shall know that your mind is made up, and that I need look to no more dreams of earthly happiness. God grant that your choice may be for your own!'

"Colonel O'Donnell rose, and left the room. Rose fixed her eyes on the diamond butterfly, and a thought flashed through her mind of the mysterious butterfly, pledge of how different a love, which settled on St. Rose's heart; but she thought next of her father's sad and grave face, and his ruined hopes of peaceful and happy days, and she burst into tears.

"Evening came; and Colonel O'Donnell, with his daughter and Horace Ferrers, was seated in the old oak drawing-room. Rose looked something paler than usual; she wore the same black velvet gown, but the diamond butterfly sparkled upon her bosom."

SHORT NOTICES.

MR. FREEMAN'S *Remarks on the Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral* (Pickering) is a very intelligent essay on one of the most curious, though not one of the most beautiful, of the old English religious structures. The author is one of a school of critics which we trust to see more common. He does not think every abortion a fair creation provided an "example" can be found for it, or, in a passion for details, overlook the *first* element of excellence—proportion. His "History of Architecture" is already well known, and we shall expect another valuable antiquarian work from his joint labours with Mr. Jones on the highly interesting remains at St. David's. We cannot, of course, sympathise with all Mr. Freeman's views, as he is a Protestant, though we are bound to say his pages are less disfigured by sectarianism than the ordinary class of the Anglican books on architecture and art in general. The illustrations, which include a clever "restoration" of the fabric, are all that can be desired.

In the *Dublin Review* for October is an extremely interesting article on German Prophecies respecting the state of the Church. The allusion to the conversion of England in many well-accredited prophecies is not their least remarkable feature. The estimate of Carlyle's abilities in another paper we think much exaggerated.

Cardinal Wiseman's last two *Sermons delivered at St. George's* (Richardson) previous to his departure for Rome will be read with especial interest from the occasion which called them forth. We can only hope that this interest will partly cease by its being proved that they were *not* farewell sermons.

Seven Questions bearing upon the present Ecclesiastical Crisis, by Agathon (Dolman), put cleverly the elementary absurdities of the Protestant rule of faith, and of Protestant notions on the Church, on confession, and other Catholic doctrines and practices. "Agathon" may rest tolerably secure of his five hundred pounds, which he offers for rational replies to his queries.

A Voice from the North, by an English Priest (Masters), is the triumph of coolness. Were it not shocking that persons with such opinions should peril their souls by remaining in the Church which they denounce so bitterly, the cutting and slashing with which this "English Priest" favours his own communion would be entertaining enough.

Two little manuals, *The Office of the Immaculate Conception*, in Latin and English, and the *Psalterium Davidis* (Burns and Lambert), will be useful to many. The latter contains, besides the Psalter complete, the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, and Morning and Evening Prayers, Prayers for a Journey, and the Litanies of the

Holy Name of Jesus and of the Blessed Virgin, all in Latin. It is a very elegant little pocket manual.

The Synod of Thurles, the various synods recently held and still to be held in France and other parts of the continent, and the probability that similar episcopal assemblies may be called together in England, give a peculiar interest to Cardinal de la Luzerne's great work on the *Rights and Duties of Bishops and Priests in the Church*, not long ago published for the first time at Paris (Migne). It is a work of rare learning and completeness, discussing dogmatically and historically a subject which is at all times of great interest, but which was painfully important when the author wrote. When the storms of the early days of the first revolution broke upon the Church and nation of France, the Gallican and Jansenistic principles, which had been too much favoured by some of her prelates, rebounded upon their own heads; and they found it loudly maintained by many and not insignificant writers, that the priesthood sits, by divine right, with the episcopate, in synods and councils, both to deliberate and to judge. This idea was based on certain scriptural texts, and on the fact, that on *some* occasions both priests and laymen had taken a part in such ecclesiastical assemblies. That nothing could be more natural than that in certain circumstances the inferior clergy, and learned and able laymen also, should be *invited* to be present, and even give their opinions, on purely ecclesiastical matters, is not to be questioned. To deny to the episcopate the right of taking advice and gathering information from *any* quarter would be simply absurd. Even of the College of Cardinals laymen are sometimes members.* The assertions of the "constitutional" party in the Gallican Church went, however, far beyond this; their object was clearly a levelling one, and its destructive tendencies demanded a thorough exposure. This they meet with in the admirable work of Cardinal de la Luzerne, then Bishop of Langres. No similar agitations, happily, now disturb the Church, but the mode in which he has treated the subject renders his work of permanent value, and it cannot be too strongly recommended to those who would wish to know how the Church has ever acted in her juridical capacity. The amount of historical knowledge he has brought to bear upon the proceedings of the Councils of the Church, from the earliest to the most recent times, is wonderful.

Of the *Catéchismes philosophiques, polémiques, historiques, dogmatiques, moraux, liturgiques, disciplinaires, canoniques, pratiques, ascétiques, et mystiques*, edited by the Abbé Migne, two large volumes are issued. Each volume, or rather each catechism, is complete in itself; but the whole will form a connected series. They may be ranged under three heads; first, philosophical catechisms, leading the mind to faith, confirming it, and making it fruitful; secondly, doctrinal catechisms, expounding the whole science of revealed dog-

* Monsignor Roberti, one of the newly created Cardinals, is a layman.

ma; and thirdly, spiritual catechisms, setting forth the details of the Christian life, from its first elements to its perfection in the saint. The two volumes before us comprise Feller's "Philosophical Catechism," Aimé's "Catechism on the Foundations of the Faith," Scheffmacher's "Catechism of Controversy," Rohrbacher's "Catechism of Common Sense," Pey's "The Philosopher become Catechist," Le François "Honest Man's Catechism," Alletz's "Catechism of Mature Age," Almeyda's "Harmony of Reason and Religion," Fleury's "Historical Catechism," Powey's "Theological Catechism," Bellarmine's "Explanation of the Apostles' Creed and of Christian Doctrine," Mensi's "Historical, Dogmatic, and Moral Catechism on the principal Festivals," Collot and Bossuet's "Supplement to Mensi," Challoner and Gother's Catechism (translated from the English), Swim's "Spiritual Catechism," and Olier's "Catechism of the Interior Life."

The first of this series, Feller's "Philosophical Catechism," discusses chiefly the difficulties of revelation and religion. Its author was one of the most distinguished of the Jesuit body at the time of the suppression of the society, and the present work is worthy of his reputation. Aimé's catechism is a short but clearly arranged outline of the elements of faith and morals. Scheffmacher's is a manual of the outlines of Catholic controversy. The "Catechism of Common Sense" is one of the most useful in the series. Its author is the learned author of the "History of the Church." His catechism is eminently adapted to minds of the English common sense cast. The two next in order are brilliant and entertaining dialogues between unbelievers and believers. The titles of the rest explain themselves. The whole are eminently adapted to the study of the laity, while they furnish extremely convenient sketches of teaching and controversy to the clergy. The catechetical form into which they are thrown is far from making them stiff and dry; on the contrary, it frequently serves to confer an additional point and freshness. The price, even when the cost of carriage and duty is added, is very low.

A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Pusey on his practice of receiving Persons in Auricular Confession, by William Maskell, M.A. (Pickering), is an extremely able little pamphlet, which should be placed, if possible, in the hands of every penitent of Dr. Pusey, and, indeed, of persons generally belonging to the Anglican communion, who are in the habit of going to confession to any but their own "parish priest." We have no space to enter upon the important question which it discusses, but that it *should* be entered upon and most thoroughly sifted by those whom it concerns, there can be no doubt. A glance at the concluding paragraph is enough to shew this.

"If, then—let me repeat it, *if*—that one clause of the exhortation of your Church on which you so entirely rest, be not indeed a recognition and allowance of your practice, it is undeniably certain that the absolutions which you are accustomed to give secretly and

without authority from your superiors, to persons who come to you without the knowledge and against the consent of their parish-priest, are by those same rules, which you yourself in all other respects most carefully observe, null and invalid. They who have received at your hands 'the benefit of absolution' are, so far as regards any sacramental grace or blessing, still in the bond and under the penalty of their sins."

Such plain speaking *ought* to excite the attention of all High Churchmen who are really in earnest in what they are doing.

A more generally interesting portion of this pamphlet, and one scarcely less important to the Anglicans themselves, will be found at pp. 17-21, where Mr. Maskell unmasks, with a gentle yet unrelenting hand, some of Dr. Pusey's extreme and extraordinary disingenuousness in his recent Letter to the Rev. W. U. Richards. For the particular instances, which are really such as in ordinary matters of this world, and in the writings of most men, could only adequately be designated by a short monosyllable, we must refer our readers to Mr. Maskell's pamphlet itself, in which they will find them kindly but severely exposed.

We must content ourselves with quoting a single passage from Mr. Maskell's interesting remarks upon this branch of his subject. He is commenting on the simple confidence which Dr. Pusey expresses regarding the non-interference of the Anglican Bishops with his practice of hearing confessions any where and every where; and he very properly asks, whether they know what that practice really is. What would they say, he asks, "of persons secretly received (to confession) against the known will of their parents—of confessions heard in the houses of common friends, or of clandestine correspondence to arrange meetings, under initials, or in envelopes addressed to other persons? . . . Think not that I write all this to give you unnecessary pain; think not that I write it without a feeling of deep pain and sorrow in my own heart. But there is something which tells me that, on behalf of thousands, this matter should now be brought before the world, plainly, honestly, and fully. I know how heavily the enforced mystery and secret correspondence regarding confessions, in your communion, has weighed down the minds of many to whom you and others have 'ministered;' I know how bitterly it has eaten, even as a canker, into their very souls; I know how utterly the specious arguments which you have urged have failed to remove their burning sense of shame and of deceitfulness. And for their sakes, forgetting both myself and you, I speak so plainly as I have."

We will only add, that we ourselves know an instance in which an Anglican clergyman and a *penitent of Dr. Pusey*, now a Catholic, traces almost his earliest doubts as to the tenableness of his position to the detection of the disingenuous teaching of his director; and we have heard of other such cases. We know also a mixed family of Catholics and Protestants, in which the conversion to Catholicism of the one portion was hailed as a positive blessing by the

other, because it put an end to so much shuffling, subterfuge, and concealment; and indeed we are convinced that the *morality* (!) of Tractarianism has been, under God's blessing, a most fruitful source of conversions to the Catholic Church, whether it be through the shifting arguments of its teachers, or the miserable devices to which their disciples were driven, in order that they might have an opportunity of practising what they believed to be almost, if not quite, essential to their salvation. Most truly does Mr. Maskell speak of the custom of auricular confession as practised in the Anglican Establishment, as "a custom carefully hidden, concealed, and sometimes almost denied;" and gladly we hail this contribution towards "bringing it before the world plainly, honestly, and fully."

The History of England for Catholic Children (Burns and Lambert) is a little work whose appearance we welcome with great pleasure, not only on account of its own merits, but because we hope it is the beginning of a series of educational books for Catholic children. The want of such books is grievously felt by all who are engaged in teaching; for, as it is, we must either content ourselves with meagre and ill-written compilations, or use Protestant books, thereby laying on ourselves the burden of incessant watchfulness to guard our children's minds against false impressions.

The little work before us is one of considerable ability; the narrative is full of freshness and life, and evidently drawn from original sources; and we cannot but admire the taste and skill with which the author has selected such points as are likely to strike the imaginations of children. The general fairness too of the views inculcated is much to be admired: in the account, for instance, of the reign of Queen Elizabeth,—while the wickedness of the dominant party and of the Queen herself is exposed, and held up to detestation, as it ought to be; at the same time, all the brighter points, such as the brilliancy of the court, the talents of the Queen, and her spirited conduct on some occasions, are faithfully brought forward.

We have noticed in a rapid perusal several little errors in matters of fact, which should be corrected in the next edition: among others, the statement that Burke was educated at a Catholic college, and that Grattan and Curran were Catholics. We would also recommend the author to reconsider the last two chapters, and to omit the mention of living individuals, which, whatever be the truth of what is said, is rarely in good taste. How can Charles the Second, also, be called, "with all his faults, a straight-forward good-hearted man?" Considering, again, what was the character of James the Second before his downfall, it can but lead to error to head the chapter which tells his history, "*Holy King James*," or to omit all mention of his immoralities. Still the work is eminently useful, and just what a Catholic child's history should be.

M. Perret, an accomplished French artist, has been engaged for five years in the Catacombs of Rome, tracing the frescoes and mea-

suring the monuments with the greatest care. A great number of the frescoes and monuments are unpublished, and a large proportion has been discovered since 1840. He brought his collection of drawings, to the number of 360, to England, and exhibited them to many persons. He wishes to publish the work in Paris, and the French Government has generously promised to take no less than 100 copies at 500*fr.*; the publishing price in England will probably be from 20*l.* to 25*l.*

The drawings are extremely beautiful, and, as we can testify in many instances, quite accurate. The work will be divided into two parts: 219 plates of frescoes and monuments; 141 of a selection of glass paintings, lamps, and inscriptions from museums at Rome; the former will be by far the most important part of the work; we should rather see it published by itself, as in 141 plates, so meagre a collection of the inscriptions will be given, that it will be of little use. Besides, M. Perret is an artist, not a scholar, and therefore his principle of selection is not such a one as is required for a great work on the *inscriptions* of the early Christians.

Correspondence.

POPULAR SERVICES.

To the Editor of the Rambler.

SIR,—I have read with great interest the remarks on Popular Services which occur in your last Number, in the review of Father Faber's three Lectures; and as I have myself experienced the truth of your observation as to "the contrast which too many of our English Catholic churches present to a vast number of the Catholic churches on the continent" in this respect, I am induced to send you a few lines upon the same subject, if you should think them worth inserting in some future Number.

A few years ago, an Anglican clergyman of high standing, who chanced to be on a visit to the city of Naples, was anxious to see something, as he said, of the *working* of the Catholic Church, especially with reference to her public services. A festival of some importance falling on a week-day when his own English chapel was closed, soon gave him the desired opportunity; and in company with one of his brethren, who had been resident in Naples for some time, he set forth to make his observations in the cathedral. Those who have had an opportunity of witnessing the very orderly way in which every thing is conducted there under the watchful eye of the excellent Archbishop, his Eminence the Cardinal Sforza, will not need to be told that our Anglican inquirer found the stalls well filled by a goodly array of canons, and that he enjoyed the treat of hearing the Divine Office very correctly chanted by a number of priests, of ecclesiastical students, and of other more juvenile choristers. But there were scarcely a dozen persons in the church

who seemed to be paying any attention to what was going on, so that the Anglican stranger, as he left the building, rather triumphantly observed, "Ah, it is just as I supposed, the clergy are going one way and the people another, because they *will* have their services in Latin." His friend, who knew somewhat more of the real state of things (*plus sapuit quam oportet sapere*, I fear), made no reply, but only led him on to another church at no great distance, and desired him to go in. Scarcely had he crossed the threshold, before he turned round and declared his inability to proceed, the atmosphere was so intolerable. "Oh, go on; get further in, nearer to the high altar, there will be more space there," said his guide, who had maliciously planted himself behind, so as to cut off the possibility of a retreat. This advice, however, it was easier to give than to follow; no efforts could succeed in penetrating far through that dense mass of people; still he advanced a little, far enough to discern a tall thin figure swaying to and fro in the pulpit, and to hear the weak tones of an impassioned voice delivering some earnest practical exhortation to a most eager and attentive audience. Presently, the voice of the frail old man gave way, and he bade his listeners give him a little relief by singing a verse of a hymn. And now our Anglican friend was fairly beaten out of the field; if his olfactory nerves had been somewhat offended upon his first entrance into the church, he now felt as if his very head would split under the action of that tremendous roar of voices which instantly rose up around him in some popular cantique, some hymn in honour of the Adorable Sacrament or of our Blessed Lady, or whatever else it may chance to have been. As soon as he could effect his escape into the open air, he found that his views upon the separation of the clergy from the people in matters of religion had been considerably modified during his short visit to the Gesù Vecchio at Naples.

Now it is not, of course, to be expected that every parish priest, either in England or elsewhere, should be a Don Placido; but neither do I think that the scene I have been describing really depended in any way upon the personal influence or the eloquence of that remarkable preacher; I have seen the same *kind* of thing, though not perhaps to the same degree, in places where there has certainly been no similar source of attraction. On the other hand, I have never seen any thing at all like it in the singing of Vespers or Compline; nothing half so popular, so congregational. I have heard these most beautiful portions of the Divine Office sung in the most unexceptionable manner by canons, or monks, or friars, or professional choirs, and it has often been a great treat to listen to them; and I have also heard them sung in a most excruciating manner through the inability of the performers; but I certainly never heard them sung at all generally by a congregation. There has often been a congregation present, but they have either silently listened to the music for awhile, then taken a stroll up and down the spacious aisles, and then returned to listen to a little more; or the more orderly and devout have been engaged with some pious book, with their rosary, or some other private devotions, only waiting for the sermon, or the Benediction, or whatever else of a more popular character was intended to follow.

On the other hand, nothing can be more striking than the congregational character of some of the afternoon and evening devotions, in which the people *do* take part. First, there is the Rosary in very common use, and sometimes so entirely popular in its mode of recital that I have heard it in small country places (where there has been but a single priest perhaps belonging to the parish) conducted by a poor congrega-

tion that had not one educated person amongst them, without the presence of any ecclesiastic whatever. Ordinary night-prayers, again, are not uncommonly the public devotions of the evening in places where the congregation is chiefly made up of the poorer classes; but these prayers are not merely read by the priest for the people, each one recites them also aloud for himself, and a pretty Babel it is to the outward ear, though cheering enough to the heart and the understanding. To these is sometimes added, by way of appendix, some popular hymn, either to the adorable Sacrament of the Altar or to the Blessed Mother of God; and here, again, the priest often leaves the people entirely to themselves; he is gone into the sacristy, after giving Benediction, all the lights upon the altar are extinguished, but still the congregation continue their hymn, often for a very considerable time, either all singing together, or those who happen to be on the opposite sides of the church singing the alternate verses, of course without any musical accompaniment.

Another exceedingly common devotion for the evening in the churches of central and southern Italy (for it is only of this part of Catholic Europe that I am speaking) is to be found in the frequent Novenas before all the Feasts of our Lord, of our Blessed Lady, and of the principal Saints, and again in their octaves, and these generally consist of a number of prayers recited by the priest, to which the people unite their intentions in several Our Fathers and Hail Marys repeated between every prayer. The same account also is to be given of the exercises of numerous congregations and confraternities, which, as they exist in Catholic countries, often supply the framework of the afternoon or evening functions; such as the Congregation of the *Bona Mors*, for example, which I am induced to specify rather than any other, only because of its more general character, and the universal sympathy which naturally attaches to its object.

A few prayers of this kind, then, together with a sermon, the Litany of Loretto, and Benediction, constitute the ordinary public function of a Sunday afternoon or evening in those countries which I have mentioned, and an exceedingly popular one it is. In most places its popularity is greatly enhanced also by the peculiar character of the sermon, or, as in some places, of the catechising. The public catechism, conducted by the Jesuits in their *Missione Urbana* every Sunday afternoon in one or other of the principal churches of Rome, is familiar to all who have studied the religious habits of that city, and some account of it has been given to your readers in a former volume;* this is only an extreme instance of what I mean, the same kind of popular colloquial character belongs to the evening functions in many of the most interesting Italian churches. In the Chiaja of Naples is a little chapel, dedicated to Santa Maria della Luce, frequented almost exclusively by fishermen, and served by three priests, brothers, and themselves also sons of a fisherman. Go in there on a Sunday evening, or indeed almost on any evening of the week, and if you are not too much inconvenienced by the closeness of the atmosphere around you, you will enjoy a most curious and edifying spectacle. A number of rough, weather-beaten, bare-legged mariners, sitting or standing with open mouth and eyes, listening to a very plain-spoken priest, who stands in a pulpit but slightly raised above the level of his congregation, and who is preaching, or rather I should say, is talking to them, about prayer. He has just been laying down some practical rules for the better avoidance of distractions in prayer, when suddenly one of his simple audience looks

* See also vol. i. p. 375.

up at him, and says, "But, father, the devil is too strong for me; distractions *will* come;" whereupon a regular conversation ensues between the priest and the fisherman, in which perhaps two or three others also from different parts of the chapel presently take part. However, I must not allow myself to be carried away by the pleasant recollection of these scenes into a digression that would lead far from the subject before us, nor would I for a moment be understood as implying that the usages of Rome or Naples either could or should be literally transplanted into England; it may be that they are not suited to the thoughts, tastes, or dispositions of English Catholics, or even to the capabilities of our national character. I have only spoken of them here that you may understand how *extremely* popular and congregational many of the foreign devotions are, and what a striking contrast they present to the ordinary character of those in our own churches. I say the *ordinary* character, for I believe that there are numerous exceptions, more numerous perhaps than would seem to be implied by the language of the article in your last Number to which I have referred. It would not only be difficult to find an Italian congregation, the majority of which did not join in voice as well as in heart in the Litany of Loretto and in the hymns at Benediction, it would be simply impossible to find such a phenomenon, excepting on extraordinary occasions, when, by way of doing honour to some high festival, the choir has been allowed to indulge in the performance of some new and elaborate tune, too difficult to follow; and even then the voices of the people would pretty certainly struggle through the attempt to silence them, and insist upon being heard at least in the *Ora pro nobis*, even if the composer had not prudently provided this as a convenient outlet for their zeal. The *Tantum ergo*, as sung by a Roman congregation, is a thing to remember and be thankful for all one's days; not for its harmony, but as the most fervent outpouring of human devotion which one can hope to witness on this side the grave. A Protestant clergyman has recorded his own amazement, and that of other English Protestants, his friends, at the religious services of the Jesuits' church of Naples, how "they were quite startled by the first response of that five thousand in prayer," how "it is impossible to forget the fulness and the earnestness of the *one voice* of that congregation, the voice of thousands, and yet one it would seem in heart, and one almost in sound." It is indeed a wonderful scene, not only to Protestants, but even to English Catholics, accustomed only to "the decorous silence of their frigid countrymen:" yet in Italy it is not a scene peculiar to the Jesuits' churches, excepting only in as far as their churches are larger and better filled perhaps than many others; but the very same thing is to be heard—the same in kind, only necessarily inferior in degree—not only in the churches of towns and cities, but even of villages and hamlets.

Let us hope that one day the devotion which lurks in the heart of the English Catholic full as deeply, I am sure, as in that of the Italian, may break through the trammels of English *mauvaise honte*, and burst forth in a flood of fervent song, as intense and heart-stirring, if not more harmonious.—Yours, &c.

M. N. H.

Ecclesiastical Register.

ELEVATION OF DR. WISEMAN TO THE CARDINALATE.— THE ENGLISH HIERARCHY.

ON the 30th of September the long-anticipated event, pregnant with momentous consequences to this nation, and through England to the world, took place in Rome. His Holiness proclaimed the following Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church:

OF THE ORDER OF PRIESTS.

Mgr. *Raphael Fornari*, Archbishop of Nicæa, Nuncio-Apostolic to the French Republic, born at Rome on Jan. 23, 1787; reserved, *in petto*, at the Secret Consistory of Dec. 21st, 1846.

Mgr. *Paul-Theresa-David d'Astros*, Archbishop of Toulouse, in France, born at Tours Oct. 13th, 1772.

Mgr. *John-Joseph Bonnel y Orbo*, Archbishop of Toledo, in Spain, born at Pinos della Valle, in the archbishopric of Grenada, March 17th, 1782.

Mgr. *Joseph Cosenza*, Archbishop of Capua, in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, born at Naples Feb. 20th, 1788, transferred from the Episcopal Church of Andria.

Mgr. *Jacques-Maria-Adrien-César Mathieu*, Archbishop of Besançon, in France, born at Paris Jan. 20th, 1796.

Mgr. *Jude-Joseph Romo*, Archbishop of Seville, in Andalusia, in Spain, born at Cavixar, in the archbishopric of Toledo, Jan. 9th, 1779.

Mgr. *Thomas Gousset*, Archbishop of Rheims, in France, born at Montigny-les-Cherlieux, in the archbishopric of Besançon, May 1st, 1792.

Mgr. *Maximilian-Joseph-Godfrey*, Baron de Semeranbeekh, Archbishop of Olmutz, in Moravia, born at Vienna Dec. 21st, 1796.

Mgr. *John Geissel*, Archbishop of Cologne, in the states of the King of Prussia, in Germany, born at Giammeldingen, in the diocese of Spire, Feb. 4th, 1796.

Mgr. *Peter-Paul de Figueredo de Cunha e Mello*, Archbishop of Braga, in Portugal, born at Faveiro, in the diocese of Coimbra, June 19th, 1770.

Mgr. *Nicholas Wiseman*, Archbishop of Westminster, in England, a Metropolitan Church recently erected by his Holiness, transferred from the Church of Melipotamus *in partibus*, Vicar-Apostolic of the District of London, born at Seville August 2d, 1802.

Mgr. *Joseph Pecci*, Bishop of Gubio, born at Gubio April 13th, 1776.

Mgr. *Melchior de Diepenbrock*, Bishop of Breslau, in Silesia, born at Bochald, in the diocese of Munster, Jan. 9th, 1798.

OF THE ORDER OF DEACONS.

Mgr. *Roberto Roberti*, Auditor-General of the Rota, Apostolic Chamber, born at St. Giusto, in the diocese of Fermo, Dec. 23d, 1788.

The following details are taken from Roman letters in the *Univers*, the *Ami de la Religion*, and the *Times*:

"On the 29th of September, St. Michael's day, the Holy Father visited the Hospital of St. Michael; and after having heard Mass in the church of that establishment, his Holiness promulgated, in a hall that had been arranged for the ceremony, two decrees of the Congregation of Rites. The first recognised the heroicity of the virtues of the Venerable Servant of God Angela-Maria Astorch, a Spanish Capuchin Nun; the second declared that the beatification might be proceeded with of

the Venerable Maria Anna de Jesus de Paredes, Virgin, of Peru, called the Lily of Quito. The Society of Jesus are conducting this cause, and defray the expenses of it. The beatification of the last-mentioned servant of God is likely to take place next May, as also that of the Venerable Peter Claver. The postulators of these two causes addressed, as usual, a few words expressive of their gratitude to his Holiness, to which the Holy Father graciously replied. The Pope then inspected the Hospital of St. Michael, attended by Cardinal Torti and other distinguished personages, amongst whom was General Gemeau.

On the 30th a Secret Consistory was held at the Vatican, at which were preconised twelve new Archbishops and Bishops, and fourteen illustrious Prelates were raised to the dignity of the Cardinalate. After the consistory was over, three messengers were sent to announce the intelligence to each of the four Cardinals at present in Rome, and other messengers were to start in the course of a few hours to convey the news of their promotion to the Cardinals residing in foreign countries. These messengers are chosen from among the noble guards of the Pope, and are followed by young prelates, whose mission to the new Cardinals is of a more formal character. The new Cardinals will afterwards be appointed members of several of the congregations which assist the Holy Father in the government of the Church.

The *Times* correspondent comments as follows on the nominations :

"The consistory of this day is one of the most remarkable in modern times, from the circumstance of ten out of the fourteen Cardinals having been chosen from foreign states, and only four of them being Italians. The principle on which the selection of the new Cardinals has been made is the same that has guided the Pope in other instances, especially in the nomination of his foreign *camerieri segreti partecipanti*. It has long been admitted in theory, that the Papacy is not merely an Italian, but a European, or to speak more properly, a universal power. Its Italian character, however, has generally so far preponderated as to make the superficial observer overlook its more extended relations. A petty Italian state, governed by Italians, with little or no influence on countries at a distance, while they in their turn felt little interest in it,—such is the idea of the Papacy which has been most familiar to men's minds. Individual Catholics from one pole to the other bowed down in submissive respect before its authority, but nations and governments collectively seemed to regard it with indifference. Its recent disasters have produced for it one advantage, they have shewn that its importance is not to be measured by the few square miles of its territory, or by the small numbers of its population. All the powers of the Old and New World have felt, spoken, and acted towards it in a way which would be ridiculous if they regarded only its size or its physical resources ; and for the first time in history, the combined action of some of the principal nations in Europe have replaced the Pope on the oldest throne in the world. Thus has been effected what in some sense may be called the 'rehabilitation' of the Papacy as more than an Italian state ; and Pius IX., following out the idea, has looked beyond Italy for counsellors, and called to the honour of the purple a greater portion of foreign Cardinals than former precedents in the last three hundred years would have authorised.

"As soon as Dr. Wiseman received the notice of his elevation, he placed himself, according to the usages, upon the threshold of one of the state rooms at the Palace of the Consulate, where his reception took place, to receive the congratulations of the Cardinals and Ambassadors, who sent their attendants for the purpose. The visit, styled from its hurry the *visita di calire*, occupied two or three hours. This afternoon each of the new Cardinals will proceed, with the blinds drawn, to the

Vatican, where his Holiness will give them the red *beretta*, or cap, after which Cardinal Wiseman, in the name of the others, will return thanks, standing, for the honour bestowed upon his colleagues and himself. As they leave the Pope's apartment they will receive from an attendant the red *zucchotto*, or skull-cap. They will afterwards go home with the carriage darkened as before, and during the next three days they must remain always at home. This evening the Cardinals, Ambassadors, and nobility, Roman and foreign, present their congratulations in person to each of the new Cardinals. M. Martinez de la Rosa, Ambassador of Spain, was to hold a grand reception at the palace of the Spanish embassy. The Bishops of Andria and Gubio reside in the House of the Theatines, at St. Andrea della Valle, and ladies will not be able to attend their reception; but the Cardinals who reside in the city usually request one of their own family, or some lady of rank, to receive the princesses and other ladies who may wish to be presented on the occasion. Our countrywoman, the Princess Doria, will do the honours for Cardinal Wiseman, and the Princess Massimo will receive for Cardinal Roberti. On these occasions there is generally a grand display of the diamonds of the noble Roman families, and curiosity is attracted by the brilliant jewels of the Torlonias, and the splendid heirlooms of the Doria, Borghese, Ruspignosi, and others.

"On the mornings of Tuesday and Wednesday the Roman Princes will visit the new Cardinals in state, the rule being that no two Princes be present at the same time, in order that the rank and precedence which etiquette obliges them to respect may be duly preserved. The Generals of the Religious Orders will likewise attend to offer their respects. The great ceremonies, however, are reserved for Thursday morning. At an early hour the new Cardinals take the oaths in the Sistine Chapel, whilst the other Cardinals assemble in the Sala Ducale, or Hall of the Consistories, near the chapel. The new Cardinals are introduced, and, kneeling, receive the red hat from the Pope, with an admonition that its colour is to remind them that they are to be ready to shed their blood, if necessary, for the Church. They are then embraced by their colleagues, and take their places among them. The *Te Deum* is afterwards sung, whilst the new Cardinals are prostrate on the floor. At this public consistory all may be present; but a secret consistory is afterwards held, in which the Pope declares the mouths of the new Cardinals closed, so that they are incapable of voting upon matters appertaining to the judgment of their colleagues, until by another act at the end of the consistory, their mouths are declared to be opened. Between the closing and opening a considerable time may elapse, during which the candidates can vote for the election of a new Pope in conclave only. At this secret consistory each Cardinal receives a sapphire ring, for which he pays 500 crowns, for the benefit of the missions to Asia, China, and other countries, and a title or church is assigned to him. I believe that the Cardinal Wiseman will receive the title of St. Pudentiana, who is stated by ancient authors to have been a granddaughter of the celebrated British chieftain Caractacus, and whose church is said to contain memorials of the earliest days of the preaching of Christianity in Rome. In the afternoon of the same day the new Cardinals will visit St. Peter's in state, followed by the carriages of their colleagues and other personages. In the evening a curious ceremony will close the solemnities of their promotion. The keeper of his Holiness's wardrobe will bring the red hat, which was placed on his head in the morning, to each of the Cardinals, who will receive it in full costume, standing near the throne erected for the Pope in every Cardinal's residence. Complimentary addresses are made by

the keeper and by the Cardinal, who then retires, puts on a simpler dress, and returns to attend his visitors. Refreshments are handed round, and at a suitable hour they retire, and all is over."

The arrangements for the English hierarchy are said to be as follows:—
There are to be thirteen Bishops instead of eight Vicars-Apostolic.

The Archbishop of Westminster (for Middlesex, Essex, Herts).

Bishop of Southwark (for Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants).

„ Plymouth (for Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorset).

„ Clifton (for Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Wilts).

„ Newport and St. David's (South Wales, Monmouthshire, Herefordshire).

„ Shrewsbury (Cheshire, Salop, North Wales).

„ Birmingham (Staffordshire, Berks, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Oxon).

„ Nottingham (Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Bucks, Beds, Rutland).

„ Northampton (Northamptonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire).

„ Beverley (Yorkshire).

„ Salford (Lancashire, Eastern Division).

„ Liverpool (Lancashire, Western Division).

„ Hexham (Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham).

The *Univers* has the following :

"All the English Catholics residing at Rome have been desirous of testifying their gratitude to the Holy Father for the great act by which the Supreme Pontiff has re-established in England the Episcopal Hierarchy, and which alone would be sufficient to immortalise a Pontificate. On Sunday, the 6th inst., Cardinal Wiseman himself presented to his Holiness these generous Christians, amongst whom are a great number of converts. All the members of the English College, conducted by their respected rector, Dr. Grant, united in the deputation, which was received by the Supreme Pontiff not merely with kindness, but with real joy. Having expressed his satisfaction at having been able to accomplish this important project, he thus continued, in the presence of Cardinal Wiseman :

"I had not intended sending the new Cardinal back into England ; I had thought of retaining him near my own person, and of profiting by his counsels. But I perceived that the proper moment was come for executing the great enterprise for which you have come to return me thanks. I do not think there will be any thing to apprehend in consequence. I spoke of it at the time to Lord Minto, and I understood that the English Government would not oppose the execution of my design. I send back, therefore, into England the eminent Cardinal, and I invite you all to pray unceasingly, that the Lord will remove all difficulties, and that He will lead into the new Church a million—three millions of your fellow-countrymen, still separated from us, to the end that he may cause them all to enter, even to the last man."

"This is the purport of the words of the Supreme Pontiff as our correspondent has been able to gather them from the lips of one of the happy witnesses of that scene. The Cardinal replied that there was nothing to be feared on the part of the English Government, and that he hoped that Providence would grant success to a project upon which depends the religious destinies of England. The deputation retired, carrying away with them the most affectionate and paternal blessing of the Vicar of Jesus Christ."

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY FOR IRELAND.

THE following Archbishops and Bishops, two from each of the four provinces, were appointed by the Synod of Thurles as a permanent Committee for carrying into execution the important project of establishing a Catholic University in Ireland, with power to name as members of the Committee one clergyman and one layman each: the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, the Most Rev. Dr. Slattery, the Most Rev. Dr. M'Hale, the Right Rev. Dr. Cantwell, the Right Rev. Dr. Haly, the Right Rev. Dr. Foran, the Right Rev. Dr. Derry. The Rev. Patrick Leahy, President of the College of Thurles, was appointed secretary to the Committee.

At the first meeting of the Prelates forming the committee, the following clergymen were appointed members of the committee: the Rev. P. Cooper, Dublin; the Very Rev. Dean Meyler, Dublin; the Rev. P. Leahy, President of the College of Thurles; the Rev. D. O'Brien, President of the College of Waterford; the Rev. Dr. O'Hanlon, Maynooth College; the Rev. James Maher, P.P., Graigue, Carlow; the Rev. Mr. Brennan, P.P., Kildare.

The eight above-mentioned Prelates have issued a most important address to the Catholics of Ireland, from which we take the following paragraphs:

"In a highly artificial state of society, such as we live in, secular education of a high order is a thing of absolute necessity, whether to the professional man, or the merchant, or the private gentleman, none of whom can maintain his position in society, much less take a lead in the career of honourable competition, unless his natural talents have been previously formed to the pursuits of life by the hand of education. Hence, to promote the cause of learning, and with that view to create educational institutions suited to the exigences of society, must be deemed an object of paramount importance. Fully impressed with this conviction, the Catholic Bishops of Ireland deem it a duty incumbent on them, to the utmost of their power, influence, and means, to provide for the Catholic youth of Ireland education of a high order, every way commensurate with the intellectual wants of the time; and we, in their name, earnestly exhort you, the people of Ireland, the interest of whose children and children's children are at stake, to co-operate heart and soul according to your respective abilities in forwarding this great national undertaking. But its strongest recommendation to you is, its bearing on the interests of the Catholic religion for generations to come; for the grand object in view is to make the Catholic religion the basis of a system of academical education as extensive and diversified as any to be found in the most distinguished universities of Europe, so that the youth of the country may enjoy all the benefits of the highest education without any detriment to their faith or morals.

"Without undervaluing secular learning, or overrating the importance of religion, is it not of the utmost consequence that the education of our youth be Catholic? One of the greatest calamities of modern times is the separation of religion from science; whereas the perfection of knowledge is the union of both, which produces the most perfect form of civilised society, by making men not only learned, but also good Christians. So far from there being any antagonism between religion and science, they are a mutual advantage, each reflecting light upon and facilitating the acquisition of the other. Why, then, should they be separated in the education of youth? Is it not preposterous to instruct in every

species of knowledge save that which alone is necessary—the knowledge of religion—in comparison with which the science of Newton fades away into insignificance? ‘Better is an humble rustic who serves God, than a proud philosopher who neglects himself while he considers the course of the heavens.’ ‘What doth it profit a man to know the whole world and lose his own soul?’ And lose it he may, if he launches out on the wide sea of speculation without the polar star of religion to guide his course. Sacred Scripture testifies that the ‘knowledge’ of this world ‘puffeth up’* with pride—intellectual pride—which is the forerunner of a fall, for ‘God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.’† And at what period of the world’s history have men of science gone so much astray after the devices of their own imagination as at the present time, when we behold the sciences claimed for their own by men unjustly assuming the name of philosophers, whose wild theories are as inconsistent with all sound philosophy as their social, or rather anti-social, principles are subversive of all order? From science without religion has sprung that spurious philosophy which has overrun so many of the schools and colleges and universities of the continent of Europe, and which the professors of Atheism, Pantheism, and every form of unbelief, make the groundwork of their impious system. The youth of Ireland shall, with God’s blessing, be saved from the taint of this mischievous philosophy by a thoroughly Catholic education. And this is one of the grand objects of a Catholic University.

“Besides the detriment to the faith and morals of individuals, the separation of religion from secular education is fraught with danger to society at large. If you reduce to a general system the principle of separating religious from secular education, at no distant day anarchy will be the result; for religion is a necessary supplement to law and authority; where its salutary restraints are wanting, these latter will not be able to enforce obedience or preserve order; they will be overthrown by the violence which they attempt in vain to control, and society will fall back into a state of chaos.

“This is what in the nature of things must happen whenever religion is systematically excluded from public education, as it has happened in our own time. Witness the first French Revolution, the master-spirits in which proscribed religion from the public schools, well knowing that every effort to revolutionise the mind of France would prove abortive so long as the Catholic Church presided over the education of the country. The horrors that ensued, filling as they do one of the blackest pages in history, afforded a terrible lesson to all the nations of the earth on the dangers of science without religion, and on the infatuation of the policy that would in an evil hour separate by an unholy divorce what the one divine Author of Truth had united by an indissoluble bond. It was only the other day that Providence, in its mercy, saved the nations of Europe from similar calamities arising from the same cause. In the revolutions which recently agitated the Continent, who were every where the apostles of rebellion, the standard-bearers of anarchy? Were they not students of the colleges and universities, in which, according to the modern fashion, every thing is taught but religion? in which the place and function of religion are usurped by a philosophy that saps the foundations of true faith, corrupts the morals of youth, and sends them forth into society to become the most active fomenters of every mischief. God forbid that so baneful a system should ever take root in our country. Should the sovereign of these realms ever have to invoke the loyalty of the well-

* 1 Cor. viii.

† James iv. 6.

disposed against the designs of turbulent men, the youth brought up in a Catholic University would be found in the front rank of the defenders of order; and hence, the British statesman who would surround the throne with devoted subjects, and give to society good citizens, must, on the ground at least of a wise state-policy, sincerely desire to see the youth of Ireland brought up according to the strict principles of the Catholic faith.

“But more is required to complete a Catholic education. As it is a capital article of our belief that faith alone will not suffice for salvation, but must be accompanied by the works of practical morality, it follows that a sound Catholic education must be moral as well as dogmatic—not stopping short with teaching the principles of faith, but also training up youth by a course of exact moral discipline, and habituating them to the observations of Catholic piety; and this union it is of dogmatic and moral instruction which forms the perfect moral character, by teaching us to render to our Sovereign Maker the homage of the two great faculties of our nature—of the understanding which becomes captive to his unerring word, and of the will which bends to his high commands. It is so the Catholic Church has ever taught her children. The lives of her saints, the writings of her doctors, the statutes of her synods, the constitutions of her religious societies, the education imparted in her schools, colleges, and universities,—all testify that the Catholic Church is not content to promote the study of letters without also sanctifying it by the influence of religion; and that she looks upon the work of education as only half done unless diligent moral culture and practical piety proceed *pari passu* with intellectual improvement. This thoroughly Catholic education will be carried out in all its details in our proposed Catholic University.

“Besides the conservative influence, so to call it, of religion, a Catholic University would also impart a higher tone to the Catholic body; it would diffuse Catholic notions through the mass of society; it would create a greater interest in all that concerns the welfare of the Catholic religion; it would diffuse a taste for Catholic literature, Catholic arts, Catholic institutions of every sort; it would create a large body of learned men, who would exercise an important influence on society,—men competent, on the one hand, to vindicate the cause of religion against the insidious attacks of a miscalled but dangerous science, and, on the other, to rescue science from the use to which it has been perverted, by dissociating it from, and even turning it against, religion; it would educate every one to that lofty Catholic principle, that religion is a consideration paramount to every other, and therefore never to be compromised in order to purchase any temporal advantage whatever: in these, and many ways besides, a Catholic University would serve as a grand centre for diffusing the living principle of faith through the whole Catholic body, and communicating its vivifying influence to the most distant and least important parts.

“We are a Catholic people. As such, ought we not have a great Catholic institution, in which the aspiring youth of the country may enjoy all the advantages of a superior university education, and at the same time be imbued with a thoroughly Catholic spirit? Many of them being destined to be our future magistrates, lawyers, statesmen, it is of great importance, in an age distinguished for judicial, forensic, and senatorial talent, to provide every facility for the development of Catholic genius; but it is of immeasurably greater importance that our rising youth, the hope of the country, shall be, not bigots, but enlightened Catholics; not Catholics in name, but in truth and in deed, in

principle and in action; not men of expediency, ever ready to sacrifice the dearest interests of religion to the necessities of state-policy, but men who would not compromise one iota of religion or its interests to gain the whole world,—men, in a word, formed on the model of that distinguished nobleman in a neighbouring country, whose strong attachment to his faith makes him the glory of the Catholic world, inspires him with the loftiest sentiments, and imparts its greatest brilliancy to his truly splendid eloquence. Give us a generation of such men, and the face of things will be renewed in Ireland. Give us a Catholic University, and you will have such men.

“The project of a Catholic University is met with objections from two classes of persons—one mostly Protestant, the other Catholic. Our Protestant brethren ought not, surely, to take it ill that we desire to establish a Catholic University. Whilst they may be said to have Trinity College for themselves, and have also a gorgeous Church-establishment, supported by the Catholics of Ireland, they cannot complain if, having done so much to maintain the temporal state of Protestantism, the Catholics of Ireland out of their limited resources make the attempt to erect a great literary institution which shall be all out Catholic, at the same time that it meets the intellectual demands of the country. Ought not such an effort to elicit the applause, if it did not command the support, of every liberal Protestant, were it only that, for the honour of the British empire, we should no longer be the only Catholic people in Europe without a Catholic University?

“The project of a Catholic University, it may be said, is conceived in a spirit of narrow-minded bigotry, and opposed to the cultivation of that good feeling between the members of different religious creeds so desirable in a country long divided by contending religious parties. Professing ourselves second to none in our desire to cultivate peace and amity with all men, we assert, nor can it offend any one to assert, that the Catholics of Ireland, throughout their religious struggle, have been acting on the defensive, striving to regain the just rights of which they had been deprived, or resisting new aggressions upon the remnant still left them. We maintain that the Catholics, who are emphatically the people of Ireland, are as clearly entitled, without incurring the charge of bigoted exclusiveness, to have an exclusively Catholic University as to profess the Catholic faith, and it alone, and without any admixture, or to adore God in churches exclusively devoted to Catholic worship. We fear that any attempt to fuse down all religions into one mass would result in an indifferentism more fatal to the interests of true religion, and more dangerous to society, than the most violent religious contentions. And then, as to the cultivation of kindly feeling between man and man, we believe that the Catholic who is brought up strictly according to the tenets of his own Church will in all the relations of life be incomparably a better man than one who is not so brought up,—more obedient as a subject, more useful as a citizen, more exact in observing all the charities of life towards those who profess a different religion.

“Some few Catholics object against the project of a Catholic University, because in the present circumstances of the country they fear it is an impossibility. No doubt the difficulties are great, but the project is by no means an impossibility. No great work was ever undertaken that was not attended with difficulties, which the timid and weak-hearted are every ready to magnify into impossibilities. However, while they are speculating, and doubting, and holding back, all difficulties disappear before energy and perseverance, and the work is done. What the isolated efforts of individuals cannot accomplish, becomes easy by union;

and the most astonishing results, as we see every day, are accomplished by Catholic faith combining together all hearts and sentiments and views, and directing them to the attainment of one common object. We trust in the faith of Ireland. With the blessing of Divine Providence, it is able to surmount the difficulties, whatever they may be, that stand in the way of a Catholic University.

“Relying on so many grave considerations, we, in the name of the Bishops assembled in the great National Synod, call upon you, the Catholic clergy and people of Ireland, to throw yourselves heart and soul into this great work, and to assist, according to your means, in carrying it into immediate execution. And if you will exhibit the respect of dutiful children to the expressed wishes of the common Father of the Faithful,—if you will hearken with docility to the united voices of your chief pastors, issuing from a Council as august as any that was ever held in our national Church,—if, for the first time in the annals of our history, you, the people of Ireland, will not sever yourselves from a clergy that in every vicissitude of fortune remained faithful to you,—if you wish that the youth of Ireland shall not be led astray by the science of this world, ‘which puffeth up’ with pride, corrupts the heart, unsettles the faith, disturbs society, and overturns the throne and the altar, but that they shall be imbued with science, ‘the beginning’ of which ‘is the fear of the Lord,’ and its end peace, order, obedience, happiness, both spiritual and temporal,—if you wish to hand down to future generations that Catholic faith for which we have suffered so much, and which is the first principle of civilisation,—then will this appeal not have been made in vain—then we shall have the happiness to see you, the Catholic clergy and people of Ireland, united as one man in carrying out a work that will do honour to your enlightened and patriotic zeal, and prove to the world the enduring strength of Ireland’s faith. And this, we anticipate, will, with God’s blessing, be the result of our appeal.”

NEW CATHOLIC CHURCHES.—New churches, all structures worthy of their sacred purpose, have been opened during the last month at Yarmouth, in the county of Norfolk; at Thorneley, in the county of Durham; and at Cork.

THE CONGREGATION OF THE PASSIONISTS.—The Rev. Father Ignatius, Vice-Provincial of the English Passionists, is preaching with wonderful success on the conversion of England in many parts of Ireland; where he receives the warmest welcome. He is also collecting offerings for a church and monastery at the Hyde, Edgeware Road, London, where land has recently been purchased. The Passionist Fathers have just been removed from the mission, a most prosperous one, which they have for some years served at Woodchester, Gloucestershire, their departures being equally regretted by themselves and by the Catholics of the neighbourhood. Some of the Fathers have gone to Broadway, Worcestershire, where a monastery, with land adjoining, has been placed in their hands by the Benedictines on the most liberal terms, and where they will continue the same missionary labours which have been blessed with such striking results at Woodchester. The house being convenient, and the situation healthy, the Passionist Noviciate will be removed to Broadway, from Aston, after Christmas next. The late Superior of Woodchester, the Rev. Father Vincent, is to be settled at Broadway; and the Vice-Superior, the Rev. Father Honorias, at the Passionist Monastery at the Hyde, Edgeware Road.

The Rambler.

PART XXXVI.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE HIERARCHY	467
RELIGION AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY : No. IV. The Religion of the Modern Philosopher	480
COLLECTIONS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BENEDICTINE CONGREGATION	491
REVIEW :—RISE, PROGRESS, AND RESULTS OF PUSEYISM.— Lectures on certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in sub- mitting to the Catholic Church ; by John Henry Newman, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri	506
ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.—Apostolical Letter of our Most Holy Father Pope Pius the Ninth, re-establishing the Ca- tholic Hierarchy in England, with a translation—Pastoral Letter of Cardinal Wiseman to the Clergy and Faithful of the Archdiocese of London and Diocese of Southwark— New Church and Mission at Gateshead	544
TO CORRESPONDENTS : Popular Services	560

To Correspondents.

Correspondents who require answers in private are requested to send their complete address, a precaution not always observed.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All communications must be *postpaid*. Communications respecting *Advertisements* must be addressed to the publishers, Messrs. Burns and LAMBERT.

"J. M. C." declined, with thanks.

The Rambler,

A CATHOLIC JOURNAL AND REVIEW.

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PART XXXVI.

THE HIERARCHY.

IF we may judge by its periodical organs, the Protestant world has received the tidings that England has been divided by the Pope into Catholic dioceses with the same ignorant terror with which it ordinarily views every act of the Catholic Church. Ignorance and terror are, in fact, the heralds which announce the onward march of the army of Almighty God. Ere we lift up our voice, or move a solitary step, the mysterious agency is at its work, and in accents of mingled rage and fear the spirit of the world confesses the advent of One whom it dare not deny to be its invincible Master. With the rarest exceptions—and perhaps with no real exceptions at all—the same phenomenon is *every where* witnessed. Men dread us, and hate us, and know nothing of us. While the language of contempt still bursts from their lips, their hearts palpitate with alarm. They scorn to study us with patience, yet tremble before us as something more than human. At once childish and consummately prudent, at once powerless and terrible, at once derided by modern intelligence and denounced as its most dreaded enemy,—we present the same marvellous aspect that our fathers presented, and which they received as a legacy from Him whom the world mocked at as a fool, and persecuted as an irresistible foe.

A more striking example of the workings of the genuine Protestant spirit has rarely been called out than that which has resulted from the nomination of an English Catholic hierarchy. Of the real character of the new regulations, Englishmen in general are profoundly ignorant. What the Pope means by it;—whether it is a claim to all the stolen Church-property in the hands of Anglican prelates and nobles; whether it implies that Queen Victoria is not lawful sovereign of this realm; whether Protestants are in any way

mighty God. The Catholic Church regards them as usurpers in a twofold way: first, they are mere laymen, ordained and consecrated by other laymen, without a valid succession from the Apostles; and secondly, even if they were personally consecrated Bishops, they would be usurpers of jurisdiction. They exercise their jurisdiction over their several sees solely through the will and power of a temporal monarch and an Act of Parliament, which are no more the sources of jurisdiction in spiritual things than they are sources of the laws of gravity. We *call* them bishops, it is true, just as we call the Anglican clergy "reverend." But this is a mere act of courtesy, and means nothing more than the ecclesiastical titles with which we salute the ministers of the Scotch Kirk, or any Dissenting preacher who is styled "reverend" by his own sect. In the eye of the Catholic Church there is no such a person in existence as an Archbishop of Canterbury or of York, or a Bishop of London, Durham, or any other of the old Catholic sees, and there have been none such for about three hundred years.

"Why, then," the Anglican will interrupt us and ask, "why has this claim on the part of the Pope been so long in abeyance? Why, if he has never ceased to appoint Bishops of Melipotamus, Troy, and a hundred other heathenised places, has he left the illustrious seats of England untenanted?" Simply, we answer, as a matter of prudence. It is a maxim with the Church to run no *needless* risks in her conflict with the lawful powers of the world. No principle was involved in the cessation of the Catholic appointments to the English sees, because the Pope claims a right to suspend, so to say, the existence of any diocese. Little would have been gained by continuing successors to the Catholic prelates, while the fury of persecution would have been redoubled. The faithful could be governed by Vicars-Apostolic until the storm should pass away, and until they should be otherwise in a position to require the ordinary government of the Church. The same prudential considerations have further now induced the Holy See to re-distribute the territory of England into new dioceses, in order to avoid coming into collision with the Act of Parliament which forbids any but the Anglican prelates to assume the titles of their sees. It is not that the Pope, or any Catholic in Christendom, regards that Act of Parliament as any thing but an insult to Almighty God, and as a claim to spiritual rights which He has already bestowed elsewhere. If it were prudent to do so, the Catholic Church might nominate a Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury to-morrow. We consider ourselves no more bound to obey that enactment, as of

lawful authority, than to say, "There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet," because a blood-thirsty and licentious conqueror raised the cry many centuries ago in Eastern countries. A wish to be on good terms, so far as conscience will permit, with the temporal power, is the only reason why Cardinal Wiseman is not at this moment Archbishop of Canterbury.

But here, again, we may be interrupted with the objection that at the best our prudence is but imprudence. The indignant Protestant will ask why the Pope could be so rash and senseless as needlessly to provoke the popular mind by these daring demonstrations of his irritating claims. Why could we not go on as before? it will be said. If no great change is made, why make any change at all? To this we can only reply, that the prudence of any such step must be determined by two considerations, viz. the amount of the anticipated gain, and the amount of the anticipated loss. Until now it *has* been considered that the loss would overbalance the gain. But now the Pope—and all English Catholics (with very few exceptions) rejoice in his Holiness's determination—thinks otherwise. What will be the precise gain to the Catholic body we shall presently state; but we take leave in the mean time to remark, that of its nature and extent none but ourselves can be competent judges. Our affairs are not known to Protestants. They are ignorant of our feelings, our principles, and our expectations, and consequently they must leave it to us to decide for ourselves what we think a sufficient advantage to warrant so important an alteration.

As to the probable loss, of that Protestants, if they would be calm, might be better able to form an opinion. Let them reflect, then, and ask themselves *what injury we* are likely to sustain from the establishment of a hierarchy. Of course, that injury must solely arise from the violence and anger of Protestants themselves; and this in a threefold way. It might provoke the re-enactment of persecuting laws; it might reproduce the Gordon riots, or stimulate to other lawless mob-violence against Catholics and their possessions; or it might evoke a tempest of words, filling the press with furious articles and correspondence, and making Protestant houses groan with the echoes of private Anticatholic fulminations. Of these evils the first two are obviously real, and to be avoided; but are they probable, or even possible, in the present day? Is it likely that the present Queen, Lords, and Commons will strip us of our hardly won political privileges, or rob us of our houses and lands? The alternative can scarcely be gravely discussed. The iniquity and absurdity of such a step, as a

punishment for committing no legal offences whatsoever, would be *too* great even for a Protestant Parliament; and her Majesty the Queen is one of the last sovereigns in Europe from whom we should look for such a monstrous tyranny. We do not even account it possible that an Act of Parliament should be passed forbidding Catholic prelates to assume the titles of the *new* sees. But if it were, what then? Who would obey it? Certainly not Catholics. What is it to us what an Act of Parliament decrees in spiritual matters? The new prelates, in the sight of God, and therefore in our sight, would be the Bishops of the new sees; and whether we should *call* them so *in public* would depend on the amount of violence used to compel us to silence. In former days, Catholics *were* compelled to adopt a cautious phraseology in speaking of their religious acts. They called hearing Mass "going to prayers;" and in every way, while they *did the thing* which the law forbade, they provoked as little remark as was possible. So, too, to suppose an extreme improbability, we might be forced in public to call the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster merely "Dr. Wiseman," but we should *obey* him as the Archbishop of Westminster notwithstanding. All this is, however, an idle speculation. The penal laws cannot be again enacted and enforced.

Yet we may be mobbed, and our churches burnt. Possibly so; but not more on account of the new hierarchy than for any chance reason wholly distinct. Enlightened, comparatively, as is the popular mind, occasions not unfrequently occur when Catholic priests escape personal violence by a hair's breadth; but these occasions, we are convinced, will be made scarcely at all more common by the new measure of which we are speaking. The *people* care too little for Protestantism to attack Catholics for any *Protestant* reason. A few dissolute idlers can, at any time, get up a riot against any person or any institution; and the falsehoods which are still scattered profusely among the wealthy as well as the poor might at any moment kindle a fierce blaze against us. But as to any disturbances on a large scale, they cannot be; and for the best of reasons—we are *too numerous and too powerful to endure them*. Lord George Gordon's riots would be impossible in the present day. The hundred and eighty or two hundred thousand Catholics who live in London only could quell any popular tumult with their own right arms alone. It will be remembered that at the time when the Chartist riots were anticipated in the metropolis nearly three years ago, the most powerful assistance which was rendered to the Government by the really poor and labouring classes was

given by a numerous body of men termed "coal-whippers," who were duly marshalled and commanded, and who, in case the peace had been broken, would have proved a most formidable obstacle in the way of the seditious. But it was known to few that these very men were, for the most part, Catholics and Irishmen. Yet so it was, and so would it be again. London could, at a brief notice, send forth tens and twenties of thousands of Irish Catholics, who in the cause of order would be the most faithful of the auxiliaries of the Government, and than whom the Queen has not more loyal subjects in the empire; but who in case of any extensive Anticatholic demonstration would crush their foes and trample them under foot. The English nation may rest assured that we are to be *despised* no longer. Woe be to those misguided men who attempt violence against us! We obey the laws of the land in all temporal things gladly, and thanking God for the privileges enjoyed by Englishmen. Should any fearful convulsions, which may God avert, shake this country to her centre, the Catholic body, both English-born and Irish-born, will be the very last to cease fighting in the cause of loyalty and order; in the midst of a never-ceasing pelting of abuse and misrepresentation of our religion and our lives, the instances of Catholic abuse of Protestants are comparatively few: but should a frenzied passion ever again seize the multitude, and stir them up to plot against the sacred persons of our clergy, or the consecrated dwelling-places of our God, there exists a protective power amongst us, which can be summoned to its work in a moment, and which is sufficient to defy the malice of any enemies who can league themselves against us.

A third evil, however, we cannot escape, and in fact it has already befallen us. The journalist world, unoccupied either by parliamentary news at home or revolutionary news from abroad, has welcomed the tidings of the Catholic hierarchy with characteristic animation, and the columns of periodicals of every class have overflowed with its unmeasured taunts and vituperations. Never since the passing of the Emancipation Act have Catholics and the Pope been honoured with so large a share of anonymous but very genuine indignation; and we may safely assume that the newspaper anger has been but the reflection of the astonishment and terror-stricken irritation with which the recent act of his Holiness has been received by the "religious" public at large. It is undeniable that Protestants are far more angry with us than they were a few months ago; and we may anticipate a proportionate embitterment in their tone of controversy, and the alienation of some few of those

who have hitherto condescended to patronise us as a persecuted and innocent race.

Is all this, however, an evil, in any practical sense of the word? In other words, what harm does it do, either to ourselves or to Protestants? We confess that so far from thinking it an evil of any moment, we regard it as a blessing. *Catholics*, certainly, are not hurt by it. On the contrary, it instructs and amuses us. From the heavy artillery of the *Times* to the crackling of the jokes of *Punch*, the hubbub of all these Antiromish explosions furnishes us with a very agreeable entertainment, and diversifies the routine of our daily life. "Let those laugh who win," says the proverb. We can well afford a smile at the gibes of the joker, when they betoken the formidable victory which our religion is gradually winning over its enemies. And as to the more serious attacks so liberally bestowed, we can most honestly assure our Protestant readers that we look for very important advantages to Catholicism from them. The more the public is forced to hear of us and of our works, the better. Whether they read praises or slanders, it matters little. The result is much the same; men are brought to inquire into the real facts, and inquiry inevitably leads to conversions. The one grand difficulty we have to contend with is, the stupidity with which Protestants rest contented in their ignorance of ourselves and our creed. Puffed up with an insular satisfaction in their own infallibility and omniscience, they are the dupe of their own ignorance, and rest contented to believe nonsense the most incredible respecting a Church to which their own Establishment is as a mushroom to an oak of the forest. All we desire is, that they should see and know the Catholic Church as she is, and as she has ever been. When a child is frightened by an ugly vision of its own imagination, its nurse entreats the little one to stretch forth its hands and touch the empty phantom, that it may feel that it is terrified at what is no more than a dream; and thus we beg the simple public to touch us, to look us full in the face, to listen to our words, to inquire for itself, to use its waking faculties, confident that the goblin at which it has stood affrighted for some three centuries past, will vanish before its returning sense, and England will perceive that she has been raging at a bugbear.

It is therefore with the greatest satisfaction that we have for some time noted the increasing prominence which Catholic affairs have assumed in the discussions in public journals. Ten years ago there was not a tenth part of the space devoted to the proceedings of the Pope and of Catholics in general

which is now allotted to them. From the moment of the accession of Pius IX., the affairs of the Papacy have assumed an importance in the eyes of the English reading public, which still increases, rather than diminishes. Papal briefs are translated and published at length; anecdotes of the Pope are circulated and commented on; the acts and letters of the Irish Episcopate are served up as among the most piquant pieces of intelligence which an editor can supply; the proceedings of English Catholic Bishops interest the *quidnuncs* more than even sallies from Exeter or cautious proprieties from Lambeth; and the world is carefully informed of the movements of Cardinal Wiseman, while it rests in well-pleased ignorance of the comings and goings of the two Archbishops and five-and-twenty Bishops of the whole Anglican Establishment.

All this is a sign, if of nothing else, at least of the growing importance of the Catholic Church in these realms. If it is not a sign of favour, it is a mark of interest; if it is not a token of love, it is a symptom of fear. It foretels the day when we shall be heard, not merely in our own defence, but in our proclamations of the Divine message which the Church bears from Almighty God to the inhabitants of this empire. The numbers, power, and intelligence of the Catholic Church in England are already "a great fact." No statesman can despise it, no philosopher can ignore it, no Christian can forget it. And this is just what we desire. We seek only to come in contact with Protestantism, asking no favour, but only a clear stage for the conflict. We have that confidence in the justice and honourableness of our countrymen, which assures us that the inevitable consequence of this discussion of our acts and claims will be the ever-multiplying conversions of men of all ranks and dispositions. So it has ever been, and so it will be again.

It is most singular to note how many past conversions have originated in the fierceness of some attack on our religion. One person hears Dr. Cumming preach, another reads Dr. Pusey's books, a third is told that the *Garden of the Soul* has been held up to indignation in the House of Commons, a fourth is struck with horror at garbled extracts from the writings of St. Alphonsus Liguori, a fifth attends a series of Anticatholic controversial lectures, a sixth shudders over the Jesuit atrocities depicted in a strongly Protestant novel; but whatever be the first cause of interest, the end is the same. The astonished reader or hearer buys Catholic books, converses with Catholic men and women, visits Catholic churches, inquires into the facts of past and present history,

and either very considerably modifies his former prepossessions, or submits to the Catholic Church.*

If such, then, be the infinitesimally small amount of the loss which Catholics expect from the establishment of the hierarchy, what is our gain? We need have no hesitation in admitting that it will be far less than the exaggerated fears of our opponents have conceived. Its *immediate* advantage, indeed, is little enough, if advantage be measured by the amount of influence it will exert in the conversion of Protestants, and the purely spiritual condition of the Church within herself. Undoubtedly it will *lead* to great results, because it is the laying of the foundation-stone of a vast and magnificent building. But the most superb of palaces is not fit for use when its foundations are laid, or even when all its walls and roof are complete. The establishment of the hierarchy, so far as it is at present established, is but the first portion, though the most important one, of the entire parochial system with which the Church administers her affairs. When it can be thoroughly carried out, no human eye can foresee. Still more must we wait for time to bring about those secondary results which we yet anticipate from its operation, in the practical organising of the whole English Catholic body in all those multitudinous details by which we hope to accomplish our work in the land. As paving the way to an immense increase in our number of clergy, to the improvement of the education of rich and poor, to the multiplication of religious orders, to the building of schools and churches, to the more systematic administration of funds, to the organised employment of lay zeal and ability

* Two amusing instances of the benefit of violent attacks on Catholicism took place quite recently at Clifton. A short series of controversial lectures was preached in the church of the Holy Apostles in that place by a Catholic priest visiting in the neighbourhood. The first two lectures attracted no particular notice; but before the delivery of the third, there appeared in a Bristol newspaper a flaming article denouncing the preacher as "*a beardless David come to assault the Goliath of Protestantism,*" and calling upon all Protestants to treat the insult with becoming indignation. The result was, that the rest of the lectures were crowded with well-conducted Protestants, and that the church has been attended by numerous strangers ever since.

In the chapel of the Convent adjoining the same church a French sermon has been for some time past preached every afternoon. Shortly after the above-mentioned lectures, another article appeared in the same Bristol newspaper, loudly proclaiming that it was a scandal that the young men of Bristol made a practice of going to hear these sermons in order to acquire a knowledge of the French language, while so many Protestant teachers of French were unable to gain a decent living. All this was, in truth, a delusion of the writer, for the youth of Bristol were guiltless of the charge; but from the week that the article appeared, they thronged to hear the sermons denounced, and so have since continued to do.

in the service of religion, to the preaching of the gospel to the myriads lost in sin and ignorance in our populous cities, and to the general strengthening and edifying of the Church in this country, the establishment of the hierarchy is indeed pregnant with importance. But as to the dread which Protestants feel of some instant formidable effects upon them, their creed, and their possessions, the whole expectations are visionary. The erection of thirteen Catholic sees, with the residence of a Cardinal Archbishop in London, tends most powerfully to give stability to all our present advantages, and to secure the acquisition of many more. But it does not operate like a charm, or cause every Catholic to wake up the next morning a different being from that which he was when he lay down to sleep, while the letters from Rome yet slumbered undelivered in the heretical post-office. We regard the new state of things with joy and gratitude, not as indicative of some spiritual revolution, but as the natural result of that progress with which Almighty God has already blessed us, and as an aid to the fulfilment of those tremendous responsibilities which the increase of our Catholic population has entailed. To his Holiness Pius the Ninth we offer a fresh homage of individual and national gratitude, in addition to that affectionate veneration with which the whole Church regards a Pontiff in whom the mingled sufferings and triumphs of the Apostles are so strikingly renewed, and in whose personal character a charm is found which wins its way to the heart of every person who is admitted into his presence. And to Almighty God, who is the author of all good to us, we render redoubled thanks, that He has mercifully placed us in his Church to do our duty at a period so singularly blest as the present, when the bitterness of ancient persecutions is passed, and the temptations of wealth and earthly power are not around us; when all we have to fear are the empty words of our enemies, and the snares which beset us as inheritors of natural human frailty; when the laws of the land do not make loyalty to the temporal power almost incompatible with loyalty to our Master in heaven; when there is just sufficient persecuting feeling remaining to serve as a test of our sincerity and a trial to our courage; when, in a word, our chief foes are those which grace and faith can conquer, because they reside in our own breasts.

And it is precisely because this is our present state, that we indulge in such glorious anticipations of the coming triumphs of the Church in this country of England. It is because we know *how* the Catholic Church ever conquers, that we already catch the strains of the song of victory borne upon the gales of a bright futurity. Riches are *not* the sources of

the strength of Catholicism, while they are the sources of the power of Protestantism. Mark well the history of Catholicism, and contrast it with the circumstances of Anglicanism, and every other form of established heresy. The moment any branch of the Catholic Church, or any religious order, has become excessively wealthy, that moment it has begun to lose its power over the people, and to lay itself bare to the blows of the destroyer. The records of the Church for the last three centuries unfold a long catalogue of attacks upon her by men tempted by her vast possessions, and unimpressed with any belief in her apostolic love of poverty and austerities. And still the assault continues, and we believe that it will continue until the Church *every where* is robbed of all but the most limited earthly treasures. Then turn to that giant institution which lies heavy upon the heart of England, the established Anglican communion. It stands *by means of* its enormous riches. Rob it of its tithes and glebes and fees, eject its clergy from cathedral and parish church and parsonage, and it would drop instantly into the most insignificant of Protestant sects. It has no spiritual vitality or energy. Impoverish it, and it is gone. Conceive the fifteen thousand Anglican clergy reduced to the same pecuniary position as the eight hundred Catholic clergy. What would Dr. Sumner be without Lambeth Palace and the income of a duke? what the learning of Oxford and Cambridge without their fellowships and venerable cloisters? They not only thrive and flourish, but they all *exist* upon silver and gold. The wealth which corrupts the children of the true Church, and destroys their power among men, is the very origin of the life and energy of those who ape her character and usurp her functions. God has sent forth his Church into the world to win her way, not with earthly possessions, but by faith, by the power of his grace, by austerities, by poverty, by sufferings, by the shedding of her own blood. When she is offered gold and jewels and fine raiment, she frequently can with difficulty refuse them; she is often bound to accept them, and to employ them to the glory of God. But gold is a temptation even to the Christian; the large endowments which the apostolic poverty of the clergy of one age elicits from the piety of the wealthy, become the subtlest of snares to another age, when poverty is forgotten and piety has grown cold. All history tells the same sad tale. Catholics who have surmounted every other obstacle have fallen beneath the enervating influence of their own possessions. An age of poverty won England to the faith, an age of riches lost it. Strange, mysterious, and awful destiny! Yet is it but the carrying forward the mystery of the

redemption of mankind. Anglicanism, with its millions of revenue, will fall the moment those millions are departed; Catholicism is advancing from victory to victory at the time that her poverty is more severe than at any period before.

No! little do our Protestant adversaries understand our aims, if they imagine that it is to any *temporal* strength in our new hierarchy that we look as the source of its coming power. Little do they comprehend the reality and might of that spiritual dominion which God has given to the rulers of his Church, even though the ancient shrines of Westminster and York are still grasped by the hands of usurping rebellion. Little do they enter into our aspirations, if they imagine that they are bounded by visions of clouds of incense, and minstrel choirs, and gold-clad ecclesiastics, and jewelled crosiers, and galaxies of light, betokening in the desecrated cathedrals of England the triumph of the old faith, and its restoration to earthly power and luxury. Joyous, indeed, would be the day when such a sight should gladden the eyes of London as the ministrations of a Catholic Cardinal, surrounded by all the glory and pomp which earth could offer, beneath the roof of the glorious old abbey of Westminster. But if such visions ever cross our thoughts in day-dreams of coming change, let the Protestant rest assured that they do but flit across our thoughts as bare possibilities, and as of incomparably less moment than the conversion of the millions of our countrymen to that faith which, with all the splendour with which at times it is adorned, is the religion of *the cross* after all. The temples we first seek to recover are the souls of men; those souls whose wretchedness and sin no hand save that of the true Church can heal, and who are daily gathering in fresh multitudes in the hidden recesses of our towns and the broad expanse of our fields. There we seek to do our duty; there is our battle-field; and whether or no we remain in our poverty, there will be our triumph. And it is because our aim is such as this, and not because we aspire to sit in kings' courts, or to revel in those treasures which once were ours, that we rejoice in this Christianising of our country once more, and look forward to the completion of that edifice of which the deep foundations have just been laid.

RELIGION AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

No. IV.

THE RELIGION OF THE MODERN PHILOSOPHER.

ACCORDING to the interpretation of Genesis which we have ventured to suggest, and which, as we have shewn, contains nothing contrary to ecclesiastical authority, the objections urged by unbelievers against the Mosaic system, and the traditional teaching of the Church, as being committed to a narrow childish view of the natural universe, disappear. The system of Moses appears to be limitless, both with regard to time and space. Its proportions grow with the enlargement of science. It paints in a few words the original chaotic vaporous state of the whole material universe, and the agglomeration of systems and worlds out of the condensing fluids by the universal action of light and motion. And not only is it thus universal in space, but in time also it fixes no limit, no historical beginning to the creative agency. Its days do not represent to us epochs of time, but the gradual dawning of morning over evening—the almost imperceptible, but steady and irresistible, march of order, gaining the ground of the old chaotic confusion. How long time this took, the inspired writer does not tell us; he leaves it to our imagination to suggest a duration worthy of the patience of an eternal God, to whom all imaginable time is but as a moment, and who can wait millions of millions of years for the accomplishment of the least of his designs.

Whatever be the sense in which the earth on which we live is to be regarded as the centre of the universe, the agencies described by Moses may be regarded as universal, though he speaks of them more particularly in relation to our earth; and this was necessary. If his history is intended to be a *sign* of his inspiration, the sign must be given in objects which are within the range of our observation. It would be useless to speak of the vegetables of the planet Mars, or the animal kingdom of Jupiter. In all scientific works, it is necessary that the largest space should be devoted to terrestrial phenomena; so it is in Humboldt's *Cosmos*—and the apology which the modern philosopher makes for himself is equally applicable to the case of Moses. He says: "If, notwithstanding the smallness of our planet, the most considerable space and the most attentive consideration be

here afforded to that which exclusively concerns it, this arises solely from the disproportion in the extent of our knowledge of that which is accessible and of that which is closed to our observation."* Moses does not make the earth the centre of the universe in any other sense than modern science makes it so, namely, as the centre of observation. Neither did the Jewish writers, who may be supposed to teach the traditional doctrine of Moses, give the slightest ground for such an imputation. David, for instance, contrasts the insignificance of man with the immensity and beauty of the universe in terms which he could never have used if he had supposed that man was enthroned as the centre of the world. When he beheld "the heavens, the work of God's fingers, the moon and the stars which He had founded,"† he was not moved to utter a rhapsody on the sublimity of man, or "the high destiny of his race, which is permitted to comprehend nature, and to lift the veil which shrouds her phenomena;"‡ but he was led to exclaim, "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him! or the son of man, that Thou visitest him!" Both Jews and Christians have always believed that the universe is peopled with beings far more powerful and glorious than man; whereas the tendency of modern philosophy is to ignore the existence of any intelligent power higher than itself, and is, therefore, much more open to the charge of unduly exalting man than revealed religion can be. And the dogma of the Incarnation, against which such a charge is brought by infidels, is, in reality, the furthest removed from it, teaching, as it does, that it was not a glorious and radiant nature, but our fallen and degraded humanity that God took upon Him. Christianity is not the proud apotheosis of humanity, but the humiliation of the Deity; its inmost essence is humility; pride is its great antagonist; "he that exalts himself shall be brought low" is the very centre of its moral system; the humiliation of the eternal Son of God is its dogmatic foundation. If philosophers imagine that they see any thing in Christianity which looks like an undue exaltation of human nature, they are the very last persons in the world who ought to reproach us with it. They themselves, as Humboldt owns, introduced this way of speaking. It was, he says, in the period of Alexander's campaigns that the richness of nature "no longer sufficed to engage exclusive attention, for the time was come when man, and the different races of mankind, could not fail to be regarded, according to Aristotle's own expression, as the central point and object of all creation, and as the beings in whom the divine nature of

* *Cosmos*, p. 48.

† *Ps. viii.*

‡ *Cosmos*, p. 3.

thought was first made manifest.”* Aristotle, and not Christianity, enthroned man as the centre and object of creation, and the first and highest of intellectual beings. Thus did he lay the foundations of that antireligious school of the present day, which owns no objective truths, but tries all things by the standard of individual feelings and intentions; which uses the word *truth*, but means only *rectitude* and sincerity; which affirms, that if a man is sincere, it does not matter what he believes; and which will even go so far as to maintain, with Mr. Loudon, the unintelligible proposition, that “if a man believe that Rome is paved with cinders, to him it is true; and if a whole people believe with Pythagoras that the earth is an immense plain, to them that system is as true as the Copernican system is to us. The same thing holds as to religion, and each species or variety is true to those who believe in it.” The modern philosopher has returned to the system of Protagoras, that all knowledge is sensation, and that the individual man is the measure of all existing things whatever. It is only Christianity that measures all things by an external standard. With us, Christ is the model for imitation, and the measure whereby all men are to be judged.

“But, after all,” it may be said, “the doctrine of the Incarnation, though accidentally humbling to the pride of the individual, really exalts the human race, as summed up and represented in Christ; and makes his birth-place, and the scene of his actions, the points of the greatest importance, at least morally, in the whole universe. Now one would think, that in the fitness of things (and Christians build much on the argument of theological fitness), a place of such importance in the Divine counsels as our Earth is represented to be would be recognisable by some outward mark, which should distinguish it from all other orbs that circulate in the regions of space. Yet the physical sciences shew us no such characteristic. There are thousands of orbs brighter and more glorious than the earth; our planet has no prerogative over others. It is quite an insignificant speck in the universe.”

Yes, it is so; and in comparison with the whole, what cosmical body is not such a speck? The regions of space are immeasurable; each cosmical body of the numberless myriads which circulate therein is limited in its extent. Whatever body among them might be chosen as the seat of the moral centre of the universe would be equally unworthy of its high destiny; it would be like the earth, an insignificant speck. “Still,” it will be objected, “it might be some central body, with a system dependent upon it, a self-luminous body, that in

* Cosmos, p. 530.

mass and volume transcended other orbs." Yet surely there is no reason why it should appear to us fitting that the orb of the greatest physical importance should be chosen as the seat of the highest moral and intelligent life, the scene of the humiliation of God. The tallest and strongest man need not be the wisest and best. If the Creator ought to have been incarnate on the most glorious orb, He should, by the same rule, have appeared with all possible created glory; born not in a stable, but in a palace; clothed in rich garments, gold, and jewels, not swathed in rags; served by kings and courtiers, instead of serving a poor carpenter. If He had come thus, we might have justly said, "Why did He not choose some brighter world as the scene of his glory?" But He came in humiliation, and He chose, perhaps, the vilest and most degraded place for the scene of his life and labours, as He chose the lowest of intelligent natures to be eternally united to his own. Even in the material universe the centres of all the physical agencies are not coincident. The magnetic poles of the earth do not coincide with its mechanical poles, nor is the centre of gravity of our whole system identical with the centre of the sun. And it is the boast of an author* of our own days, and his admirers, that he was the first to discover the axiom, that the physical, organic, and moral laws operate independently of each other, though he does not seem to have thought of applying his axiom except to cases of reward and punishment. "An individual who neglects, or carelessly observes, the corresponding physical law will be drowned, or burnt, or crushed, and that invariably, however strictly he may obey the moral laws. Again, if he obey the organic laws, he will reap bodily health, which is the specific reward of that obedience; nor will any degree of moral turpitude, if he avoids sensual excess, materially diminish his health. But his moral defects will bring their own punishment, and from this his health of body will not protect him." Now granting the truth of this axiom in the main, we cannot admit that it is applicable only to the system of rewards and punishments. If these laws are independent in their action, why not also in their essence and root? If they are thus independent, why complain because the moral centre is not also the physical centre of the universe? because the manifestation of moral perfection is not surrounded by the brightest halo of sensible magnificence? because moral changes are not also manifested in organic and physical changes? because, when a man has committed a crime, he bears no outward marks of guilt, and when a Church is hopelessly involved in

* George Combe.

schism and heresy, no voices are heard in her temples proclaiming, "Let us go hence?"

It is because the very existence of religion is ignored, or if admitted at all, it is considered only as a curious branch of history or of mental philosophy, a mere separable limb of the whole body of knowledge, which may be cultivated or neglected, according to the taste and fancy of the student. It is thought also to be a branch of so small importance, and so little worthy of the attention of practical and scientific men, that although in matters of politics, trade, or science, they insist that all inquiries should be conducted with the greatest accuracy and caution, and that all care should be taken to avoid the illusion of the senses, and the *idola tribus, specus, fori et theatri*, which Bacon warns them against; yet in religion they content themselves with the vaguest guesses and the crudest theories; they acquiesce without examination in the opinion, that the sect of Protestantism in which they happen to have been educated is the true representative of Christianity; and immediately they find facts repugnant to their views, rather than use the same patience and caution in correcting them which they willingly use in scientific inquiries, they give up religion altogether as untenable and unphilosophical, or if they preserve some attachment to it, it is only as a matter of *feeling*, not of reason.*

This seems to be the case with the otherwise profound author of the *Cosmos*. He is pre-eminently a lover of reason, and therefore he is always striving to perfect his scientific knowledge. Religion is only a matter of feeling to him, and therefore he has been contented with the crude ideas of the Mosaic cosmogony which an ignorant age had invented, and which he had probably been taught in his childhood. When science opened before him, his acute mind saw at once the inconsistency, and impatient to put off the trammels of the irrational form of Christianity which alone he knew, he exaggerated it into an "eternal contest between knowledge and faith."† He chose his side. He determined to let no traditional dogmas stand in the way of the development of his theories; and thus he "met unappalled the threatening impediments which even in modern times present themselves at the en-

* Professor Baden Powell complains that "there is no subject on which the generality even of educated and reasoning persons are less given to reason than on religion. The prevalent disposition is to avoid all examination of religious matters; to adopt nominally the established creed without question; to dismiss all particular distinctions from the thoughts, &c.; and all this grounded upon and vindicated by the favourite and fashionable idea, that religion is altogether a matter of feeling."—*Tradition Unveiled*, p. 62.

† *Cosmos*, p. 616.

trance of certain departments of science,"* and proclaimed the advent of the most glorious epoch of modern geognosy, when it was emancipated from the sway of scientific doctrines;† by which he meant, not merely that the Genesis of Moses was never meant to supersede science, that science was by no means obliged to bow to arbitrary interpretations of that document, with whatever shew of authority they might present themselves, but he meant, as he elsewhere expresses himself, that he only recognised the account of the creation as a "myth,"‡ and the Christian religion, in its historical form, as a "despondent mysticism,"§ and a "fanaticism."|| This being his opinion, it is not surprising that he can find no other motive but "party spirit" to account for the earnest strife of Catholics to preserve the traditionary faith; thus, he talks of "dogmatic dissensions awakened by party spirit—a dreary contest of knowledge and faith."¶ He talks of the Nestorian school at Edessa being "dissolved by Christian fanaticism."*** Yet still, with many exceptions and drawbacks, he gives it a faint modicum of praise, as "having materially contributed to call forth the idea of the unity of the human race, and having thus tended to exercise a favourable influence on the *humanisation* of nations in their morals, manners, and institutions;"†† but in the next page he speaks of "the mild and long-enduring but slowly operating influence which it exercised," as if this influence was now only to be spoken of in the past tense, as if Christianity was a phase which humanity has passed through, and which has now given place to Socialism, or some new and more universal religion adapted to the spirit of the age. Of course, it will not surprise us, after this, to find him classing Christianity with Buddhism, or other phases in which the religious feeling of mankind has at different times exhibited itself, and even with merely civil events, as the predominance of certain languages. "The predominance of certain languages," he says, "has operated favourably, like Christianity and Buddhism, in bringing together and uniting mankind."‡‡ This comparison seems to be a favourite one with our author. He classes together Christian anchorites and "Buddhist monks,"§§ and calls their Lamas|||| archbishops. And then at last, lest any admirer might have room to say that all these apparently irreverent classifications are allowable to a philosopher, who, by his profession, is obliged to generalise and classify, he tells us what he thinks of Christian doctrine. "*Christian views*," he says, owe their

* Cosmos, p. 616.

† Ib. p. 272.

‡ Ib. p. 395.

§ Ib. p. 418.

|| Ib. p. 469.

¶ Ib. p. 552.

** Ib. p. 579.

†† Ib. p. 567.

‡‡ Ib. p. 471.

§§ Ib. p. 608.

|||| Ib. p. 572, note.

origin to "*Platonic dogmas*;"* and now "survive only in the superstitions of the people and the prejudices of the ignorant, or are perpetuated in a few systems, which, conscious of their weakness, shroud themselves in a veil of mystery."†

Having thus, with perfect satisfaction to himself, completed that which Dr. Johnson somewhat problematically calls the most painful part of a philosopher's duty, namely, the demolition of the labours of all who have preceded him, our author proceeds to his work of edification. For although the plan of his work excludes any regular discussion of religious matters; yet he has found room for a few remarks, which are abundantly sufficient to indicate what religion it is that he would establish on the ruins of Christianity. And here it is both amusing and instructive to mark how, with all his sneers at tradition and the infancy of human knowledge, he nevertheless strives to found his opinions on a traditional base. By reflection, he says, "we become more and more convinced of the truth of the *ancient doctrine*, that the forces inherent in matter, *and those which govern the moral world*, exercise their action under the control of primordial necessity, and in accordance with movements occurring periodically after longer or shorter intervals. It is this necessity," he continues, "this occult but permanent connexion, this periodical recurrence in the progressive development of forms, phenomena, and events, which constitutes *nature*."‡ And a few pages farther on we are told a little more about this *nature*. "Nature, as Schelling remarks, is not an inert mass; and to him who can comprehend her vast sublimity, she reveals herself as *the creative force of the universe; before all time, eternal, ever active, she calls to life all things, whether perishable or imperishable*."§ And of what kind are these material and moral forces? He only tells us what he believes them not to be—imponderable substances and vital forces are merely mythical ideas.|| And a person who makes so absurd a remark as to say that a soul although incorporeal yet is *something*, is only worthy to be answered by having attention called to his proposition; such seems to be the idea insinuated by the note of admiration intercalated in a passage quoted from Vossius: "*Lux, sonus, anima (!), odor, vis magnetica, quamvis incorporea, sunt tamen aliquid*."¶ That is, we suppose, the soul is either corporeal, or it is nothing. The idea of spirit has nothing to represent it in the world of reality. God, if He exists at all, is not to be distinguished from the material universe. As man, by his organ of wonder, has, in the infancy of his knowledge, been

* Cosmos, p. 615.

§ Ib. p. 36.

† Ib. p. 2.

|| Ib. p. 58.

‡ Ib. p. 80.

¶ Ib. p. 717, note.

impelled to people all the unexplored recesses of earth, sea, and air with imaginary beings, nymphs, satyrs, fairies, hobgoblins, and ghosts; and to attribute supernatural powers to natural agents, as witches and magicians; all which superstitions have been gradually but effectually cleared away by the purifying agency of ever-advancing science; so also has the same organ of wonder, the structural necessity of the brain, compelled man to people the shining orbs of the sky with angels and saints, and with a definitely located and humanised Providence, in a word, with a Christ. But these also, like their humbler companions, the fairies and goblins of the earth, are destined to fall before the ruthless march of intellect. Telescopes will be directed into all regions of space; every thing seen there, all substance therein, will be noted down and catalogued; but in these scientific catalogues there will never appear the name of God. No! as science advances, it will sweep away God from heaven, as it has swept away fairies and goblins from the earth. A hundred years hence all theologies will be held in the same estimation as witchcraft and astrology are held by the learned of the present day.

From this we may see what our modern philosophers mean by religion. According to them, in the early ages of our race, religion was the activity of the organ of wonder, peopling with its own mysterious creations all the regions of space, and the whole world of matter, which were beyond the circle of experimental knowledge. It was a surrendering of the whole man to the feelings, at one time dark and terrible, at another light and glad, which the ideas of these imaginary beings awakened. Its worship was merely the expression of these feelings, of love and hatred, hope and fear; and its highest outpouring was a kind of dogmatic hymn of triumph, recounting the actions and nature of the deity to be honoured, and expressive, not only of faith, but also of stern defiance to all who might impugn the truth and reality of the dogmas. The feelings, without this base of faith and dogma, would have been inconstant and pulpy, like a jelly-fish, or any of those boneless animals which constitute the lowest class of vital beings. And the highest, most manly, and most triumphant expression of the feelings thus strengthened would be an Athanasian Creed, half hymn, half symbol. But in modern times science has extended itself over all space: at least, so much is known, that common sense revolts at the idea that what is unknown can break the unity and analogy of that which has been already discovered. Knowledge, moreover, has stretched itself out to such a distance in space, that imagination itself can scarcely transcend the boundaries, and form

in the regions beyond a receptacle for its own creations. The former use of the organ of wonder is rendered impossible, and religion itself is obliged to change its character. It is no longer a surrendering of the faith to the fancy, and of the feelings to the influence of the unreal phantoms of the imagination; but it is simply the enjoyment awakened in us by the aspect of nature, and the feelings aroused by the action of the laws of matter on the affinities of our material frame. "Everywhere," says Humboldt, "the mind is penetrated by the same sense of the grandeur and vast expanse of nature, revealing to the soul, by a mysterious inspiration, the existence of laws that regulate the forces of the universe. Mere communion with nature, mere contact with the free air, exercise a soothing yet strengthening influence on the wearied spirit, calm the storm of passion, and soften the heart when shaken to its inmost depths. Every where, in every region of the globe, in every stage of intellectual culture, the same sources of enjoyment are alike vouchsafed to man."* Then he talks of "the earnest and solemn thoughts awakened by a communion with nature." In this point of view, religion is simply a branch of amusement, necessary for the sanitary condition of the mind of the masses, as baths and wash-houses, parks and cricket-grounds, are to their bodily health. The philosopher, or statesman, or merchant, or physician, may fearlessly neglect it, and thereby gain time and leisure to apply to more useful and more practical branches of study. Such is the separation between religion and life in its furthest development.

And this new religion must be dressed according to its station in the world. What is a religion without its prayers, its hymns, and its creeds, without its intellectual basis, and its symbolic books? What is Christianity without its dogmas, its worship, and its Bible; Islamism without its Koran, Hindooism without its Vedas, and Buddhism without its kings? Humboldt's *Cosmos* appears to be an attempt to supply this want for the new religion. It is sustained throughout with a kind of sacerdotal grandeur. The very form of it answers to the wants of the religion as we have described it. First he gives us his reflections on the different degrees of enjoyment presented to us by the aspect of Nature and the study of her laws, in the course of which he notices the gradual change from the worship and deification of the forces of the universe to the present scientific mode of inquiry.† Next he defines the precise limits of his science. Then he comes to his delineation of Nature, his great dogmatic hymn, in which his object is "to describe the universal all (τὸ πᾶν) in a

* *Cosmos*, p. 3.† *Ib.* p. 16, &c.

manner worthy of the dignity of the word *Cosmos*, in its signification of *universe, order of the world, and adornment of this universal order;*"* and which, like a Vates of old, he introduces with an invocation: "May the immeasurable diversity of phenomena which crowd into the picture of nature in no way detract from that harmonious impression of rest and unity which is the ultimate object of every literary or purely artistical composition!"† After this he devotes a section to "the influence of the external world on the imagination and feelings;" and lastly, he gives us "the history of the contemplation of Nature, or the progressive development of the idea of the Cosmos." Such is this book of the "Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms," of this new religion, which we take leave to call a sentimental materialism.

We hope on some future occasion to have an opportunity for discussing the intellectual basis of this religion; at present we must content ourselves with observing, that in the case of Humboldt's *Cosmos* its basis is pure assumption. It no more follows from his premises than the doctrine of the Trinity. He may catalogue as many facts as he pleases, and reduce them all to his two great forms of philosophic abstraction, quantitative and qualitative;‡ but still he has obtained nothing but the number, magnitude, and specific differences of phenomena. He has nothing but a classified inventory of the contents of the universe. He has not advanced one step nearer to the great questions, What is it? and How did it come to be? "No power of genius," says Emerson, "has yet had the smallest success in explaining existence—the perfect enigma remains." "The human mind," says George Combe, "is incapable of penetrating to a knowledge of the substance or essence of any being or thing in the universe. All that it can discover are qualities and modes of action." Why, then, does Humboldt, after dazzling us with his gigantic powers of abstraction and of induction, after displaying before our astonished view the extent of his all-comprehensive glance, and after assuring us§ that he will carefully avoid exceeding the limits of a rational empiricism, that is, of the results of facts registered by science, and tested by the operations of intellect,—by a trick of jugglery suddenly carry us beyond the regions of phenomena, and ask us, as the result of his induction, to confess with him that there is no God but Nature, the creative force of the universe, before all time, eternal? Either he knew that his argument was illogical, and then he is dishonest; or he did not know it, and then he is not to be trusted as a reasoner.

* *Cosmos*, p. 62.† *Ib.*‡ *Ib.* p. 57.§ *Ib.* p. 30.

But if our minds cannot penetrate the substance of things, what becomes of dogmatic theology? If dogmatic theology was simply the result of our intellectual activity, it would not be worth a moment's consideration. But it comes to us as revelation. Moses comes before us, and says, "I tell you of things which no power of intellect can ever discover, but which are necessary for the spiritual good of man. And in proof that I am commissioned by a higher power, I work miracles before the eyes of my contemporaries; and I leave as a legacy to distant generations this book, containing an account of the formation of the world, and the succession of the causes which produced it, which shall be only verified by the very latest discoveries of science. I have not chosen past events, the evidence of which will have disappeared, in order to shew my knowledge; but I have chosen the revolutions of nature, which leave their evidence behind them, buried in the depths of the earth and sky, only to be revealed to the last ages of science. Man leaves his footstep on the sand, to be washed out by the next tide; an organised world is destroyed, but it leaves its indestructible evidence as fossils in the rock. Here, then, will I choose my subject, where I shall be constantly exposed to conviction if I utter a false word; but, on the other hand, if I speak truly, you must either own that I was a superior being to you, when, without instruments, I could discover the secrets of the earth and sky, which to common human intelligence are only revealed after ages of laborious investigation and induction; for which reason I may surely ask for credit when I tell you about God and the soul of man; or else you must own that I spoke not my own words, but the words of God revealing Himself to you by me, in which case you must adore and believe." Such is the evidence on which we dogmatise concerning substance; and Humboldt, who sneers at our conclusion, is one of the very strongest witnesses of our facts. Almighty God knows how to make his very enemies glorify Him: He forges the weapons of his Church from the swords of her assailants.

COLLECTIONS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE
ENGLISH BENEDICTINE CONGREGATION.

Dedication.

TO THE VERY REV. LUKE BARBER, D.D.

President of the English Congregation O.S.B.

DEAR AND VERY REV. FATHER,—I hasten to offer you the fruits of my humble researches. Since I could first think for myself, I conceived a lively sense of affectionate gratitude towards your venerable order, the eldest daughter of the Catholic Church; and I must believe that all true English Catholics share in this feeling. Her disinterested zeal for souls, her moderation and conciliatory spirit in directing them to God,* her love of his solemn worship, her encouragement of literature and the polite arts, her patronage of agricultural improvement, but especially her noble charity to the poor and unprotected, must be admitted and admired by all. Marked for destruction with the younger plantations that issued from her as the parent stock, in an evil hour that ruthless despot Henry VIII. cut down the stately tree. The root, however, remained, and shot forth again in the reign of Queen Mary. But her sacrilegious sister Elizabeth, dreading the prospect of religious stability presented by the restoration of Westminster Abbey, once more felled down Monachism. Notwithstanding her malice, life remained, shoots were transplanted into foreign climes, and carefully propagated; and the good old spirit revived and flourished.

This blessed, not to say miraculous preservation, I have attempted to shew to my readers. Accept my cordial wishes for the increasing prosperity of the English Benedictine Congregation, over which you so worthily preside. In giving utterance to them, I may be permitted to adopt the words of the pious and learned authors of the *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, part ii. p. 222: "Inter cetera Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ decora, Ordinem S. Benedicti conservare dignetur et illuminare Deus O.M., ut etiam hac ætate, inter fortissimos sanctissimosque fidei prædicatores, suo in loco et gradu, easte, integre, mansuete inculpateque, ad multarum animarum salutem æternam laboret." Amen. O.

* Venerable Bede (*Ecccl. Hist.* lib. i. cap. xxvi.) records how King Ethelbert, whilst encouraging the conversion of his subjects, compelled none to embrace Christianity; for he had learnt from his instructors and leaders to salvation that the service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not by coercion.

Preamble.

After the expulsion of the monks from Westminster Abbey on the memorable 12th July, 1559, by the heartless Queen Elizabeth, and her commitment of the venerable and learned abbot John Feckenham to a prison, whence death released him twenty-six years later, the youth of our country whom God inspired with a vocation to embrace the rule of St. Benedict had to solicit admission into the *foreign* monasteries of the order. The abbeys of St. Justina at Padua, of the congregation of Monte Cassino, of St. Bennet's at Valladolid, and of St. Martin's at Compostella, were the principal ones to afford them this resource and asylum. In England, the want of missionaries beginning to be severely felt, the superiors of these young men consented that some of these monks, now promoted to priesthood, should engage, under their respective obedience, in that perilous but meritorious service. FF. Robert (Gregory) Sayer,* Anselm Beech of Manchester, and Thomas Preston, were ordered by their Italian superiors to prepare themselves for the expedition; they were soon after to be joined by F. Austin White *alias* Bradshaw (of St. John), F. John Mervin *alias* Roberts, F. Maurus Scott, and others. Pope Clement VIII., on 5th October, 1603, expressly enjoined (as F. Weldon observes in his Chronological Notes, p. 29) the Archpriest George Blackwell, "not to think of extending his jurisdiction over them, but solely to watch over the priests who had been brought up in the seminaries."

Providentially there still survived in England one representative of the old Benedictine congregation, in the person of Dom Robert (Sigebert) Buckley. He had recently been discharged from captivity in Framlingham Castle by his new sovereign, James I. On 21st November, 1607, he received the profession of two of the late arrivals from the continent, viz. of F. Robert (Vincent) Sadler, and of F. Edward Mayhew; and on 15th December, 1609, he surrendered all his powers and authority for perpetuating the succession to F. Thomas Preston.† Like Simeon of old, this patriarch of his brethren was now content to resign his soul to his Creator; and on the 22d February following, aged ninety-three, paid the debt of nature. Bigotry denied him a resting-place in the pa-

* "This intended prime star or sun of the English-Italian Benedictine mission," as F. Weldon describes him, prematurely died at Venice, 30th October, 1602.

† See his beautiful Act of Transfer, p. 4 of the Appendix to the *Apostolatus*.

rochial cemetery ; but his friends and attendants, FF. Thomas Preston and Anselm Beech, deposited his precious remains in the old chapel near Punisholt *alias* Ponsfelt, the seat of the Norton family.

And now the experience of every day proved the expediency of reviving the ancient form and discipline of the English Benedictine government : the subsequent foundation of the houses of Douay, Dieulwart, and St. Malo's, rendered the union of increasing numbers under one head not only expedient but imperative ; and Pope Paul V. was known to be highly favourable to such a re-organisation. *Fiat corpus, fiat congregatio* (*Apostolatus*, part ii. p. 210). Yet it required much time and labour, and the sacrifice of feelings, habits, and private interests, to accomplish this desirable end. His Holiness at last, on 19th May, 1616, expedited a brief, commanding *nine definitors* to be chosen *ex toto missionis gremio*, and out of the whole body of English Benedictines, without any respect of Italian, Spanish, or English congregations ; that the *nine* were to be elected by the plurality of votes of all professed members, and that the definitors elect should be empowered to constitute and enact ordinances and rules, and to nominate officers and superiors.* At the scrutiny, the nine elect were found to be: F. Leander (of St. Martin) Jones, Vicar-General of the Spanish congregation ; F. Robert (Vincent) Sadler, President of the English congregation ; F. Gabriel (de S. Maria) Gifford, Prior of St. Malo's ; F. Robert Haddock, Superior of the Spanish congregation in England ; F. Ruderic Barlow, Prior of St. Gregory's College at Douay ; F. Edward Mayhew, Prior of St. Lawrence's at Dieulwart ; F. Bennet (à Santo Facundo) Jones *alias* William Price, assistant to the Vicar in England ; Thomas Torquatus Latham, professor of philosophy at Douay ; F. Sigebert Bagshaw, a monk of the English congregation, who had been procurator at Rome. (*Appendix*, p. 23.)

In virtue of the Nuncio's orders, the above nine assembled at Paris on 1st June, 1617, possessing the full power and force of a general chapter, and drew up a code of laws and constitutions to be submitted to his Holiness, and then nominated for the following officers: for *first president*, Rev. F. Gabriel Gifford ; for *second elect president*, F. Leander (de St. Martino) Jones. Provincial of Canterbury, F. Gregory Grange ; provincial of York, F. Vincent Sadler. Prior of Douay, F. Francis Antrobos ; prior of Dieulwart, F. Jocelin Elmer ; prior of St. Malo's, F. Paulinus Greenwood ; prior at

* See the Decree in the Appendix, *ut supra*, p. 21.

Paris, F. Thos. Monnington. Procurator at Rome, F. Sigbert Bagshaw. Secretary to the President, F. Columban Malon.

Shortly after F. Gifford ("Primus Præses in eo definitorio renuntiatus"—*Apostolatus*, part ii. 198), the first president, was chosen by Louis de Guise, Archbishop of Rheims, for his coadjutor, and was consecrated Bishop on 17th Sept. 1618 by the title of *Episcopus Archidapolanus*. His authority of president devolved on F. Leander, a man of distinguished merit, and most instrumental in persuading his brethren to sacrifice all private convenience and independence for a great public good; to seek not their own interests, but those of Jesus Christ.

With this preamble we may proceed on our course, promising that we avail ourselves of the *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia* and of F. Weldon's Chronological Notes very largely.

CHAPTER I.

St. Gregory's Convent at Douay.

F. AUSTIN WHITE (of St. John), *alias* BRADSHAW, in consequence of the increased persecution of Catholics after the discovery of the execrable Gunpowder Plot, withdrew from England to Douay. In his capacity of Vicar-General of the English Spanish Benedictine mission, he was anxious to secure a refuge for his subjects, and also to provide a nursery for the training of such as the Spirit of God should dispose to embrace the order. He commenced with taking a portion called the dormitory of the Marchien College in the town; but the quarters were found so inconveniently small, that at the end of a twelvemonth he removed to a tenement adjoining, which belonged to the Trinitarians. This situation was little better for it was confined and obscure. Their distressful condition at the recommendation of the Archduke Albert and Cardina Montalt, was at length relieved by the venerable Philip de Cavarel, the lord abbot of St. Vedast in Arras. He generously gave an eligible site in Douay to erect "his Gregorian Convent and College" in 1608;* and by the blessing of Heaven the community was transferred into the new premises in 1611. The pious abbot added to his princely gift a country house and garden at Esquertin, about three miles from Douay, and

* The Abbé Mann, in his brief account of our British Catholic Establishments on the Continent, printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. p. 26, incorrectly states "early in 1605." The Abbé gave himself little trouble to search for the best evidence.

settled a full maintenance for twelve English monks, who should be bound to keep continual choir; stipulating also, that his abbey in Arras should remain charged with all repairs of the said convent and college; but that the premises should revert to the abbey when the Catholic religion should be restored in England.* Dying 1st December, 1636, æt. 84, the pious founder bequeathed to them his heart: *Cor meum jungatur vobis*. It was deposited on 19th of the same month and year under a brass plate before St. Gregory's high altar.

The first superior, before the union in June 1617, was the above-mentioned Austin Bradshaw. He was a native of Worcester; and as his epitaph at Longueville, near Dieppe, records, during the ten years of his superiority over the Spanish Benedictine mission in England, fitted out four martyrs and fifty confessors of the faith. He died on 4th May, 1618, æt. 42. He was succeeded by F. Nicholas Becket, whose government was short, as he proceeded to the mission, and died at Cank in Staffordshire on 30th October, 1618. F. Ruderind Barlow (of whom we shall have to treat more fully in the sequel) was filling the office of prior up to the time of holding the first chapter. Hitherto, it seems, from the *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia* (Appendix, p. 11, no. 3), that the Italian custom of holding triennial office† had prevailed. Indeed, Cardinal Pole, a great admirer of Italic observances, appointed Dr. John Feckenham to be abbot of Westminster for three years only. From the first chapter in 1617 the elections were quadriennial.

Priors of St. Gregory.

FRANCIS ATROBOS was elected at the first general chapter, in 1617. Weldon (p. 135) describes him as "a man of a most meek and gentle disposition, who had laudably executed the offices of greatest concern in the congregation, and had suffered imprisonment and exiles for the faith, and was waxed white in the apostolical labours of the mission." Ob. 10th June, 1626.

LEANDER of St. Martin, *alias* JOHN JONES, D.D., was elected at the second general chapter holden at Douay, 2d July, 1621, and re-elected at the fourth general chapter, 1629. He was connected with the Scudamore family of Kentchurch, in Herefordshire, was educated at Westminster School and

* See Alban Butler's Travels, p. 47.

† This appears also to have been the ancient custom in England. (*Apostolatus*, part ii. p. 60.)

at St. John's College, Oxford, and was intended for the legal profession. Persecution for his adherence to Catholic principles necessitated him to return to London, and there he found his parents and brothers attacked with the plague, which carried them off a few days later. The shock decided him to abandon his prospects of legal fame, and to dedicate himself to God in the ecclesiastical state. Proceeding to the English College of St. Alban's at Valladolid, he there applied himself diligently to theological studies; but after some years he joined the order of St. Benedict, in St. Martin's monastery at Compostella.* As a scholar he had few equals, excelling in his knowledge of the oriental languages. For nearly twenty-four years he continued Professor of Divinity and of Hebrew; and, as Weldon affirms (p. 78), was "an accomplished rhetorician, poet, Grecian, and Latinist." His society was much courted by literary men, especially by his fellow-collegian at Oxford, the celebrated Dr. Laud. To Henrietta of France, queen consort of Charles I., his company and services were most acceptable. After discharging the highest offices of the order, he died in London on the 27th of December, 1635, about seventy years old, "much lamented and very nobly attended to his grave, which was the first made at Somerset Palace, in the Queen's chapel, consecrated but four days before."*

RUDERIND BARLOW, elder brother to the martyr, Ambrose Barlow. We have mentioned him as being Superior at Douay before the union. At the third general chapter, 2d July, 1625, at Douay, he was re-elected prior. He was descended of a respectable family in Lancashire, and justly ranks amongst the ablest men of his time; but his talents were only excelled by his modesty and humility (*Weldon*, p. 83). He died on 19th September, 1656, æt. 72, rel. 51, sac. 38, and was buried before his stall in the choir of St. Gregory's church.

JOSEPH FRERE, elected in the fifth general chapter, 5th August, 1633, and continued in office for eight years. During his priorship, Pope Urban VIIIth's Bull *Plantata*, dated 12th July, 1633, was issued, establishing the English Benedictine Congregation in its ancient rights and privileges. Ob. 10th January, 1694, at Douay, aged 96, rel. 80!

JOHN MEUTISSE, elected at the eighth general chapter, 1641, and for twelve consecutive years was continued in office.

* See also the preface to Harpsfield's *Church History*, Douay, 1622; Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. ii, p. 308.

To the good nuns at Cambray he rendered valuable services in the early part of their establishment. After some time laudably spent in the mission, he went to his repose and recompence, 5th May, 1666.

BERNARD PALMES, of Yorkshire, elected in the eleventh general chapter at Paris, in July 1653. At the expiration of his quadriennium he was appointed procurator at Rome.* He was taken ill at Gratz, in Styria, and died there in a monastery of the order, 25th December, 1663, "and was very honourably interred." (*Weldon*, p. 182.)

BENNET STAPYLTON, D.D. elected at the twelfth general chapter at Paris, in 1657, and held office until the fourteenth general chapter, which was delayed on account of the plague at Douay until 1666. Altogether he served the English mission for twenty years. At the fifteenth general chapter, at London, 1669, whilst chaplain to Queen Catharine, he was elected president, and was continued in that office until his death, which took place at Dieulwart, on 4th August, 1680, æt. 58, prof. 38, sac. 34. He was buried in that conventual church. He was the eldest son of the Stapelton family of Carlton, but renounced all to become a monk.

AUSTIN CONIERS was elected in 1666, but within a year I lose sight of him, when

GODRICK BLOUNT of Fawley, Berks, succeeded him; and he died 2d September, 1699. F. Alexius Caryll supplied for the remainder of his quadriennium.

WILLIAM HITCHCOCK followed, and was re-elected in 1673. In the nineteenth general chapter, holden in St. James's, London, in 1685, he was re-appointed prior, and governed the community for eight years more, *i.e.* to 1693. He died 11th August, 1711.

N.B. We regret that he wrote the letter to the procurator at Rome, bearing date 20th February, 1676; but much more that Mr. Dodd should have published so private a communication in vol. iii. of his *Church History*, p. 392.

AUSTIN HOWARD, elected in 1677. This worthy Father died 26th August, 1716.

JEROME HESKETH was elected in 1681.

* Mr. Dodd (*Church History*, vol. iii. p. 313) mistakes in saying that "F. Thomas White, being chosen prior, died of the plague at Douay in 1654." The fact is, the *President* Bennet (Claude) White died on 14th October, 1654, at St. Edmund's, at Paris, æt. 72, sac. 46, rel. 50, having spent thirty-six years in the mission, and was honourably interred in St. Margaret's chapel in the abbey church of St. Germaine.

JOHN PHILLIPSON succeeded in 1693, and for eight years successively remained in office. Ob. 18th September, 1739.

MICHAEL PULLEIN, elected in the twenty-third general chapter at Douay, in 1701, and again in 1710. Ob. February 3d, 1723.

CUTHBERT TATHAM was appointed at the twenty-fourth chapter holden at Douay, 1705, on the elect, William Phillips, declining the office.

F. PHILIP METHAM succeeded at the twenty-sixth general chapter, 1714; but died in office shortly after.

F. EDWARD CHORLEY followed in 1715.

F. JOHN STOURTON, elected in 1717. He was eighth and youngest son of William, eleventh Lord Stourton, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir John Preston. His death occurred at Antwerp, 3d October, 1748, as I learn from the journal of F. Darbyshire, O.S.D. who attended him.

F. WILLIAM PRETELL succeeded in 1721, who resigned after some time, when

F. ANTHONY ORD was appointed to supply his quadriennium. He died in office, 26th January, 1725.

LAURENCE YORK, D.D. was appointed to succeed, and served for four years. In the sequel was sent to the Bath mission. Bishop Prichard, V.A. of the Western District, obtained him for his coadjutor in the episcopal office. He was consecrated as Bishop of Niba in 1741, and nine years later the charge of the vicariat devolved upon him by the death of that senior prelate. In 1764, at his earnest entreaty, the Holy See consented to accept his resignation, when he retired to his dear convent at Douay, where he closed a useful and honourable life, 14th April, 1770.

BASIL WARWICK was elected in 1729. Ob. 29th April, 1732.

THOMAS NELSON followed in 1733. Ob. 8th February, 1738.

BENEDICT STEARE, elected in 1739. Ob. 18th January, 1780.

ALEXIUS SHEPHERD, elected in 1745; re-elected, and died in office, 2d August, 1755.

AUGUSTINE MOORE, after governing nearly twenty years, died also prior, 15th June, 1775.

WILLIAM (GREGORY) SHARROCK, elected in 1775, resigned

the office on his promotion to the see of Telmessus, as coadjutor to Bishop Walmesley, to which he was consecrated at Wardour on 12th August, 1780. He succeeded to the administration of the vicariat in 1797, and worthily governed it until his pious death at Bath, 17th October, 1809, æt. 67. He was buried near Bishop Walmesley in St. Joseph's chapel, Bristol.

JAMES (JEROME) SHARROCK, younger brother of the Bishop, succeeded to the priorship in 1780. How gratifying to read in the admirable "Narrative, by the late Rev. Joseph Hodgson," of the seizure of the Secular College at Douay, and the deportation of its inmates to Dourlens, of the cordial sympathy and practical charity of this good prior and his brethren to the poor sufferers! See the *Catholic Magazine* of 1831. Forced himself to emigrate in 1793, he found an asylum for his community at Acton Burnell, the hospitable seat of Sir Edward Smythe, Bart. His episcopal brother was anxious to have him for his associate in the pontifical duties. Rome approved the choice, and issued the Bulls, dated 19th April, 1806, constituting him Bishop of Themiscyra; but the humility of the prior could not be prevailed upon to accept the dignity, and he died in the arms of his devoted monks on 1st April, 1808, æt. 58.

RICHARD (PETER) KENDALL was the next prior. Just before God called him to his recompence (which happened at Wooton, on 26th March, 1814), he had completed the purchase of Downside, near Bath, for the present convent and college. The community took possession of this valuable property 25th April, 1814.

THOMAS LAWSON was elected 10th May, 1814; resigned 23d July, 1818; died at Salford, 23d April, 1830.

DR. LUKE BARBER. He had taken the habit 26th April, 1807, and was wisely selected prior in the room of F. Lawson. During the twelve years of his government, St. Gregory's College increased in numbers and merited fame. On 10th July, 1823, he opened the beautiful new church, the principal object of attention in every well-regulated community. His services being now required at Salford,

REV. GEORGE TURNER was appointed prior on 24th November, 1830. He is now the respected director of St. Mary's Priory at Princethorpe, near Coventry.

DR. THOMAS (JOSEPH) BROWN was chosen at the chapter 18th July, 1834; his six years' government was eminently

useful and satisfactory. Our readers are aware that the Holy See, in its wisdom, selected him for the first Bishop of the new vicariat of Wales, and that he was consecrated by the title of Bishop of Apollonia, at St. John's Chapel, Bath, on 28th October, 1840. *Florescat.*

JOSEPH WILSON succeeded in 1840, and does honour to his office by his energy and considerate attention to the comfort and happiness of all around him.

CHAPTER II.

St. Laurence's Convent at Dieulouard or Dieulwart, near Verdun, in the Diocese of Toul, and Province of Lorraine.

In the month of December, 1606, the energetic F. Bradshaw, mentioned in the preceding chapter, obtained a grant of an old collegiate establishment dedicated to St. Laurence, with a small farm in Jaillon, for his English Benedictines. The Bishop of Toul confirmed the donation on 18th April, 1609. In accomplishing this, the zealous Father was powerfully assisted by Dr. Arthur Pitts, Theologian to the neighbouring abbey of nuns at Remêremont, and canon of the church at Liverdun. That learned and beneficed clergyman (ob. 17th October, 1616) had been "very instant, however, that Dieulwart should be the head of the English congregation, and the chief residence of the president-general thereof" (*Weldon*, p. 45). It took the form of a convent in 1608.

It appears that F. Nicholas Fitzjames* governed the house for a time, also F. George Brown and F. Edward Mayhew, before the union was established in the first general chapter, in the summer of 1617.

Priors.

JOCELIN ELMER was elected at the first general chapter, holden on the 1st June, 1617, at St. Andrew's House, Paris (*Apostolatus*, part ii. p. 171); he was re-elected at the fourth general chapter at Douay, 2d July, 1629; and his system of government gave such satisfaction, that for the next twelve consecutive years he was continued in that office. According to *Weldon* (p. 170), he died on 1st July, 1651, "famous for his holy and severe life, by which he gave a great edification every where. He lies interred at St. Malo's."

* Born at Redlinch, county Somerset; professed 15th May, 1608, and executed for some years the office of Master of Novices. The venerable man, at the age of 92, died at Stourton, Wilts, on 16th May, 1652. (*Weldon*, p. 45.)

COLUMBANUS MALON succeeded in 1621. He was a native of Lancashire, was clothed by F. Leander of St. Martin, at Rheims, 2d September, 1608, and professed 13th Sept. 1609; "a person of a most innocent life, and of great example in all kind of virtues; an exact observer of regular discipline, a constant practiser of rigorous penance. He passed from the offices of professor of philosophy, subprior of Douay, secretary of the president, &c. to be prior of Dieulwart, where, in the second year of his government, he saint-like slept in our Lord, on the feast of All Saints, 1623" (*Weldon*, p. 49). The Necrology inaccurately fixes his death on 13th September that year.*

LAURENCE REYNER, elder brother of Dom Clement Reyner, elected in the third general chapter at Douay, 2d July, 1625. He was re-elected for another quadriennium in 1653; but on the death of the president F. Claude White in 1654, that important office devolved upon him. Afterwards proceeding to the mission, he died in the north of England on Good Friday (8th April), 1664, æt. 82. He was wonderfully zealous in gaining souls to Heaven, a patient sufferer of many persecutions and long imprisonments, and a great promoter of regular discipline. (*Weldon*, p. 182.)

CUTHBERT HORSLEY supplied the remainder of his predecessor's quadriennium, had been elected prior 9th August, 1641, and indeed continued to govern his brethren for nearly thirty years, until 1673. He was never employed on the mission. Released from the burden of superiority, he employed his leisure in preparing for eternity, into which he entered on the 21st December, 1777, aged about 80. (*Weldon*, p. 196.)

THOMAS (GREGORY) HESKETH, D.D., elected at the sixteenth general chapter in 1673. Died at Paris, 22d October, 1695.

JOHN GIRLINGTON succeeded in 1677, but of whom I can recover no details.

BERNARD GREGSON, elected at the eighteenth chapter at Paris, 1681, on F. Austin Mather's declining office. This prior being called to serve the Royal Chapel of her Majesty in London, was succeeded for the remainder of his term by F. James Mather, of Fishwick Hall, near Preston. F. Gregson was re-elected for another quadriennium in 1685.

* We trust that the able annalist of the Congregation, F. Peter (Athanasius) Allanson, will revise this Necrology, which has many omissions, several repetitions of names, and notorious anachronisms.

JAMES MATHER, elected at the twentieth general chapter at Paris, 1689, was re-elected in 1701, but refused to serve. Ob. 16th January, 1724.

LAURENCE CHAMPNEY, elected in 1693, presided till 1701; is known to have filled the office again before his death, 21st April, 1732, but the precise date cannot be determined.

FRANCIS WATMOUGH, elected in 1701, and certainly governed for the ensuing nine years, and is known to have filled several quadrienniums before his death, 15th August, 1733; but we have no documents to fix the dates.*

ROBERT HARDCASTLE, elected in 1710. He died 27th December, 1741.

BERNARD CATARATT was elected in 1737, and remained in office for sixteen years. He died 9th September, 1781.

AMBROSE KAYE succeeded in 1753, and held office for twelve successive years.

GEO. (GREGORY) COWLEY, elected in 1765, and continued prior for eight years. This worthy superior died at Vernon Hall, Lancashire, 19th June, 1799.

DUNSTAN HOLINESS, elected in 1773, and retained office for eight years. He died 25th June, 1782.

JEROME MARSH succeeded in 1781. He died at Holme, county of York, 16th February, 1798.

JEROME COUPE followed in 1785, of whom I can glean no particulars.

RICHARD MARSH (of whom I shall have to speak more at large later). He was elected in a critical period, 1789. With difficulty he could escape with two of his religious on 12th October, 1793: that very night the convent was invested by a cordon of armed revolutionists. Four of his subjects were arrested and conveyed prisoners to Pont-à-Mousson. The four that remained on the premises experienced such shameful treatment and privations, as put an end to the lives of all but one; for the Rev. Maurice Farrel, an elderly priest, turned out of the convent, died in confinement; and James Johnson

* In a letter received from Dr. Rooker, dated Ampleforth College, 15th November, 1821, he says: "Of the six following quadrienniums I find no account whatever; but from the Necrologies I learn that Laurence Champney was prior for *one* quadriennium, and Francis Watmough for *three*. N.B. On 13th October, 1717, the convent was visited with a destructive fire, which consumed the *valuable library*, commenced and enriched by Dom Gabriel Giffard; also many original deeds in the archives, and the greater part of the buildings."

and Charles Allour sunk under their hardships shortly after their liberation. He continued in the government of the Dieulwart monks at Vernon Hall, near St. Helen's, Lancashire, until his resignation in 1802, when F. Francis (Anselm) Appleton succeeded him. Towards the end of his priorship, the community, increased by the arrivals from Lamspring, removed to Ampleforth, near York, late the property of the Hon. Miss Fairfax. At the expiration of his quadriennium, F. Dunstan Tarleton was elected prior, but declining to accept the responsibility, Dr. Marsh, during this interval, attended when he could, leaving the Rev. Thomas (Clement) Rishton (who had been clothed at Lamspring, 19th November, 1800,) as acting superior. This course was pursued till 1810, when F. Thomas (Gregory) Robinson assumed the government of the house, which he held for six successive years. On his resignation, F. Rishton was re-appointed prior, who at the end of two years was succeeded by F. Thomas (Laurence) Burgess, who was prior until the spring of 1830, when, having obtained his secularisation, together with his brethren Drs. Rooker and Brindle and Rev. Edward Metcalf, the college was threatened with dissolution. But it pleased God to raise up a host in F. Richard (Adrian) Towers, who restored life and energy to the college. At the expiration of his quadriennium, F. Samuel (Bede) Day succeeded, and was followed by the Rev. Thomas (Anselm) Cockshoot, who presided for eight years. In 1846, F. Richard (Anselm) Prest was elected prior; and at the late chapter, July 1850, F. Wilfrid Cooper was installed prior; and we trust that Ampleforth will continue to unite in itself the merits of Lamspring Abbey and Dieulwart Priory, conveying wisdom into holy souls and making friends unto God.

CHAPTER III.

St. Bennet's Establishment at St. Malo.

FATHER GABRIEL of St. Mary, *alias* DR. GIFFARD, afterwards Archbishop of Rheims, may fairly be regarded as the founder of this monastery. In conjunction with F. John Barnes, this learned doctor and most humble religious had received directions from his superior, F. Bradshaw, to proceed to Spain, in order to raise moneys for the increasing but impoverished community at Dieulwart. Whilst waiting at St. Malo for a vessel and a favourable wind to take him to Spain, he made the acquaintance of the Bishop, Monseigneur Guillaume le Gouverneur, and of the principal citizens, who were so charmed with his pulpit eloquence, his saintly ex-

ample and pleasing manners, that they sent a formal invitation to abandon the expedition to Spain, and to fix his residence amongst them. F. Bradshaw approved of this proposal, and in the months of August and September that year (1611) forwarded a reinforcement of his religious, in the persons of FF. Placid Hilton *alias* Musgrave, Mellitus Balthorpe, Thomas Green, Boniface Kemp or Kipton, Columban Malon, and Bennet D'Orgain, to commence the English Benedictine convent. They were placed in the house of the theologal, which dignity the Bishop conferred on Dr. Giffard, and on F. Hilton the preceptorial, which was to teach the children of the town. This was done with great contentment to all concerned (*Weldon*, p. 57). But, alas, at length the enemy of human happiness succeeded in sowing the tares of envy in the minds and hearts of some of the cathedral chapter; and for the sake of peace and charity, Dr. Giffard, in 1616, purchased a house and garden in the city, "and transferred his little yet laborious community from the theologal mansion to the new acquisition" (*Weldon*, p. 106). This was improved two years later by the additional purchase of another house and garden. Their chapel, dedicated to St. Bennet, was opened for divine service on 29th December, 1621.

Priors.

DR. WILLIAM GIFFARD, of an ancient and illustrious family, son of John Giffard, Esq., by his wife Elizabeth (Throgmorton), was born in 1555. At a proper age he was sent to Lincoln College, Oxford, where he pursued his studies for at least four years; thence proceeded to Louvain, where he went through a course of divinity under the celebrated Bellarmine, and passed Bachelor of that faculty. The degree of Doctor was conferred on 14th November, 1584, at Pont-à-Mousson, with great applause. For eleven years he filled the chair of professor of theology at Rheims with the highest commendation. To Henry Duke of Guise, to his brother Lewis Cardinal-Archbishop of Rheims, to Cardinals Bellarmine and Allen, to the Saints Charles Borromæus and Francis de Sales, he was greatly endeared, and to Pope Clement VIII. who collated him to the Deanery of Lisle. Yet whilst France and Italy rang with his praises as an orator and a theologian, he was meditating to bury himself in the monastic cloister. Rector of the University of Rheims, he received the Benedictine habit from the hands of F. Leander of St. Martin, in the great Abbey of St. Remi in that city, and in the following year made his profession in the chapter-house at Dieulwart.

During his priorship at St. Malo's, the above-mentioned Cardinal-Archbishop of Rheims obtained him for his coadjutor in the episcopal office, and he was consecrated by the title of Bishop of Archidapolis, on whose death three years later Dr. Giffard succeeded his Grace as Archbishop and Duke of Rheims, first peer of France, and legate born of the Holy See. This truly great and apostolic man died in Holy Week, 11th April, 1629. His remains were deposited behind the high altar of his cathedral; but his heart was bequeathed to the Benedictine nunnery of St. Peter in that city, and was laid in their choir before the high altar with a suitable inscription. (*Weldon*, p. 142.)

PAULINUS GREENWOOD, of Brentwood in Essex, was the first professed in the new house of St. Gregory at Douay, 10th January, 1612. Succeeding Prior Giffard, promoted to episcopacy, he continued in office for eight years. Afterwards repairing to the mission, he suffered long imprisonment at the Gate-house, London, for the faith; but died at Oxford, 27th November, 1645.

JOCELIN ELMER, elected 2d July, 1625; he had previously filled the office of prior at Dieulwart. Re-elected here at the tenth general chapter, 1649, he died within two years later, viz. 12th January, 1651, and was buried amongst his brethren.

ADEODATUS L'ANGEVIN, elected vice-prior at the fourth general chapter, holden at Douay, 2d July, 1629, and continued to govern the house until 1641, after which I lose all traces of him.

ROBERT (GABRIEL) BRETT succeeded F. Adeodatus in 1641; held office for the next eight years; was re-elected in 1657 for another quadriennium. He was son to Sir Alexander Brett, of White Staunton in Somersetshire, and nephew to Dr. Giffard, under whom he became a monk of St. Malo's. Ob. 12th August, 1665, æt. 66. (*Weldon*, p. 184.)

JOHN MEUTISSE, at the petition of the convent, in lieu of F. Ildefonsus Cliffe, who had been chosen at the eleventh chapter, 1653. (See *Weldon*, p. 171.) We have mentioned F. Meutisse in the first chapter.

THOMAS ANDERTON succeeded in 1661; died 9th October, 1671.

BENNET NELSON, elected at the fourteenth general chapter, which, on account of the plague raging at Douay, was begun, says *Weldon* (p. 185), at the Old Bailey, at London, 1st May, 1666. In consequence of an agreement between the

president, F. Austin Hungate, and the French Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur, he surrendered shortly after his convent into their hands: his manner of submission gave much edification to all parties. The president offered him a convenient chaplaincy with his own niece, Lady Fairfax, in Yorkshire; but he preferred his cloister at St. Edmund's, Paris, to which he retired. He died there 3d September, 1699, æt. 81, rel. 59. The Maurist monks paid 200 pistoles yearly to the English congregation for this surrender.

The last person professed at St. Malo was WILLIAM (BEDE) THORNTON. Ob. 10th April, 1694.

Reviews.

RISE, PROGRESS, AND RESULTS OF PUSEYISM.

Lectures on certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church. By John Henry Newman, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. London, Burns and Lambert.

WHEN a great man draws near his end, his friends begin to think of writing his biography. The Oxford movement of 1833 has already entered upon its second childhood, but we fear that no exclusively friendly hand is preparing to pen its memoirs. In a certain sense, however, we may call ourselves its friends; and therefore, before it has entirely ceased to be, we shall venture upon a brief sketch of its life, by way of offering some trifling contributions to its future chroniclers, when men come to review the ecclesiastical history of England in its progress from Protestantism to Catholicism.

In the year 1833, a small band of Oxford Protestants formed themselves into a private association for the propagation of what were termed "Church principles." At the beginning of that year, the old High-Church party were stricken with dismay at the progress of reform in politics and latitudinarianism in religion. Educated in the prejudices of the age, they viewed with nearly equal horror a Whig, a Radical, a Catholic, a Quaker, a Baptist, a Socinian, and a Jew; and in the events of the four preceding years, they beheld prognostics of the utter destruction of all they held most dear. In 1829, Catholic Emancipation was carried. In 1830, the

revolution overthrew "legitimacy" in France. In 1831, the Reform Bill became law in England. "Church Reform" was among the most popular of cries. The Bishops were hated and laughed at; a separation of Church and State seemed imminent; and at last, when ten Irish Protestant bishoprics were suddenly abolished by Act of Parliament, the patience of High-Churchmen was exhausted, and the time appeared ripe for the calling into action a wide-spread movement in defence of things as they were. Meanwhile the press teemed with proposals for mending the Church of England itself. Lord Henley (Sir Robert Peel's brother-in-law) and Dr. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, were among the foremost in the ranks of the pamphleteers. Dr. Arnold of Rugby proposed that *all* sects and creeds should be united by Act of Parliament, and that in one and the same building, in the course of one and the same Sunday, Catholics, Establishmentarians, and Dissenters of all denominations, should successively worship and preach; and the Athanasian Creed was condemned in the Establishment itself, as obsolete, barbarous, and bloodthirsty.

It was in the early part of the long vacation, when Oxford assumes its most dreary aspect, and the heat of the maturing summer drives all but a few lingering gownsmen from its academic shades, that two members of the University met frequently in the common-room of Oriel College, and exchanged words of mourning sympathy on the evils of the times. So it happened that these two fitly represented the two schools of religious opinion now about to be for a time united in energetic action for the defence of an apparently common cause. Richard Hurrell Froude and William Palmer were as striking embodiments of the Catholic and the Protestant tendencies of mind as all England could supply. The former has long since been called away from this life; and his course was so short, that the world in general knew little of the real power he had exercised in giving a definite direction to the movement, till the publication of two volumes of his *Remains* in the year 1838. Sweet and affectionate in disposition to no ordinary degree, clear-sighted beyond most of his companions, self-denying to an extent wonderful among Protestants, he exerted an influence of the most efficacious description on many minds, notwithstanding a certain waywardness of character and love of paradoxical statement singularly unwelcome to the proprieties of Oxford. His personal history is, in truth, so striking, as an illustration of the inward workings of many minds who are without the Catholic Church, yet are mysteriously subjected to her sway, that no correct

idea can be formed of the real origin of the Tract movement without a brief sketch of his character.

Richard Hurrell Froude was the son of Archdeacon Froude, and was born at Dartington, in the county of Devon, in the year 1803. He died of consumption, on the 28th of February, 1836, when he was nearly thirty-three years old, after an illness of four years and a half. He was educated at Eton and Oxford; gained high, though not the highest, honours, both in classics and mathematics; and was elected fellow of Oriel College in 1826. From 1827 to 1830 he was one of the College tutors, and in 1828 he took orders in the Anglican Church.

The singular genuineness of his character is displayed in the fact, that for some time he kept a private religious journal, which stands in most marked contrast to all ordinary Protestant diaries. A more determined and more successful effort at self-examination, and at recording the real truth respecting his own sins, was probably never accomplished out of the Catholic Church. His journal, with selections from his letters, which bear a like impress of living truthfulness, were given to the world when Tractarianism was become notorious, and the astonishment of the Antipuseyite world was extreme. The more enlightened reader marked with deep interest the rapid progress of Froude's mind towards Catholic truth and towards religious maturity, even amidst occasional outbursts of anticatholic ignorance of facts, and in conjunction with that timid, trembling grasp of Catholic doctrine, and that rash, though earnest, asceticism, which often characterise the early stages of conversion to the faith. Ultraprotestants, more acute than admiring Puseyites, discerned the real tendencies of his mind, and notwithstanding his scattered words of anti-roman prejudice, denounced him as a Papist at heart, and as the most odious of the Oxford plotters against Protestantism. Certainly he appears to have been the first who detected the true character of the "reformers" from their own acts and writings; and the vehement onslaughts of the *British Critic* in after years were but the argumentative expression of the epigrammatic sayings in which Froude had been wont to utter his abhorrence of Cranmer, Ridley, Jewell, and the whole school of religious rebels.

It is so seldom that the inward workings of the minds of conscientious Protestants are displayed to Catholics, that a few extracts from the journal alluded to will be welcome to our readers. They were written, it should be noted, in the year 1826, when Froude was only twenty-three years old, seven years before the Tract movement began to make asceticism

the custom at Oxford, and while the author possessed few means of access to living Catholics and Catholic writers. The first is on fasting and ceremonies :

“Respecting Church-regulations for fasts and abstinence, I consider that if the forms of *society* are calculated to make each individual feel his proper place with reference to others, and to help us in acting right in this relation, it cannot be absurd to keep up *religious* ceremonies, which may be witnesses to us of the presence of the great King, and of the way of acting and thinking which suits our relation to Him.” (Sept. 1st, 1826.)

Again, on penance :

“It came into my head this morning, that it would be a good thing for me to set apart some days in the year for the commemoration of my worst acts of sin. I find, that as the feeling in which they originated becomes extinct, I am too apt to forget that it was myself who was guilty of them, and to look on the actions themselves as no longer connected with me, now that God in his goodness has delivered me from the temptation to repeat them. Besides, I think it would be the safest way of doing penance, and the most sure to exclude any feeling of self-complacency from obtruding itself on my humiliation and self-chastisement.” (Sept. 27th, 1826.)

The next is a longer extract. The opening paragraph alludes to a subject which occurs in other parts of the Journal also, namely, a certain sense of perplexity and mingled moral and intellectual distress, which resulted from his entering into arguments on religious subjects beyond the formal routine of Anglican doctrine and practice. At such times the sincere Protestant frequently feels with more than ordinary keenness the absence of that gift of *faith* which is the Catholic's privilege, and without which he is ever rushing into unreality, exaggerations, and contradictions. Froude was unlike others only in that he recognised and was pained at this uncomfortable phenomenon. The extract also shews *how* he fasted, excessive fasting being only one of the bodily austerities he put in practice ; while it displays the clearness and honesty with which he aimed at a moral standard of perfection, most unusual among his companions.

“Had a walk with N. Insensibly got talking in a way to let him infer I was trying to alter myself. Also allowed myself to argue. Was puzzled as usual, and have been uncomfortable and abstracted ever since. Once doubted whether I had not been wrong, which made me ridiculously uneasy.

“Felt once as if I would have accepted ——'s invitation

on Friday, if I had expected a party to my taste; and believe my motive was not sound at the bottom, as I am afraid is the case with all my motives. I read and go to chapel because they are helps to get through the day. I use self-denial because I believe it the way to make the most of our pleasures; and besides, it has a tendency to give me what is essential to taking my place in society—self-command. Besides which, if my feelings are in any respect right, if I have any real wish to conform my will to that of the Lord, and really to correct my motives and feelings, it is because, having tried every other way which I fancied might lead to happiness, I have been either thwarted in my endeavours or disappointed in success. I am driven to the attempt after piety as a last resource; I seek to be hidden, and in the Lord's presence, not upon choice, but because I have no where else to hide myself. I give up nothing, and ask for every thing. Can such an offering as mine have any thing acceptable in it? Can actions originating in such a temper have any tendency to make me better, or to procure the blessing and grace of God? And yet now I am proud of this that I have written, and think that the knowledge it shews of myself implies a greatness of mind; and I sometimes compare myself to Solomon in the beginning of Ecclesiastes.

"Was disgustingly ostentatious at dinner in asking for a china plate* directly, as I had finished my meat. I did it on purpose too, that the others might see I ate so much less than they did. Read affectedly in evening chapel. I look forward to to-morrow with apprehension, and expect uncommon tedium before night. I hope I shall be able to abstain altogether, and that the Lord will so purify my motives, that I may benefit from this my spiritual sustenance. The affair of the argument proves to me that I am very proud.

"If God has not given me such high talents as I suppose, what harm can it be to me to find it out? If being in the wrong really diminished my understanding, there might be more ground for being uncomfortable. But it is not argument that must get the better of this folly.

"I have allowed myself to be provoked and bothered at the ——'s having cut up my evening, and not having been sufficiently respectful. How can I expect my trespasses to be forgiven?

"*Nov. 10th.*—Fell quite short of my wishes with respect to the rigour of to-day's fast, though I am quite willing to believe not unpardonably: I tasted nothing till after half-past

* In college, meat is served on pewter.

eight in the evening, and before that had undergone more uncomfortableness, both of body and mind, than any fast has as yet occasioned me, having, I hope, laid a sort of foundation, on which I may gradually build up the fit spending of a fast in calling my sins to remembrance. But I made rather a more hearty tea than usual (quite giving up the notion of a fast) in W.'s rooms, and by this weakness have occasioned another slip. For having been treated, as I think, without sufficient respect by the youngest —, I allowed myself to be vexed, and to think of how I ought to have set him down all the rest of the evening, instead of receiving it with thankfulness from God as an instrument of humility. Also I will record another error, common indeed with me, and which for that reason I have hitherto overlooked, *i.e.* speaking severely of another without a cause. I said I thought — an ass, when there was not the least occasion for me to express my sentiments about him; and yet I, so severe on the follies, and so bitter against the slightest injuries I get from others, am now presenting myself before my great Father, to ask for mercy on my most foul sins, and forgiveness for the most excessive injuries. 'How shall I be delivered from the body of this death!' (Nov. 9, 1826.)

Two years after the commencement of the Tracts, he thus writes to a friend who thought it right to mix vehement attacks upon Catholics with his advocacy of "Anglo-Catholic" views:

"Before I finish this, I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing at the end of — (naming the work in question)—[against the Romanists], as you do. What good can it do? And I call it uncharitable to an excess. How mistaken we may ourselves be on many points that are only gradually opening on us! Surely you should reserve 'blasphemous,' 'impious,' &c. for the denial of the articles of faith."

A few of his sayings in conversation are recorded, from which the following are to our purpose. The first is extremely acute:

"No one can become a great man who speaks of himself. He who speaks of himself, thereby makes himself inferior to the person he addresses."

The rest shew his secret feelings towards the truth, and his gradual approximation towards its confession:

"Catholic enthusiasts may be hated; but they never can become ridiculous, as the Methodists are."

"I observe in the pictures of the Bishops of the middle ages, a curious expression, as if neither of man or woman,—a kind of feminine sternness."

"The Reformation was a limb badly set; it must be broken again in order to be righted." [This saying was among those which so mightily affronted the Antitractarian party.]

"I wonder a thoughtful fellow like H. does not get to hate the Reformers faster. I think as soon as I began to know —, I felt they were the very kind of fellows he would most have hated and despised if he had known them."

"I never could be a Romanist; I never could think all those things in Pope Pius's Creed necessary to salvation. But I do not see what harm an ordinary Romanist gets from thinking so."

"A good many of the young persons now have got into a way of 'performing the services impressively.' — has a little of it. I don't suppose the Catholic service *could* be 'performed impressively.'"

"— shews a hatred and contempt for parts of the saintly character, which *is* immorality; as for example, he hates the temper which does not see and yet believes."

In a few charming little occasional poems, Froude at times poured forth his *most* secret thoughts. The following (written just before the commencement of the Tracts) is among the many proofs his writings furnish of his intense sense, that, after all, he had yet to find the eternal truth of God.

"O Lord, I hear, but can it be
The gracious word was meant for me?
O Lord, I thirst, but who shall tell
The secret of that living well,
By whose waters I may rest,
And slake this lip unblest?

O Lord, I will, but cannot do,
My heart is hard, my faith untrue:
The Spirit and the Bride say, Come;
The eternal, ever-blessed Home
Op'd its portals at my birth,
But I am chained to earth.

The golden keys each eve and morn —
I see them with a heart forlorn,
Lest they should iron prove to me:
Oh, set my heart at liberty.

May I seize what Thou dost give,
Seize tremblingly, and live!"

Ten days before these stanzas were written by Froude at Oxford, another, bound closely to him by the ties of affection and friendship, and soon about to be his colleague in commencing the movement, was becalmed in the sun off the coast

of Sardinia, and on the deck of a Sicilian sailing vessel, while the low gurgling of the gently moving waves against the prow scarce broke the silence of the tideless Mediterranean, he too spoke in verse thoughts too deep for common utterance, and the prayer he poured forth was answered by Him who heard, according to his own divine and merciful interpretation of its petitions. Few persons probably know that the following lines, published some time afterwards, were written *before* the appearance of the Oxford Tracts:

“ FAITH.

“Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom;
Lead Thou me on!
The night is dark, and I am far from home—
Lead Thou me on!
Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene,—one step enough for me.

I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
Should'st lead me on!
I loved to choose and see my path, but now
Lead Thou me on!
I loved the garish day, and, spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will: remember not past years.

So long thy power hath blest me, sure it still
Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone;
And with the morn those Angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.”

Such were the inward yearnings of two hearts which then beat with loyal affection to the Anglican Church, in which they had been reared, and which in a few weeks were to communicate their fire to many another breast. It is clear that, from the first, the *ruling* minds in the movement were conscious of their ignorance, and, in the presence of Almighty God, *felt* that He was leading them they knew not whither.

Of these two, one, as has been said, was occupying the early part of the long vacation in conferences with a man of a totally different stamp.

William Palmer, of Worcester College, learned beyond the average of Protestant divines, and strong in his dislike to consistent Lutheranism,—William Palmer was as radically an Ultraprotestant at the very time when he aided in establishing

the Tracts, as when afterwards he wrote "Letters to N. Wiseman, D.D., calling himself Bishop of Melipotamus;" and when, on the demise of the *British Critic*, he undertook the management of a review which has rivalled the worst of Evangelical zealots in its misrepresentations of the Catholic faith. He was a fair representative of a vast portion of the party which by degrees took up the movement, whose chief aim appeared to be self-defence rather than a search after truth, and who at times seemed to apologise for Rome, only that they might the more vigorously repel the attacks of Nonconformity against Anglicanism. The personal alliance between the two ill-assorted coadjutors was speedily dissolved; and in a published Narrative of the events in which he had a share, Palmer confessed a conviction that Froude's influence was all along exerted in a direction opposed to his own.

Acting together, however, for a time, Froude and Palmer resolved that something must be done to defend the Establishment, now robbed of her ten Irish bishoprics, and threatened on every side. Their general idea was to establish some sort of association for the support of "Church principles." A few friends were consulted without loss of time. A few were already prepared to join in the scheme. In the beginning of the year, Mr. Palmer had been in correspondence with the Rev. Hugh James Rose, the editor of the *British Magazine*, then living at Hadleigh in Suffolk, and afterwards Principal of King's College, London. Rose, who has now been several years dead, was of a theological school akin to that of Palmer, but less gladiatorial in spirit. To him and to John Keble the poet the design was first communicated. Unlike Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey, with whom his name was afterwards so constantly associated, Keble had always been attached to the old-fashioned High-Church class of Anglicans. His *Christian Year* was already giving promise of that extraordinary popularity which until recently (or even until now) it has retained. His great principle was expressed in the preface to that remarkable collection of poems. He thought that the grand desideratum of a religious mind should be *soberness*; and in the *Christian Year*, with its gentle tones, its steady proprieties, its sweet suggestions, its delicate imagery, its glimpses of truth, and its unintelligible meanderings of thoughts and words, he gave a second Bible to the well-intentioned, cautious, sensible, and domestic households of English Anglicanism. He had just been preaching before the University of Oxford a sermon on the suppression of the ten Irish bishoprics, which he viewed as a calamity of the most fearful kind, and condemned as an act of "national apostacy." "The legis-

lature of England and Ireland," he says in his preface to the published sermon, "(the members of which are not even bound to profess belief in the atonement,) this body has virtually usurped the commission of those whom our Saviour entrusted with *at least one voice* in making ecclesiastical laws on matters wholly or partly spiritual." Such being Mr. Keble's views—though his words "*at least one voice*" betray his real difference from the principles of such men as Froude—he very gladly entered into the suggestions proposed by him. The Rev. John Henry Newman, on his return from the continent, immediately took part in the deliberations; and after some correspondence, Froude and Palmer went down to confer with Rose at Hadleigh, where they met the only other of the original "conspirators" not yet named, the Hon. and Rev. Arthur Perceval, a High-Churchman of the antiroman caste, who, like Palmer, afterwards published an account of the part he took in organising the movement, and who, also like Palmer, speedily found that permanent co-operation with men like Froude and Newman, and even with Keble and their subsequent coadjutor Dr. Pusey, was practically an impossibility.

After this conference the "conspirators" proceeded to action. No terms of co-operation could be agreed upon, at once sufficiently comprehensive, explicit, and cautious, to ensure the *signatures* of even this small number of friends. Latent Establishmentarianism from the first refused to coalesce with latent Catholicism. Nevertheless, certain articles of agreement passed to and fro, and it was determined at once to commence acting upon the public mind in favour of the doctrine of the apostolical succession, as the keystone of the edifice of Church-government, and as the necessary means to a participation in the body and blood of our Blessed Lord. Books and tracts were immediately to be written. Propositions were made for the establishment of associations throughout the country for the maintenance of High-Church views; and clerical and lay petitions were prepared, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It speedily became manifest that the movement must depend for success entirely upon the first of these instruments. The time was not come for Church Unions; and petitions and addresses to the Anglican prelates proved only the simplicity of the petitioners and the ultra-protestantism of the petitioned. Palmer, being a man of comparative leisure, went about the country, agitating wherever he could; and notwithstanding the frowns of dignitaries and the jealousies of the country parsons at these novel proceedings on the part of a few nameless young men at Oxford, an address was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury in

the following February, signed by nearly 7000 clergy of the Establishment. The petition really *said* scarcely any thing at all, and could conveniently be signed by men of all views who wished things to remain as they were. In the following May, a similar address was presented to the Archbishop by the laity, signed by 230,000 heads of families.

Of these 7000 clerical and 230,000 lay subscribers, wonderfully few were they who sympathised with the real opinions of the most influential of the leaders in the movement. When the *Tracts for the Times* commenced publication in the autumn of 1833, inexpressible must have been the bewilderment of the clerical conservatives of the Establishment, and the eminently respectable fathers and mothers of families who had been wont to consider the quiet comforts and peaceable mediocrity of their Bishops, their clergy, their Prayer-book, and their parsonages, as the *beau ideal* of perfection, and the summit beyond which it was presumption to wish for more. From the first, the Tracts were the work of individuals, for it was found impossible to subject them to the revision of any association, and they never possessed more than the general patronage of all the few persons we have mentioned as originating them. From the first, they displayed a daring vigour, a recklessness of secular consequences, and a determination to carry out truths to their legitimate conclusions. On the first page of the series, they wished the Anglican prelates the honour and blessedness of martyrdom! Hence, notwithstanding the freezing mediocrity and thoroughly anticatholic Anglicanism of many, if not of the greater part, of the first Tracts, they were early viewed with deep suspicion by the old school, who patronised them with cautious reserve, and shrugged their shoulders at the mention of the *extremes* to which these Oxford men seemed disposed to push their principles.

Such, then, was the tone of the earlier Oxford Tracts. The first volume was published in 1833-1834. The apostolical succession of Bishops, the value of ordinances, the perfections of the Book of Common Prayer, the *via media* of the Church of England as opposed to Romanism on the one side and Dissent on the other, and the independence of the Church, were its principal topics. The series also included several tracts called "Records of the Church," which consisted of short extracts from the writings of the Fathers, supposed to uphold the doctrines inculcated in the original papers. The moral and spiritual *strength* of the first volume, however, lay chiefly in a tract to which the author affixed his initials, on the duty of Fasting. From the time of the publication of this essay, Dr. Pusey's name became popularly associated

with the movement, and the world in general out of Oxford supposed him to be both its chief originator and its most influential guide. Both suppositions were erroneous. His personal influence in Oxford was for a long time considerable, as his tract on Baptism, published in 1834-1835, unquestionably was one of the most effective single publications to which the movement gave birth. Still, from the first, Tractarianism owed little or nothing of its *Catholic* tendencies to Dr. Pusey. To him it owed much of its unnatural preciseness and solemnity of tone, its exaggerated though sincere austerities, and its partial adoption of auricular confession. From first to last, nevertheless, Dr. Pusey never even understood the inmost feelings and principles of some of his coadjutors, and he was, in fact, a thorough Protestant. He appears never to have grasped the idea of the Catholic Church as a living body, commissioned to communicate the revealed truths of the Gospel to each individual soul. He has worshipped the Fathers, as the Evangelicals have worshipped the mere letter of King James's English translation of the Bible. His own private judgment has been his ultimate court of appeal, even when he has entered the lists in defence of the most "Romanising" of his friends, and been most unscrupulous in appropriating the writings of the "modern Church of Rome."

Of the first promoters of the movement, some either never wrote any of the Tracts, or speedily withdrew from active co-operation with their early associates. Rose wrote none; Palmer was only in part responsible for one single Tract (No. 15); and Perceval wrote no more than three, Nos. 23, 35, and 36. Other and bolder pens were early found to co-operate; but the actual number of Tract-writers was to the last but small.

Before the year 1833 was closed, an auxiliary series of papers, by Mr. Newman, began to appear in the *British Magazine*. *The Church of the Fathers*, afterwards re-published in a single volume, far outstepped the cautious hints of the Tracts themselves; and furnished a striking indication of the actual sentiments of at least one of the "Tractarians," as they were speedily termed. What had been the early progress of the writer's mind, under the influence of the study of the primitive Fathers, he has himself described in the course of lectures delivered by him in the London Oratory.

"Even when I was a boy," he says, "my thoughts were turned to the early Church, and especially to the early Fathers, by the perusal of Milner's *Church History*, and I have never lost, I never have suffered a suspension of the impression, deep and most pleasurable, which his sketches of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine left

on my mind. From that time the vision of the Fathers was always, to my imagination, I may say, a paradise of delight, to the contemplation of which I directed my thoughts from time to time, whenever I was free from the engagements proper to my time of life. When I first began to read their works with attention and on system, I busied myself much in analysing them, and in cataloguing their doctrines and principles; and when I had thus proceeded very carefully and minutely for some space of time, I found, on looking back on what I had done, that I had scarcely done any thing at all, that I had gained very little from them, and that the Fathers I had been reading, which were exclusively those of the Antenicene period, as far as my reading was concerned, had very little in them. At the time I did not discover the reason of this result, though, on the retrospect, it was plain enough: I had read them simply on Protestant ideas, analysed and catalogued them on Protestant principles of division, and hunted for Protestant doctrines and usages in them. My headings ran, 'Justification by faith only,' 'Sanctification,' and the like. I knew not what to look for in them; I sought what was not there, I missed what was there; I laboured through the night, and caught nothing. But I should make one important exception: I rose from their perusal with a vivid perception of the divine institution, the prerogatives, and the gifts of the Episcopate; that is, with an implicit aversion to the Erastian principle.

"Some years afterwards I took up the study of them again, when I had occasion to employ myself on the history of Arianism. I read them with Bull's *Defensio*, as their key as far as his subject extended; but I am not aware that I made any other special doctrinal use of them at that time."

The Church of the Fathers, nevertheless, and those Tracts in which the same pen was clearly to be recognised, distinctly indicated that their author was already far ahead of Lutheranism as well as Erastianism, and that he had learnt not only the divine institution of the Episcopate, but many another Catholic truth from the records of Christian antiquity. *The Church of the Fathers*, even to a Catholic, is still a charming and interesting book. It is charming from the graces, at once refined and homely, of its style; from its judicious selection of some of the most stirring scenes and sweetest characters of ancient days; and from the singular, unhesitating faith with which its writer viewed the divine gifts and glorious deeds of saints and martyrs, even from amidst the dull incredulities and technicalities of the Anglican Establishment. To those who are interested in the history of this movement—and what Catholic is not?—*The Church of the Fathers* is also interesting, as a manifestation of the tendencies of its promoters, and as an example of the mode in which a conscientious and intelligent Protestant, in many respects orthodox in his faith,

would feel when thrown suddenly into the midst of the living realities of the Church of God.

Thus early, moreover, the Tractarians sent forth a *test* among their followers. The publication of *The Church of the Fathers* was a stroke of courage, for its very first chapters smote hard at Establishmentarianism, and a Fellow of an Oxford College was found daring enough to assert the supernatural efficacy of the relics of departed Saints. It was not enough that Mr. Newman, with manifest sincerity, eulogised the unreformed "British constitution," and pathetically mourned over "the good old time of King George the Third," and even hinted at the sanctity of the same Royal Protestant, in company with his predecessor "our blessed martyr St. Charles." Suspicions that things were going too far rapidly grew up in the first supporters of the Tracts. Men who hoped for demonstrations in favour of the Thirty-nine Articles and the Catechism, of the revenues of the Bishops and the privileges of the Universities, were puzzled when they read of the heroism of St. Ambrose, the penitence of Theodosius, the dogmatics of Vincentius, the conflicts of St. Anthony, and the apostolate of St. Martin. Still, *The Church of the Fathers* was widely read, and its influence was decisive. Its sketches were a realised romance to young and hopeful souls. Basil and Gregory, Gervasius and Protasius, Augustine and Athanasius, were Saints once more; and fond believers in the Church of England began already to anticipate a day when a Regius Professor might be committed to prison for defying a Prime Minister, and new fires consume some episcopal martyr for the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

Two short extracts from its pages will shew at once the style of the arguments which were interwoven with the narratives, and the direction in which its author must inevitably lead his readers. The first is the summing up of the narrative of the miracle wrought by the relics of SS. Gervasius and Protasius.

"On the whole, then, are we not in the following dilemma: If the miracle did not take place, then St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, men of name, said they had ascertained a fact which they did not ascertain, and said it in the face of enemies with an appeal to a whole city, and that continued during a quarter of a century. What instrument of refutation shall we devise against a case like this, neither so violently *à priori* as to supersede the Apostle's testimony, nor so fastidious of evidence as to imperil Tacitus or Cæsar?

"On the other hand, if the miracle did take place, a certain measure of authority, more or less, surely must thereby

attach to St. Ambrose, to his doctrine and his life, to his ecclesiastical principles and proceedings, to the Church itself of the fourth century, of which he is one main pillar.

"The miracle gives a certain sanction to three things at once: to the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to the Church's resistance of the civil power, and to the commemoration of saints and martyrs. Which alternative shall the Protestant accept? shall we retreat, or shall we advance? shall we relapse into scepticism upon all subjects, or sacrifice our deep-rooted prejudices? shall we give up our knowledge of times past altogether, or endure to gain a knowledge which we think we fully have already—the knowledge of divine truth?"

The second is the conclusion of the entire volume.

"It may not be out of place to append to this passage of St. Martin's history an account of one of his visions, which seems in various ways to be illustrative or even mythical of much in it. While Martin was praying in his cell, the evil spirit stood before him, enveloped in a glittering radiance, by such pretence more easily to deceive him; clad also in royal robes, crowned with a golden and jewelled diadem, with shoes covered with gold, with serene face and bright looks, so as to seem nothing so little as what he was.

"Martin at first was dazzled at the sight; and for a long while both parties kept silence. At length the evil one began: 'Acknowledge,' he says, 'O Martin, whom thou seest; I am Christ; I am now descending upon earth, and I wished first to manifest myself to thee.' Martin kept still silent, and returned no answer. The devil ventured to repeat his bold pretence: 'Martin, why hesitate in believing, when thou seest I am Christ?' Then he, understanding by revelation of the Spirit that it was the evil one, and not God, answered: 'Jesus the Lord announced not that He should come in glittering clothing, and radiant with a diadem. I will not believe that Christ is come save in that state and form in which He suffered, save with the shew of the wounds and the cross.' At these words the other vanished forthwith as smoke, and filled the cell with so horrible an odour as to leave indubitable proof who he was. That this so took place I know from the mouth of St. Martin himself, lest any one should think it fabulous."

"The application of this vision to Martin's age is obvious; I suppose it means in this day that Christ comes not in the pride of intellect or reputation for ability. These are the glittering robes in which Satan is now arraying. Many spirits are abroad, more are issuing from the pit; the credentials they display are the precious gifts of mind, beauty, riches, depth,

originality. Christian, look hard at them with Martin in silence, and then ask for the print of the nails!"

The Church of the Fathers was not, however, the author's first work on the early Christian ages. In 1832 he had written, and in 1833 had published, his *Arians of the Fourth Century*. This book, which is partly dogmatical, partly controversial, and partly historical, furnished decisive indications of the bent of the writer's mind. Notwithstanding its incidental Anglicanisms, it placed in startling contrast the Christian Church of early times with the Establishment which it was Mr. Newman's aim to vivify with Catholic faith. We have always regarded the *Arians of the Fourth Century* as one of his ablest works; and it is impossible to read it without anticipating the time when the same hand would pen the lecture from which we have quoted, and lay all its learning at the feet of the glorious saints whose deeds it had early commemorated, in these striking words:

"I soon found it to follow, that the grounds on which alone Anglicanism was defensible formed an impregnable stronghold for the primitive heresies, and that the justification of the primitive Councils was as cogent an apology for the Council of Trent. Without going into the question here, which would be out of place, it was difficult to make out how the Eutychians or Monophysites were heretics, unless Protestants and Anglicans were heretics also; difficult to find arguments against the Tridentine Fathers which did not tell against the Fathers of Chalcedon; difficult to condemn the Popes of the sixteenth century without condemning the Popes of the fifth. The drama of religion, and the combat of truth and error, were ever one and the same. The principles and proceedings of the Church now were those of the Church then; the principles and proceedings of heretics then were those of Protestants now. I found it so, almost fearfully; there was an awful similitude, more awful because so silent and unimpassioned, between the dead records of the past and the feverish chronicle of the present. The shadow of the fifth century was on the sixteenth. It was like a spirit rising from the troubled waters of the old world with the shape and lineaments of the new. The Church then, as now, might be called peremptory and stern, resolute, overbearing, and relentless; and heretics were shifting, changeable, reserved, and deceitful, ever courting the civil power, and never agreeing together except by its aid; and the civil power was ever aiming at comprehensions, trying to put the invisible out of view, and to substitute expediency for faith. What was the use of continuing the controversy, or defending my position, if, after all, I was but forging arguments for Arius or Eutyches, and turning devil's advocate against the much-enduring Athanasius and the majestic Leo? Be my soul with the saints! and shall I lift up my hand against them? Sooner may my right

hand forget her cunning, and wither outright, as his who once stretched it out against a prophet of God! perish sooner a whole tribe of Cranmers, Ridleys, Latimers, and Jewels! perish the names of Bramhall, Ussher, Taylor, Stillingfleet, and Barrow, from the face of the earth, ere I should do aught but fall at their feet in love and in worship, whose image was continually before my eyes, and whose musical words were ever in my ears and on my tongue!"

The second volume of the Tracts, published successively in 1834-35, displayed a decided advance onwards. Still applauding and reproducing the correct mediocrities of "Anglo-Catholic" divinity, and exalting the wisdom of the Prayer-book, it put forth two startling features; Dr. Pusey's long, elaborate, learned, and partly incomprehensible "Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism" did for one sacrament what a tract on the ancient Catholic Liturgies did for another. If the common Protestant belief respecting Baptism was shewn to be clearly unscriptural and uncatholic, the Church of England Communion Office was as clearly proved to be a novelty in the Christian Church. The substance of the tract on Ancient Liturgies had already been made familiar to studious Anglicans by Mr. Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, a book of considerable learning. The argument to be derived from these Liturgies was now forcibly put forth, and English Protestants were compelled to see that whereas *every* ancient Christian Church was agreed in certain details of the eucharistic rite, the Communion Office of the Church of England was defective in the *most* important of all these particulars. For the first time distressed and pious clergymen were taught as follows:

"The four original forms"—(of which the Roman Mass is one)—"from which all the Liturgies in the world have been taken, resemble one another too much to have grown up independently, and too little to have been copied from one another."

And therefore, it was argued, they must all have proceeded from one source, namely, the Apostles themselves. And then the Tract continued:

"On a comparison of the different forms of oblation and consecration, it will be seen that in each of the four original Liturgies the Eucharist is regarded *as a mystery and a sacrifice*."

And therefore again, it was *implied* that the English Reformers, who treated the Eucharist as neither mystery nor sacrifice, had destroyed the work of the Apostles. All that the Tract *said*, indeed, was this cautious hint:

"Such is the view taken of the consecration and oblation

of the Eucharist in the four independent Christian Liturgies. *It is well worth the consideration of such Protestant bodies as have rejected the ancient forms."*

The impression produced by these oracular ambiguities was naturally slight, in comparison with the effect of Dr. Pusey's tract on Baptism. Lengthy, complicated, and overloaded with quotations, while few grasped the whole of the writer's meaning, or even gave him credit for having any complete and distinct meaning to communicate, this essay made it clear to every unprejudiced mind, that if the Bible is to be trusted, Baptism unquestionably conveys some ineffable spiritual gift to the soul, to be obtained in no other way, and the permanent loss of which entails eternal damnation. That Dr. Pusey ever thoroughly comprehended the Catholic doctrine which he professed to uphold, is rendered still more doubtful by the part he has taken in the recent dispute between the Bishop of Exeter and Mr. Gorham. Be this as it may, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration became henceforth the chief battle-ground between the new school and their adversaries. All Oxford rushed to hear the Regius Professor of Hebrew, whensoever his turn came round to preach before the University. Many of our readers can well picture to themselves the remarkable sight which the cathedral of Christ Church then presented, and the extraordinary impression wrought by those intensely earnest sermons. Pale with watching, reading, fasting, and sickness, a thin, melancholy, and austere yet gentle preacher astounded his self-satisfied listeners, by asserting that it was almost impossible that mortal sin after baptism could be forgiven. Painful from their preternaturally solemn delivery, obscure in their dogmatic definitions, and for the most part consisting of a series of interminable antitheses, these sermons nevertheless struck home to the heart of many a luxurious, or idle, or Evangelical college-fellow or undergraduate; and from that period the asceticism of the Oxford school was palpably on the increase. Who was there in those shadowy cloisters and venerable chapels, whose heart could endure the searching probe, or rest satisfied in the knowledge that it had preserved its baptismal innocence unsullied? Heads of colleges might frown, tutors might discourage, common-room gossip and periodical controversy might sneer and argue; but there was something in Dr. Pusey's manner, and his known personal austerities, and the courageous tone of his speech, which pierced the conscience with a sense of sin, and prepared it to yearn for the absolution of a priest.

The practically Catholic influence of Dr. Pusey's occasional

sermons was, notwithstanding, extremely small in comparison with that of another preacher now becoming notorious both in and out of Oxford. Mr. Newman, as vicar of St. Mary's, had in his hands an instrument for the propagation of the new doctrines, which he wielded with singular power and success. In the heart of the city of Oxford rises a majestic spire, one of the master-pieces of the fourteenth century. Beneath its clustering pinnacles is spread out a wide and lofty church, with a deep chancel and capacious nave. The latter forms what is called the "University Church," the building being at the same time the parochial church of the old parish of "St. Mary the Virgin." The University makes use of it chiefly for the preaching of sermons on Sundays and Saints' days. Prayers are said in all the separate colleges at an early hour in the morning, and in the course of the day two preachers, one in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon, preach before the vice-chancellor and other dignitaries, and the general body of the University. At the given hour the organ strikes up, a procession winds into the church, brilliant with gilded maces, black and scarlet gowns, crimson hoods, velvet sleeves and ermine; a single individual disengages himself from the rest, and while they take their appointed places in all the dignity of Oxford precision, he mounts the pulpit. A psalm is sung by a choir; the undergraduates in the galleries, the masters of arts below, and the "Dons" in their seats of honour, stand up and perform that peculiar Anglican ceremony which consists in burying the face in one's hat or cap for devotional purposes. The preacher pronounces what is termed the "bidding prayer," requesting the congregation to "pray for the whole estate of Christ's holy Catholic Church, *especially that pure and apostolic branch of it established in these realms*," enumerating various classes of persons, and naming especially with honour—but not for prayer—the founder of his own college (generally a Catholic). Then he concludes with the Lord's Prayer, and proceeds with his sermon. This, of course, is indescribable. In the course of a single year, as there are nearly as many different preachers as sermons preached, every conceivable shade of heresy may be heard formally stated, or unconsciously blundered into, in that pulpit of many tongues. It is the Babel of modern days. *Tot homines, quot sententiæ.* In the morning (the period being that of which we are chiefly speaking) the Fathers are upheld, in the afternoon they are ridiculed; to-day baptismal regeneration is preached, next Sunday we are taught the Lutheran "justification by faith only;" a "select preacher" eulogises the *Tracts for the Times*, and is followed by a country parson, who broadly hints that

Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey are disguised Jesuits; and the "Bampton Lecturer" for the year expounds some systematic view or crotchet of his own, which if not the most flagrantly heretical, is probably the most irresistibly somniferous of all the heretical and somniferous topics to which this celebrated pulpit gives birth.

St. Mary's is, however, a parish church as well as the University church; and it was the possession of its pulpit, after the University sermons were ended, that enabled its vicar to inculcate the Tractarian views, not in dry dogmatic tracts, but in connexion with the daily realities of a practical religious life. And for several consecutive years, the sight of those concluding services was of infinitely greater interest than the pompous celebrations and discourses which the University delighted in. A few straggling tradespeople and maid-servants were the bulk of the parochial congregation, properly so called, for Mr. Newman's preaching was never popular with the non-academic inhabitants of Oxford; but scattered thickly throughout the church were seen a crowd of black-gowned listeners, young and middle-aged, and sometimes, though rarely, old, who thronged to hear the clear, even, earnest, and monotonous voice of one whose whole soul was in every word he uttered; and who, with whatever errors or gradual changes he displayed, was manifestly possessed with the ideas of God, of sin, of death, of judgment, and of eternity. Very many of these sermons were published, as time went on, in successive volumes; and it cannot be doubted that they have done more to save men's souls, by bringing them ultimately into the Catholic Church, than any other of the instruments which the movement of 1833 has had at its command. For the most part uncontroversial, they enforced, first of all, practical religion, in terms at once in harmony with the language of the Bible, and free from the unreal phraseology of common Protestant preachers. By degrees they grew more decidedly doctrinal and more prominently Catholic, as the mind of the preacher himself advanced, and his hearers were prepared for strong meat instead of milk. After a while, the old High-Church school began to frown and mutter. College authorities warned their pupils against Mr. Newman's subtleties; and even such petty devices were resorted to as the alteration of the dinner-hour, in order to compel the undergraduates to give up either their meals or the sermons. Still they were preached, listened to, published, read, and *acted on*; and at this hour there are hundreds of persons now Catholics who attribute their ultimate conversion, under Divine grace, to the practical influence of these sermons upon their inward hearts

and outward lives. Certain it is, that there are but few passages in the whole series of the published volumes which are contrary to Catholic doctrine and morals, and a slight expurgation leaves them (though, of course, frequently defective, yet) perfectly free from all positive evil. It is remarkable also, as a further illustration of what we have stated respecting the early tendency of some of the Tract-writers toward the Catholic Church, that many of Mr. Newman's published sermons were preached two or three years, and some of them as much as eight or nine years, before the Tracts began. He was inducted as vicar of St. Mary's in the year 1828.

But it was not alone from the pulpit of St. Mary's that the movement gathered strength and spread. Shut out from the nave by a solid screen, surmounted by a lofty organ, the venerable chancel of the church was scarcely known to the ordinary attendant at the University sermons. The wandering eye indeed caught a glimpse of an antique roof, of dingy walls, and of windows dim with green and decaying glass; and if some thoughtful mind ever pondered over the difference between its neglected shade and the cold precision and dreary smartness of the restored nave, it could only account for the distinction by reflecting that an *altar* was no longer necessary to University celebrations. Yet, as days went on, it was within that forgotten chancel that the truest tokens were to be gathered of the real life and energy of the rising school. Singular and repelling as the services there celebrated must have appeared to the true Catholic; cold, formal, and austere, as was the aspect of the greater number of those who there, from Sunday to Sunday—and fasting—received what they would fain convince themselves was the body and blood of Jesus Christ, it was impossible not to recognise in those unpretending and quiet gatherings a token of the genuineness and self-sacrificing sincerity of the ever-increasing supporters of "Anglo-Catholicism." No fond displays of Unanglican show, no apings of Catholic rites, betrayed unreality of mind, or fickleness of heart. Week after week, and year after year, in sunshine and in storm, a body of men availed themselves of the weekly Communion, which could be found there alone in all Oxford; while the occasional princely gifts to the purposes of their church, which were given at their offertory, attested their superiority to the mammon-worship of their country. These and other such acts were a pledge of the sincerity of many among the earliest followers of the movement, which shewed where they must end, unless they would return to the darkness from which they were emerging. Very

beautifully has Father Newman himself described these times in the Lectures before us :

“ Why should I deny,” he says, speaking to those who, from the sincerity of Anglo-Catholics, would argue the truth of Anglo-Catholicism,—“ why should I deny to your memory what is so pleasant in mine? Cannot I too look back on many years past, and many events, in which I myself experienced what is now your confidence? Can I forget the happy life I have led all my days, with no cares, no anxieties worth remembering, without desolateness or fever of thought, or gloom of mind, or doubt of God’s love to me and providence over me? Can I forget,—I never can forget, the day when in my youth I first bound myself to the ministry of God in that old church of St. Frideswide, the patroness of Oxford. Nor how I wept most abundant and most sweet tears, when I thought what I then had become : though I looked on it then as no sacramental rite, nor even to baptism ascribed any supernatural virtue. Can I wipe out from my memory, or wish to wipe out, those happy Sunday mornings, light or dark, year after year, when I celebrated your communion-rite in my own church of St. Mary’s ; and in the pleasantness and joy of it, heard nothing of the strife of tongues which surrounded its walls?”

While sermons, tracts, and historical essays, were thus opening their heavy fire upon the bulwarks of Protestantism, a lighter species of artillery began to play upon the beleaguered citadel. The age of Anglo-Catholic story-books and newspaper articles was not yet come ; the genius of Oxford was for awhile too fastidious for aught so secular and common. Versification was the only device to which it could stoop, and accordingly a series of short poems appeared from time to time in the *British Magazine*, entitled *Lyra Apostolica*, which were afterwards collected and published in a single volume. These poems were extremely unequal, both in matter and versification. Some were unmistakeably and incurably Anglican in their tone ; others betrayed at once a yearning towards Rome, a thoughtful but half-informed habit of meditation on her character, united with a mingled horror and fear. Some were personal in subject, some devotional and general, some laboriously patristic and repulsively grotesque. Taken as a whole, there was no mistaking the true meaning of the dominant spirit of the publication. Its most prolific contributor, besides another writer whose stanzas possessed a more than usual and classic grace, were clearly not standing still, but on the road *somewhere*. The motto of the Tracts from the first had been, “ If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?” and now it appeared as if they who blew the blast had caught some strange respon-

sive sound, no mere echo of their own notes, but more musical, more mysterious, and coming forth from some hidden fount of harmony. Wondering at the melody, and distrusting their own courageous tones, they seem now to be answering the unknown voice in strains betokening at once their fears, their hopes, and their love. Interpreted by the aid of events that have since come to pass, the significance of many of the poems in the *Lyra* is great indeed. For the sake of their significance, as well as for their intrinsic beauty, we shall quote a few of their most remarkable passages. Already Oxford scrupled not to publish such a faith in the *Sign of the Cross* as the following lines express :

“ Whene’er across this sinful flesh of mine
 I draw the holy sign,
 All good thoughts stir within me, and collect
 Their slumbering strength divine,
 Till there springs up that hope of God’s elect
 My faith shall not be wreck’d.

And who shall say, but hateful spirits around,
 For their brief hour unbound,
 Shudder to see, and wail their overthrow ?
 While on far heathen ground
 Some lonely saint hails the fresh odour, though
 Its source he cannot know ?”

What a singular homage is paid in the subjoined stanzas to the mysterious power of Rome to win and command the heart, even while the ignorance of heresy and schism would close up its portals to the charmer’s voice !

“ THE GOOD SAMARITAN.

“ Oh that thy creed were sound !
 For thou dost soothe the heart, thou Church of Rome,
 By thy unwearied watch and varied round
 Of service in thy Saviour’s holy home.
 I cannot walk the city’s sultry streets
 But the wide porch invites to still retreats,
 Where passion’s thirst is calm’d, and care’s unthankful gloom.

There on a foreign shore
 The homesick solitary finds a friend :
 Thoughts, prison’d long for lack of speech, outpour
 Their tears ; and doubts in resignation end.
 I almost fainted from the long delay
 That tangles me within this languid bay,
 When comes a foe, my wounds with oil and wine to tend.”

Of the more personal of the verses, the next we quote are among the best, on the text,

"Thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me."

"Lord, in this dust thy sovereign voice
First quicken'd love divine ;
I am all Thine,—thy care and choice,—
My very praise is thine.

I praise Thee, while thy Providence
In childhood frail I trace,
For blessings given, ere dawning sense
Could seek or scan thy grace ;

Blessings in boyhood's marvelling hour,
Bright dreams and fancyings strange ;
Blessings, when reason's awful power
Gave thought a bolder range ;

Blessings of friends, which to my door
Unasked, unhop'd, have come ;
And, choicer still, a countless store
Of eager smiles at home.

Yet, Lord, in memory's fondest place
I shrine those seasons sad,
When, looking up, I saw thy face
In kind austereness clad.

I would not miss one sigh or tear,
Heart-pang, or throbbing brow ;
Sweet was the chastisement severe,
And sweet its memory now.

Yes ! let the fragrant scars abide,
Grace-tokens in thy stead,
Faint shadows of the spear-pierced side,
And thorn-encompass'd head.

And such thy loving force be still,
Mid life's fierce shifting fray,
Shaping to truth self's froward will
Along thy narrow way.

Deny me wealth ; far, far remove
The lure of power or name ;
Hope thrives in straits, in weakness Love,
And Faith in this world's shame."

One more of these poems is worth extracting, as shewing how early the writer had marked that peculiar facility enjoyed

by Catholics of passing from secular to spiritual subjects, and even from laughter to prayer, which is so inexplicable a phenomenon to the impotent Protestant, with whom devotion is generally so painful a toil. It deserves quoting, further, as an introduction to one of the most admirable passages in F. Newman's recent Lectures, in which we see how what was at once a mystery and a scandal to him in 1833 is in 1850 a natural result of a living faith. The extract from the Lectures suffers, indeed, from the absence of its context, which is one of the most masterly of all the masterly passages in the whole volume; but even as it stands it is sufficiently striking and illustrative of our present point. In the *Lyra Apostolica* the traveller thus sings:

“Once cast with men of language strange
And foreign-moulded creed,
I mark'd their random converse change,
And sacred themes succeed.

Oh, how I coveted the gift
To thread their mingled throng
Of sounds; then high my witness lift;
But weakness chain'd my tongue.

Lord! has our dearth of faith and prayer
Lost us this power once given,
Or is it sent at seasons rare,
And then flits back to heaven?”

In the *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties* the Oratorian Father thus preaches. He *has* found a gift of tongues, though not that for which once he burned. The Pentecostal fire has descended again from heaven, but it has been to lighten him and his much-loved friends to the feet of that very Church of Rome at whose incomprehensible lineaments they had so long gazed from afar.

“You enter into one of the churches close upon the scene of festivity, and you turn your eyes to a confessional. The penitents are crowding for admission, and they seem to have no shame or solemnity or reserve about the errand on which they are come; till at length, on a penitent's turning from the grate, one tall woman, bolder than a score of men, darts forward from a distance into the place he has vacated, to the disappointment of the many who have waited longer than she. You almost groan under the weight of your imagination that such a soul, so selfish, so unrecollected, must surely be in very ill dispositions for so awful a sacrament. You look at the priest, and he has on his face a look almost of impatience, or of good-natured compassion, at the voluble and superfluous matter which is the staple of her confession. The priests, you think, are

no better than the people. My dear brethren, be not so uncharitable, so unphilosophical. Things we thoroughly believe, things we see, things which occur to us every day, we treat as things which *do* occur and *are* seen daily, be they of this world or be they of the next. Even Bishop Butler should have taught you that 'practical habits are strengthened by repeated acts, and passive impressions grow weaker by being repeated upon us.' It is not by frames of mind, it is not by emotions, that we must judge of real religion; it is the having a will and a heart set towards those things unseen; and, though impatience and rudeness are to be subdued, and are faulty even in their minutest exhibitions, yet do not argue from them the absence of faith, nor yet of love or of contrition. You turn away half satisfied, and what do you see? There is a feeble old woman, who first genuflects before the Blessed Sacrament, and then steals her neighbour's handkerchief or prayer-book, who is intent on his devotions. Here at last, you say, is a thing absolutely indefensible and inexcusable. Doubtless; but what does it prove? Does England bear no thieves? or do you think this poor creature an unbeliever? or do you exclaim against Catholicism, which has made her so profane? But why? Faith is illuminative, not operative. It does not force obedience, though it increases responsibility; it heightens guilt, it does not prevent sin. The will is the source of action, not an influence from without, acting mechanically on the feelings. She worships and she sins; she kneels because she believes, she steals because she does not love; she may be out of God's grace, she is not altogether out of his sight.

"You come out again and mix in the idle and dissipated throng, and you fall in with a man in a palmer's dress selling false relics, and a credulous circle of customers buying them as greedily as though they were the supposed French laces and India silks of a pedlar's basket. One simple soul has bought of him a cure for the rheumatism or ague, which might form a case of conscience. It is said to be a relic of St. Cuthbert, but only has virtue at sunrise, and when applied with three crosses to the head, arms, and feet. You pass on, and encounter a rude son of the Church, more like a showman than a religious, recounting to the gaping multitude some tale of a vision of the invisible world, seen by Brother Augustine of the Friar Minors, or by a holy Jesuit preacher who died in the odour of sanctity, and sending round his bag to collect pence for the souls in purgatory; and of some appearance of our Lady (the like of which has really been before and since), but on no authority except popular report, and in no shape but that which popular caprice has given it. You go forward, and you find preparations proceeding for a great pageant or mystery; it is a high festival, and the incorporated trades have each undertaken their special religious celebration. The plumbers and glaziers are to play the Creation; the barbers the Call of Abraham; and at night is to be the grandest performance of all, the Resurrection and Last Judgment, played by the carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths. Heaven and hell are represented,—

saints, devils, and living men; and the *chef d'œuvre* of the exhibition is the display of fireworks to be let off as the *finale*. 'How unutterably profane!' again you cry. Yes, profane to you, my dear brother,—profane to a population which only half believes; not profane to those who believe wholly, who, one and all, have a vision within, which corresponds with what they see, which resolves itself into, or rather takes up into itself, the external pageant, whatever be the moral condition of each individual composing the mass. They gaze, and in drinking in the exhibition with their eyes they are making one continuous and intense act of faith.

"You turn to go home, and, in your way, you pass through a retired quarter of the city. Look up at those sacred windows; they belong to the convent of the Perpetual Adoration, or to the poor Clares, or to the Carmelites of the reform of St. Theresa, or to the nuns of the Visitation. Seclusion, silence, watching, adoration, is their life day and night. The immaculate Lamb of God is ever before the eyes of the worshippers; or at least the invisible mysteries of faith ever stand out, as if in bodily shape, before their mental gaze. Where will you find such a realised heaven upon earth? Yet that very sight has acted otherwise on the mind of a weak sister; and the very keenness of her faith, and wild desire of approaching the object of it, has led her to fancy or to feign that she has received that singular favour vouchsafed only to a few elect souls; and she points to God's wounds, as imprinted on her hands and feet and side, though she herself has been instrumental in their formation.

"In these and a thousand other ways it may be shewn, that that special character of a Catholic country, which offends you, my brethren, so much, that mixture of seriousness and levity, that familiar handling of sacred things in word and deed, by good and bad, that publication of religious thoughts and practices, so far as it is found, is the necessary consequence of its being Catholic. It is the consequence of mixed multitudes all having faith; for faith impresses the mind with supernatural truths, as if it were sight, and the faith of this man and the faith of that is one and the same, and creates one and the same impression. The truths of religion then stand in the place of facts, and public ones. Sin does not obliterate the impression; and did it begin to do so in particular cases, the consistent testimony of all around would bring back the mind to itself, and prevent the incipient evil. Ordinarily speaking, once faith, always faith. Eyes once opened to good, as to evil, are not closed again; and if men reject the truth, it is, in most cases, a question whether they have ever possessed it. It is just the reverse among a Protestant people: private judgment does but create opinions, and nothing more; and these opinions are peculiar to each individual, and different from those of any one else. Hence it leads men to keep their feelings to themselves, because the avowal of them only causes irritation or ridicule in others. Since, too, they have no certainty of the doctrines they profess, they do but feel that they ought to be-

lieve them, and they try to believe them, and they nurse the offspring of their reason as a sickly child, bringing it out of doors only on fine days. They feel very clear and quite satisfied while they are very still; but if they turn about their head, or change their posture ever so little, the vision of the Unseen, like a mirage, is gone from them. So they keep the exhibition of their faith for high days and great occasions, when it comes forth with sufficient pomp, and gravity of language, and ceremonial of manner. Truths slowly totter out with Scripture texts at their elbow, as unable to walk alone. Moreover, they know, if such and such things *be* true, what *ought* to be the voice, the tone, the gesture, and the carriage attendant upon them; thus reason, which is the substance of their faith, supplies the rubrics, as I may call them, of their behaviour. This, some of you, my brethren, call reverence, though I am obliged to say, it is as much a mannerism, and an unpleasant mannerism, as that of the Evangelical party, which they have hitherto condemned. They condemn Catholics because, however religious, they are natural, unaffected, easy, and cheerful in their mention of sacred things; and they think themselves never so real as when they are solemn."

But we recur to the course of events as time gave them birth.

In 1835 a step was taken which, though its effects were not great, and its rumour did not spread throughout the country, was a sufficient indication of the increasing progress of the movement, and of the organised character it was rapidly assuming. A theological society (a portent in English Established Protestantism) was formed in Oxford. This society was to be managed by a committee, in which it was proposed to include the two Oxford Professors of Divinity, Mr. E. Greswell (a learned theological critic), Mr. Palmer (before spoken of), together with Dr. Pusey, Mr. Newman, and Mr. Oakeley, of Balliol College. The first four were in no sense really connected with the leaders in the Tract movement; but as the latter were still firm in their conviction that they were rapidly carrying out the *true* principles of the Establishment, these others were, in all good faith, requested to join in the scheme. As it turned out, they would have nothing to do with any thing so perilous and novel; but Anglo-Catholicism was already strong enough to do without them. The meetings, which lasted some time, were held once a fortnight at Dr. Pusey's rooms; and theological essays, developing Anglo-Catholic principles, for the most part in the direction of Rome, were read to crowded and attentive audiences of bachelors and masters of arts. The esoteric character of the proceedings gave a zest to the whole affair, which, nevertheless, was somewhat dimi-

nished by the prohibition of the discussions which at the beginning were both permitted and encouraged.

The first of a long series of University struggles now impended, and the names of the "Tractarians" began to be seen in the common newspapers of the day. For the first time (and for this time only in conjunction with Evangelicalism and Establishmentarianism) Puseyism met the civil power of the State in a hand-to-hand conflict. In this its first contest it partly won the day; for it can scarcely be doubted that if the names of Pusey and Newman had not been found in the list of the opponents of Dr. Hampden, he would have crushed his opponents of every lower grade. The Whigs were in office; but office had not quenched the fires of their University-reforming zeal. Vague ideas of conciliating the Dissenters, united with their hereditary hostility to the High-Church Toryism of Oxford, prompted them to utter many threats of fundamental change. The Thirty-nine Articles, not yet discovered to be the dead weight upon the progress of Anglo-Catholicism, were marked out by the political and latitudinarian reformers for formal rejection as University tests. Dissenters hoped to be admitted to the venerable halls whence Cranmer and Ridley had ejected the children of Wykeham and Waynflete, not for the behoof of Anglicanism in particular, but for the behoof of nationalism in general. For common sense, that bitter foe of Oxford exclusiveness, was now loudly murmuring that, as the Thirty-nine Articles had ceased to be the sole symbol of the national faith, it was sheer tyranny to retain them as a test in national seminaries. The civil power, originally Catholic, when it constituted itself Anglican, had seized the Universities, and made them Anglican also. Now, it was very logically argued, the civil power having constituted itself latitudinarian, the Universities must follow the "progress of the national mind," and the Thirty-nine Articles must go the way of all other Acts of Parliament. A war of words, spoken and written, ensued, in which much was uttered and little done. On the whole, victory seemed to be with the Conservatives; but they only dammed up the flood, which poured over their feeble barriers with increased velocity and power.

Irritated, doubtless, by the contumacious resistance of the dominant parties in Oxford, in 1836 the Whig Government struck them a blow where they least anticipated a wound. Early in that year Dr. Burton, the Regius Professor of Divinity, died. His professorship, as its name implies, was of royal foundation; and the chief source of its large revenues

arose from the canonry of Christ's Church, which was attached to the professorship. Until this memorable year the professorship had been sacred ground. No foot of Whig, or Low-Churchman, or Evangelical, or Latitudinarian, had polluted it. Its chair was the very oracle of the *safe* school,—that school which British authority, as such, ever most loves to cherish. The deceased professor was not unworthy of his vocation. Learned in his degree, amiable, respectable, dignified, with a due sense of the royal supremacy (even when the monarch was a Whig), Dr. Burton had creditably performed his duties; and though he had mildly insinuated the expediency of Church Reform, was regarded with not insincere respect by most men of any weight in the University.

At length he died; and Oxford was transfixed by an announcement that Dr. Hampden was to be appointed by Lord Melbourne to the vacant post. Of all men in the University Dr. Hampden was the most unacceptable to the Anglo-Catholics. In 1832 he had preached the "Bampton Lectures," an annual series of sermons, of which the usual result is the demonstration of the incapacity or the heresy of the preacher. In Dr. Hampden's case the latter was the result. A latitudinarian to an extent unparalleled in Oxford, he had attributed the Christian faith in the efficacy of the sacraments to the belief in magic of the middle ages; dogmatic statements generally he viewed as scholastic refinements, always perilous, and often mischievous; and altogether he had avowed opinions which were regarded, and justly, as tantamount, *in principle*, to Socinianism.

Oxford, however, was in a false position. Appointed to preach the Bampton Lectures by the usual *safe* authorities, the lecturer's heresies had been passed over *sub silentio* by all but a few sensitive and discerning minds. Dull and ungainly in style, and treating of subjects far removed from the ordinary gossip of the common room and the lucubrations of the heads of houses, his sermons had attracted few hearers, and when afterwards published found still fewer readers. Subsequently to their delivery he had been appointed by the Chancellor to the headship of St. Mary Hall; and in 1834, the most orthodox University, by its Vice-chancellor and proctors, and the heads of three of its chief colleges, nominated the Doctor to a professorship of moral philosophy, as being (in the words of the founder's declaration), "*recommended by his soundness of religion,—religionis sinceritate commendatus.*" In the same year Dr. Hampden had, further, come forward on the side of the Dissenters. He wrote a pamphlet avowing in the clearest terms his hatred of the dogmatic principle. The authorities, how-

ever, had taken no steps to cancel the marks of their approbation which they had bestowed upon him; and when the prime minister selected him for the Divinity professorship, he must little have anticipated the storm of indignation he was about to evoke. Doubtless, Lord Melbourne solely intended the appointment as a blow at Oxford exclusiveness, and as a reward for Dr. Hampden's pamphlet in favour of the admission of Dissenters.

Nevertheless, a tempest instantly arose, which, we think, was mainly owing to the blowing of the breath of Tractarianism. Already the movement had forced upon many minds a vivid conviction of the truth of the dogmatic principle, and a dislike of Dissenters, not as nonconformists, but as heretics. To speak against sacramental grace they accounted a species of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; and armed with new-found doctrinal acuteness, they detected and displayed the latent enormities of the Bampton Lectures, till the safe men shrugged their shoulders, and the Evangelicals believed that Lutheranism itself was in danger. Pamphlets swarmed throughout the country; letters innumerable deluged the periodicals; the common secular newspapers took up the strain, and contributed to bring Oxford and its new school prominently before the public eye. Extracts were selected from the professor's writings, and circulated in every quarter; and Establishmentarian Protestantism awoke and found itself burning with zeal for the Athanasian Creed and the doctrine of sacramental efficacy.

The moving power in the agitation consisted of a small committee in Oxford, who had constituted themselves guardians of Anglican orthodoxy against a hostile premier, a questionable prelacy, and a vacillating board of heads of houses. This committee was ingeniously composed of representatives of various schools, so that Tractarianism should not *appear* to be taking the lead in the movement. The Rev. Vaughan Thomas and the Rev. Edward Greswell together represented the High and Dry and the Safe and Learned schools; the Rev. John Hill represented the Evangelicals; the Rev. John Henry Newman and the Rev. Dr. Pusey represented the Anglo-Catholics; and the Rev. William Sewell represented himself. These six prepared addresses, devised plans, issued circulars, and treated with the heads of houses. For, as we have stated, the supreme authorities in Oxford were unwilling to take any severe measures in reprobation of Dr. Hampden's heresies. Apart from their usual indifference to theological subtleties, as they considered them, they were loath to stultify themselves, and brand as a heretic the man

they had recently chosen as a professor of morals. The committee desired a solemn University condemnation of Dr. Hampden's doctrines. The Board of College Superiors, with whom every University act must originate, would tolerate nothing of the kind. The professor meanwhile refused to retract a single line that he had written; and at length a compromise of the shabbiest character was effected. The heads consented to censure the *man*, while they left his *heresies* untouched. Dr. Hampden was disqualified by Convocation from filling certain University offices; but he remained at liberty, as Professor of Divinity, to teach whatsoever doctrines he pleased! Such was the triumph of orthodoxy in Oxford.

Meanwhile the *Tracts for the Times* continued their progress, and gained a large circulation. The brief, terse, suggestive, and cautious papers of the first volume were giving way to more elaborate and bolder doctrinal essays, shewing how the writers were silently working their way towards that Catholic Church against which they still wrote and repeated harsh and ignorant words. The third volume, for 1835-1836, contains six Tracts, some of them of remarkable interest. Prefixed to the volume was issued a republication of Dr. Pusey's answer to an anonymous and amusing pamphlet, purporting to be a *Pastoral Epistle from the Pope to certain Members of the University of Oxford*. This "Pastoral Epistle" was an ingenious squib, in which his Holiness was supposed to applaud the Jesuitical proceedings of the Tract-writers, and to bid them go on and prosper in their pious labours for converting England to the true faith. It was chiefly unfair to the Tractarians in that it almost imputed to them a consciousness that their doctrines must lead to Rome. In other respects the "Pastoral Epistle" was a very legitimate controversial weapon, while its delicate irony raised it far above the level of the vulgar Protestant assailants of the movement. Dr. Pusey, however, as was natural, thought the joke excessively profane. Unable to appreciate a jest, even on his own side, he was grievously scandalised, and printed an *Earnest Remonstrance* to the author of the "Epistle." His "Remonstrance" certainly was no jest; and the weapon of his adversary's wit was scarcely turned aside by the heavy armour he presented in his defence. A long and tedious collection of those extracts (which the Tract-writers brought into temporary vogue) was appended to the "Remonstrance," to shew how many Anglicans had held some vague notions or other in favour of Episcopacy, but which proved little more than the industry of certain Oxford men in searching for passages from forgotten books. Very different were some of the remaining Tracts in the

volume. First came an essay, *No. I., against Romanism*. It presents a got-up case, shrinking from the real points at issue, but already giving tokens of the final pseudo-catholic phase which the movement assumed previous to its mortal blow in 1845. It was hinted, in no ambiguous terms, that Rome in theory might be right, and that it was only in her practice that she was wrong. This was the germ of Tract No. 90; and henceforth all the disclaimers of Popery which the Tractarians could put forth were powerless to blind the eyes of suspicious Protestantism. Then followed a republication of Archbishop Ussher's essay on *Prayers for the Dead*; of which the gist is, that prayers for the dead are lawful, but that either the dead do not really *need* them, or that they do not profit the dead at all.

Next to this model of controversial acuteness appeared a striking essay on two books which are probably unknown to our Catholic readers, but which, especially one of them, had attained a wonderful popularity in "the religious world" of the day. Erskine's *Internal Evidence of Christianity* and Jacob Abbott's *Corner-Stone* were the two works selected by Mr. Newman as a text wherefrom to lay bare the Infidel tendencies of Evangelical religionism. Erskine was a metaphysical Scotchman, substantially of the school of the German and French sceptics. His book was in principle identical with such speculations as Morell's *Philosophy of Religion*, Froude's *Nemesis of Faith*, Fox's *Lectures on the Religious Ideas*, and Francis Newman's *Phases of Faith*. He sought for our knowledge of Almighty God, of his will and of his actions, not in an external revelation communicated by Himself to man, but in the innermost recesses of the human intelligence. This intelligence he treated as the test of all truth, or rather as containing in itself the germ of all truth, human and (so called) divine. Not that these Evangelical unbelievers were prepared logically to carry out their system to its just issues. They *seemed* to talk a species of declaratory dogmatism, partly orthodox, partly Lutheran, partly sentimental. With all their rationalism, they clung, or thought they clung, to the doctrines of the atonement and of the natural corruption of human nature, as revealed by God. The poison yet worked subtly in their souls; and the extensive influence which such writers as Erskine acquired, stands in striking contrast with the undisguised horror with which open unbelief is even now viewed by the English world.

Abbott (who is still a popular writer of histories for the young) is an American. His *Corner-Stone* was a palpable piece of Socinianism. In truth, it spoke of our blessed Lord

in a tone from which many a professed Socinian would shrink with disgust and pain. Yet, because he employed a certain measure of "Evangelical" phraseology, the "Evangelicals" of the day were actually fascinated with his lively, simple, and practical pages. He viewed the Gospel as a *manifestation* of the moral character of Almighty God, and as nothing more. The death of our blessed Lord he treated as the impressive summing up of the sermon which his pious life had preached. The book, at the same time, was fresh and ingenious, and it entered into the moral details of the Christian life with a hearty vigour and a common sense which Lutherans and Calvinists found delightful, after the cloying monotony and unrealities of their most popular teachers. The *Corner-Stone* was the book of the "religious" community, until Mr. Newman's Tracts opened men's eyes, and even Evangelicals condescended to learn caution from his earnest warnings. This Tract is still well worthy of study by all who would trace the progress of modern Infidelity. Its author had, indeed, not yet come to see, that between the belief in an infallible living guide to the truths of revelation, and the belief that all revelation is really hidden in germ in the natural intelligence, there is but one step. Had Erskine or Abbott been equal to the controversy, they might have retorted upon the Anglo-Catholics, that the most ultrapatristic theory is in fact but a relegation of the rights of Almighty God to the critical faculty of man. The principle of the Tracts was as logically self-contradictory as that of the Evangelical infidels; and it was only because popular religionism is ever as shallow as it is audacious, that Mr. Newman's keen dissection of their tendencies was not answered by a challenge either to believe in Rome or to believe nothing.

The remainder of the third volume of the Tracts was chiefly occupied by an essay on the Roman Breviary, with long extracts from its offices, extending in all to more than 200 closely-printed pages. It is impossible to peruse the reasons given by the writer for his publication without a smile. With a charming simplicity and ignorance of grammar, he informed his fellow-Churchmen that "whatever is good and true in these devotions will be claimed, and on reasonable grounds, for the Church Catholic in opposition to the Roman Church, whose only real claim above other Churches is that of having, on the one hand, preserved the service with less of mutilation or abridgment, and, on the other, having adopted into it certain additions and novelties, ascertainable to be such in history, as well as being corruptions doctrinally." Thus, having told his readers that one of the *claims of Rome*

above other Churches consisted in her having introduced novelties and doctrinal corruptions into the ancient devotions; he went on to give divers reasons for the putting forth of his essay, based on the view that the Breviary belonged of right to the Established Church. Then followed a sketch of the history of the Breviary. In the course of this sketch it was assumed that because the dates of the composition of the four Antiphons to the Blessed Virgin could be stated or guessed at, *therefore* they embodied novelties in doctrine. Little remembering that on precisely this ground Latitudinarians reject the Athanasian Creed, the Nicene Creed, and in fact every dogmatic statement whatever, the Tract-writer proceeded to a critical analysis of the "hours," and even translations of considerable portions of the office for different days. In conjunction with these came a *new* office. A service in commemoration of the death of the Protestant Bishop Ken was compiled on the Catholic model, and recommended to the private use of Anglo-Catholics.

From the time of the publication of this Tract may be dated the rise of that fondness for "Roman" devotions, which still remains one of the tokens of the Tractarian school. On the fastidious Oxford student or college-fellow, the exquisite refinement and elaborate polish of the Breviary acted as a spell. Silently and slowly, a distaste for the mangled, declaiming ritual of the Book of Common Prayer worked its way in many a thoughtful and many a wayward mind. While the impudence of the "Office for Bishop Ken's day" was such as almost to command respect by its fearlessness, the beauties of the Catholic devotions, now for the first time made a subject of respectful study, acted upon religious Anglicans like the first glimpse of the promised land. Already that more frequent use of their own Prayer-book which the movement had fostered was producing a sense of weariness at the dull monotonous round. Men who would fain call their congregations together daily to prayer both morning and evening, grew faint beneath the pressure of Act-of-Parliament "exhortations" and "absolutions," and sighed for the spiritual grace and evangelic truth of the Breviary hours. A startling phenomenon was seen in Oxford by those privileged to witness its esoteric rites. Protestant clergymen adopted the rules of Catholic priests, and in whole or in part recited the Roman Breviary by way of private devotion. In small secret parties, or in solitary isolation, they said Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline; and accounted themselves to be carrying out the spirit of the Establishment the while. Some omitted what they deemed the

"novelties and corruptions" of the Breviary, and shrank from positively addressing our Blessed Lady with a direct invocation. Others, more courageous, more clear-sighted, or more wilful, recited a *Salve Regina* or an *Alma Redemptoris Mater* with a keener gusto, from a sense of the daring novelty of their proceedings. Some compiled an *Ordo recitandi Divini Officii* adapted to the "English Calendar," i.e. the Calendar in the Book of Common Prayer, and passed over all Saints' days not retained by "our venerable Reformers." Others, already hating the Reformation, and despising half-measures and caution, gloried in their Romanising, and loved no feasts so well as those which Protestantism most abhorred. All this, indeed, was a work of time. It was far from being the instantaneous result of the publication of the Tract on the Breviary, though it was already giving symptoms of its ultimate progress. At the same time, in its very infancy it was a token that the movement had completed its first stage, and was no longer what it had been at its commencement.

Concurrently with this marked advance of the more matured disciples of the Tracts, a sermon was preached and published by one of the chiefs, which tended powerfully to commend the movement to the more sober and "scriptural" members of the Church of England. *Primitive Tradition recognised in Holy Scripture* was the title of a sermon delivered by the Rev. John Keble, at a Visitation of Dr. Dealtry, in Winchester Cathedral, in September 1836. This discourse did for the Tractarian theory of Tradition what Dr. Pusey's essay had done for the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. It was made clear that the Bible recognised the existence of a certain unwritten deposit of religious doctrine, to be received by Christians as undoubtedly true. *What* that deposit might be, was a distinct consideration. No person who could read St. Paul's Epistles could deny that frequent reference was made to *some* traditional teaching. Whether Mr. Keble's deductions on the subject were true, or whether the Roman doctrine of Infallibility were true, it could no longer be asserted by men who professed to follow the Bible, that Tradition, as such, was unsanctioned by the Apostles. The leaders of the Evangelical party, of course, remained unconvinced. If *any* tradition was to be tolerated, there was an end of Lutheranism for ever; and with an unwonted acuteness, the organs and preachers of Lutheranism warned the public that it was logically impossible to believe in *any* tradition and stop short of Rome. This, however, neither Mr. Keble nor his friends and followers could see. They had a theory that the Apostolic Traditions were to be sought for by

historical criticism. The rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, was proclaimed as their touchstone. In a happy ignorance of the true bearings of that famous test, they rested satisfied that while it condemned Romanism, it would uphold Anglicanism; and, in the fullest good faith, they continued to teach the authority of tradition and the corruptions of Rome.

This sermon had a very considerable sale. The respected name of its author, its quiet, unoffending tone, its freedom from all "Romanising" spirit or phraseology, and the undeniable truth of some of its propositions, all combined to give it a striking influence on the popular mind. A generation already sufficiently bewildered by the contradictions of controversy and the difficulties of the Scripture text was but too ready to embrace any *apparent* solution of its perplexities. "Here is the clue," it was said, and it was believed. "Let us go to the Fathers; let us open the epistles of Ignatius and Clement; let us read Basil, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Ambrose; let us ascertain what St. Paul taught by the same process through which we ascertain what Julius Cæsar did; let us ask what the Council of Nice declared to be the Apostolic faith, just as we now go to the twelve judges to learn what is the constitutional law of England." Whether it was safe to assume that *every thing* which the Apostles taught was to be found written in the books of the Fathers, was a question into which it was not thought prudent or "reverent" to inquire. Such speculations were needless, it was thought, and might be dangerous, and therefore the discussion was to be carried on unhampered by such refinements of reasoning. The question before the public was simply whether the Apostolic Succession, Baptismal Regeneration, a species of Sacrifice in the Eucharist, and other kindred doctrines, were or were not universally believed to be of apostolic origin by the Christians of the first three or four centuries. The settlement of this doubt was, it was universally conceived, not very difficult. Bible-readers, both High Church and Low Church, who found unexplainable difficulties in Scripture, were agreed in their interpretation of the Fathers—at least, at second hand. Moreover, the real writings of the Fathers were, as a fact, known to very few, and therefore *their* difficulties were unknown; whereas the Bible was in every body's hands, and its mysteries were familiar to all. Reasoning, accordingly, *per saltum*, with true popular recklessness, the multitude concluded that the Fathers were easy to be understood. And thus the matter was settled between the opponents. In their secret hearts they reasoned as follows: "The Bible," argued

the Tractarians, "is difficult, but the Bible plainly says that Tradition is to be revered; the Fathers are easy, and the Fathers say that such and such doctrines *are* taught by Apostolic Tradition; *therefore*, the only right way to ascertain truth is to ascertain what the Fathers thus assert to be traditional, and to believe it accordingly." The Evangelicals, on the other hand, thus syllogised: "The Bible is the word of God, *therefore* it is easy to be understood; the Fathers are not inspired, *therefore* what they state historically is not to be believed; moreover, the Fathers are Antilutheran and Papistical, *therefore* they are wrong." The Evangelicals had, further, a corollary to these propositions, which they only hinted in print, but ceased not to utter plainly in private and in sermons. It ran thus: "The Bible is easy only to the spiritually-minded; *therefore* it is easy to *all* who are spiritually-minded. The Puseyites say it is not easy to *them*; *therefore* they are *not* spiritually-minded."

And thus stood the controversy at the conclusion of its third year of existence. The dreams of its earliest infancy were fading into oblivion; romance was giving place to reality; already the movement was displaying somewhat of the energy and recklessness of advancing youth; and henceforth we have to watch its rapid progress towards a vigorous manhood. Then came its transitory season of maturity, its speedy decay, and its second childhood. In our next Number we shall continue to trace its history. Meanwhile, we pause for a brief retrospect of its early stages. Commencing with an undoubting faith in the divine origin of the Established Church, its aim was to carry out her true (supposed) principles, and to defend her against her enemies. It had no misgivings as to her essentially primitive and apostolic character. It had few, if any, secret sympathies for Rome. It viewed Puritanism, in all its modifications, as an incubus upon Catholic truth. It abhorred Erastianism, and believed the Reformation to have been conducted on Antierastian principles. Accordingly its conduct was in harmony with its aim. It established daily prayers; it taught justification by sacramental grace; it urged weekly administrations of Holy Communion; it practised fasting and other mortifications; it extolled the Bishops, and looked to them to fight for the Church against the State; it called for a restoration of Church discipline; it claimed the right of giving absolution to the sinner; and all these things it justified by appeals to the opinions of a large body of Anglican divines of the past three hundred years.

As time rolled on, and controversialists attacked the move-

ment, and the influx of minds of various types compelled its leaders, even when most unwilling, to contemplate the consequences of their views, its patristic aspect grew more prominent, and it was compelled to defend itself more in detail against suspicions of Romanising, and against Rome herself. The difficulty of using the Fathers at once against Protestantism and against "Romanism" was every day found more insurmountable. The old Anglican nonjuring theory was no longer applicable. A new position, both offensive and defensive, must be taken up. The threats of Rome must be warded off, while her beauties were acknowledged and her wealth appropriated; and all this without giving fresh handle to the carping unfairness of the Ultraprotestants.

Thus, then, the first epoch of Puseyism was consummated. It stood face to face with the Catholic Church, attracted, confounded, terrified. No suspicion had as yet touched its conscience that, after all, the Anglican Church might be no better than a mob of Wesleyans or Calvinists. The Anglican hierarchy had not as yet "pronounced" against the agitators. It still seemed possible to shew that the Church of England *was* Catholic, and the idea of "unprotestantising" her was as yet in the womb of time. Rome was still to be combated, and not conciliated, far less obeyed. The British monarch was still the Defender of the Faith; and girding themselves up with new energies for the conflict, the gathering hosts of Tractarianism prepared new weapons for the discomfiture of their foes. How they fought, and how they prospered, we shall in due time see.

Ecclesiastical Register.

APOSTOLICAL LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER POPE PIUS IX.

RE-ESTABLISHING THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY IN ENGLAND.

PIUS PP. IX.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

UNIVERSALIS Ecclesiæ regendæ potestas Romano Pontifici in sancto Petro Apostolorum Principe a Domino nostro Jesu Christo tradita præclaram illam in apostolica sede sollicitudinem quacumque ætate servavit, qua religionis Catholicæ bono ubicumque terrarum consuleret, ejusque incremento studiose provideret. Id autem Divini ipsius fundatoris consilio respondit, qui capite constituto Ecclesiæ incolumitati usque ad consummationem sæculi singulari sapientia propexit. Pontificiæ hujus sollicitudinis fructum sensit una cum aliis populis inclytum Angliæ

regnum, cujus historiæ testantur Christianam religionem vel a primis Ecclesiæ sæculis in Britanniam invectam esse, atque in ea deinde plurimum floruisse; sed medio circiter sæculo quinto, posteaquam Angli et Saxones in eam insulam advocati sunt, non modo publicas illic res, sed etiam religionem maximis fuisse detrimentis affectam. Constat vero simul sanctissimum prædecessorem nostrum Gregorium Magnum missis primum cum sociis Augustino monacho, atque eo postmodum aliisque pluribus ad Episcopalem dignitatem evectis, additaque iis magna presbyterorum monachorum copia, Anglo-Saxones adduxisse, ut Christianam religionem amplecterentur, et virtute sua effecisse, ut in Britannia, quæ Anglia etiam appellari cœpit, Catholica iterum restituta undique fuerit, et amplificata religio. Sed ut quæ sunt recentiora commemoremus, nihil in tota Anglicani schismatis, quod sæculo decimo sexto excitatum est, historia manifestius arbitramur, quam Romanorum Pontificum prædecessorum nostrorum impensam curam, et nunquam intermissam, ut religioni Catholicæ in eo regno in maximum periculum, et ad extremum discrimen adductæ succurrerent, et quacumque possent ratione auxilium afferrent. Quo inter alia spectant, ea quæ a Summis Pontificibus, vel ipsis mandantibus, atque probantibus provisa gesta que sunt, ut in Anglia haudquaquam deessent, qui Catholicarum illic rerum curam susciperent, itemque ut adolescentes Catholici bonæ indolis, ex Anglia in continentem venientes, educarentur, atque ad scientias præsertim Ecclesiasticas diligentur informarentur; qui sacris subinde ordinibus insigniti et in patriam reversi sedulam navarent operam popularibus suis Verbi et Sacramentorum ministerio juvandis, et veræ fidei ibidem tuendæ ac propagandæ.

Verum ea sunt fortasse clariora, quæ prædecessorum nostrorum studium respiciunt, ut Angli Catholici, quos tam atrox, et sæva tempestas Episcoporum præsentia, et pastorali cura privaverat, præsules iterum haberent episcopali caractere insignitos. Jam vero Gregorii XV. Litteræ Apostolicæ incipientes "Ecclesia Romana," datæ die XXIII. Martii, an. MDCXXIII. ostendunt, Summum Pontificem, ubi primum potuit, Guillelmum Bishopium consecratum Episcopum Chalcedonensem cum satis ampla facultatum copia, et cum ordinariorum propria potestate ad Angliæ, et Scotiæ Catholicos gubernandos destinasse; quod postea Urbanus VIII., Bishopio mortuo, missis ad Richardum Smith similis exempli Litteris Apostolicis die IV. Februarii, an. MDCXXV. renovavit, Episcopatu Chalcedonensi, et iisdem, quæ Bishopio concessæ fuerant, facultatibus Smithio tributis. Visa sunt in posterum, quum Jacobus II. in Anglia regnare cœpisset, Catholicæ religioni feliciora tempora obventura esse. Hac vero opportunitate Innocentius XI. statim usus Joannem Leyburnium Episcopum A drumetenum totius Angliæ regni Vicarium Apostolicum anno MDCXXXV. deputavit. Quo facto aliis Litteris Apostolicis die XXX. Januarii, an. MDCXXXVIII. editis, quarum initium est "Super Cathedram," Leyburnio tres alios Episcopos Ecclesiarum in partibus infidelium titulis insignitos Vicarios Apostolicos adjunxit: quapropter Angliam universam, operam dante Apostolico in Anglia Nuntio Ferdinando Archiepiscopo Amasiensi, in quatuor districtus Pontifex ille partitus est, Londinensem scilicet, Occidentalem, Medium, et Septentrionalem, quibus omnibus Vicarii Apostolici cum opportunis facultatibus, et cum ordinarii locorum propria potestate præesse cœperunt. Eis autem auctoritate sua, sapientissimisque responsis tum Benedictus XIV. edita die XXX. Maii, MDCCLIII. Constitutione, quæ incipit "Apostolicum ministerium," tum alii Pontifices prædecessores nostri, ac nostra Propagandæ Fidei Congregatio ad tam grave munus rite recteque gerendum normæ, et adjumento fuerunt.

Hæc vero totius Angliæ in quatuor Vicariatus Apostolicos partitio usque ad Gregorii XVI. tempora perduravit, qui Litteris Apostolicis die III. Julii, an. MDCCCXL. datis incipientibus "Muneris Apostolici" habita præsertim ratione incrementi, quod religio Catholica in eo regno jam acceperat, novaque facta regionum ecclesiastica partitione, duplo majorem Vicariatuum Apostolicorum numerum excitavit, et Angliam totam Vicariis Apostolicis Londinensi, Occidentali, Orientali, Centrali, Walliensi, Lancastriensi, Eboracensi, et Septentrionali, in spiritualibus gubernandam commisit. Quæ cursim hoc loco, aliis pluribus prætermis-
sis, indicavimus, perspicuo documento sunt, prædecessores nostros in id vehementer incubuisse, ut, quantum auctoritate sua valebant, ad Ecclesiam in Anglia ex permagna calamitate recreandam, ac reficiendam adniterentur, et laborarent.

Habentes itaque ob oculos præclarum hujusmodi decessorum nostrorum exemplum, illudque pro supremi Apostolatus officio æmulari volentes, et animi etiam nostri inclinationi erga dilectam illam Dominicæ vineæ partem obsecundantes vel ab ipso pontificatus nostri exordio nobis proposuimus opus tam bene cœptum proseguere, et ad Ecclesiæ utilitatem in eo regno quotidi magis augendam nostra impensiora studia revocare. Quamobrem universam, ut nunc est, in Anglia rei Catholicæ statum diligenter considerantes, ac permagnum Catholicorum numerum qui passim ibi amplior evadit, animo rependentes, atque impedimenta illa in dies auferri nobiscum cogitantes, quæ Catholicæ religionis propagationi valde obfuerunt, tempus advenisse reputavimus, ut regiminis ecclesiastici forma in Anglia ad eum modum restitui possit, in quo libere est apud alias gentes, in quibus nulla sit peculiaris causa, ut extraordinario illo Vicariorum Apostolicorum ministerio regantur. Temporum scilicet ac rerum adjuncta effecisse sentiebamus, ut necesse non sit diutius Angliæ Catholicos a Vicariis Apostolicis gubernari, immo vero talem inibi rerum conversionem factam esse, ut ordinarii episcopalis regiminis formam flagitaret. Accessit his, Angliæ Vicarios Apostolicos ipsos id interea a nobis communi suffragio petiisse, permultos tam clericos, quam laicos virtute, ac genere spectatos viros hoc idem a nobis precatos esse, aliosque Angliæ Catholicos longe plurimos id in votis habere. Hæc animo volentes non omisimus Dei optimi maximi auxilium implorare, ut in rei tam gravis deliberatione id quod ad Ecclesiæ bonum augendum expeditius futurum esset, nos intelligere et recte implere possemus. Beatissimæ præterea Mariæ Virginis Deiparæ, et sanctorum, qui Angliam virtute sua illustrarunt, opem invocavimus, ut ad negotium istud feliciter absolvendum suo apud Deum patrocinio nobis adesse dignarentur. Tum vero rem universam venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus nostræ Congregationis Propagandæ Fidei sedulo graviterque perpendendam commisimus. Eorum autem sententia fuit desiderio illi nostro prorsus consentanea, quam libenter probandam, et ad effectum perducendam judicavimus. Itaque post rem universam a nobis etiam accurata consideratione perpensam, motu proprio, certa scientia, ac de plenitudine apostolicæ nostræ potestatis constituimus, atque decernimus, ut in regno Angliæ refloret juxta communes Ecclesiæ regulas hierarchia ordinariorum Episcoporum, qui a sedibus nuncupabuntur, quas hisce ipsis nostris Litteris in singulis apostolicorum vicariatuum districtibus constituimus.

Atque ut a districtu Londinensi initium faciamus, duæ in eo sedes erunt, Westmonasteriensis scilicet, quam ad metropolitaneæ seu archiepiscopalis dignitatis gradum evehimus, et Suthwarcensis, quam uti et reliquas mox indicandas, eidem suffraganneas. Et Westmonasteriensis quidem diœcesis eam habebit memorati districtus partem, quæ ad sep-

tentrionem protenditur fluminis Tamesis, et comitatus Middlesexiensem, Essexiensem, atque Hertfordiensem complectitur: Suthwarcensis vero partem reliquam ad meridiem fluminis, videlicet comitatus Bercheriensem, Suth-Hantoniensem, Surreiensem, Sussexiensem, et Kantiensem, una cum insulis Vecta, Ierseia, Gerneseia, aliisque prope illas sitis. In districtu Septentrionali unica erit sedes episcopalis, ab urbe Hagulstadiensi nuncupanda, cujus diœcesis iisdem, quibus districtus ille, finibus continebitur. Eboracensis etiam districtus unicam efficiet diœcesin, cujus Episcopus in urbe Beverlaco sedem habebit. In districtu Lancastriensi duo erunt Episcopi, quorum alter a Liverpoolitana sede appellandus, pro diœcesi habebit, cum insula Mona, centurias Lonsdale, Amounderness, et West Derby: alter vero sedem habiturus a Salfordensi urbe nuncupandam, pro diœcesi obtinebit centurias Salford, Blackburn, et Leyland. Quod vero attinet ad Cestriensem comitatum, etsi ad districtum ipsum pertineat, eum nunc alii diœcesi adjungemus. In districtu Walliensi erunt binæ sedes episcopales, Salopiensis scilicet, ac Menevensis et Newportensis invicem unitæ: Salopiensis quidem diœcesis ad Septentrionalem districtus partem complectetur comitatus qui dicuntur Angleseia, Cærnarvonensis, Denbighensis, Flintensis, Merviniensis, et Montgomeryensis, quibus adjungimus Cestrensem comitatum ex districtu Lancastriensi, et ex Centrali districtu comitatum Salopiensem: Episcopo autem Meneviensi et Newportensi pro diœcesi assignamus ad Meridionalem districtus partem comitatus Brechiniensem, Maridunensem, Cereticensem, Glamorganiensem, Pembrochiensem, et Radnoriensem, necnon Anglos comitatus Monumethensem et Herefordensem. In districtu Occidentali duas constituimus episcopales sedes Cliftoniensem et Plymuthensem, quarum illi pro diœcesi assignamus comitatus Glocestriensem, Somersetensem, et Wiltoniensem; huic vero comitatus Devoniensem, Dorcestriensem, et Cornubiensem. Centralis districtus, a quo Salopianum comitatum jam sejunximus, duas habebit episcopales sedes Nottinghamiensem et Birminghamiensem: quarum primæ pro diœcesi assignamus comitatus Nottinghamiensem, Derbiiensem, Leicestriensem, nec non comitatus Lincolnensem et Rutlandiensem, quos a districtu Orientali separamus; alteri vero Staffordiensem, Warwicensem, Wigorniensem, et Oxoniensem. Tandem in districtu Orientali unica erit episcopalis sedes, quæ a Northantoniensi urbe nuncupabitur, habebitque pro diœcesi districtum iisdem quibus in præseus limitibus definitum, exceptis tamen comitatibus Rutlandensi et Lincolnensi, quos supradictæ Nottinghamiensi diœcesi jam assignavimus.

Ita igitur in florentissimo Angliæ regno unica erit provincia ecclesiastica ex uno Archiepiscopo sue metropolitano antistite, et duodecim Episcopis illius suffraganeis constituta; quorum studiis et pastoralibus curis Catholicam illic rem Deo dante uberibus in dies auctibus amplificandam confidimus. Quare nobis et Romanis Pontificibus successoribus nostris jam nunc reservatum volumus, ut provinciam ipsam in plures dispertiamus, et augeamus prout res tulerit diœcesium numerum; ac generatim, ut quemadmodum opportunum in Domino visum fuerit, novas illarum circumscriptiones libere decernamus.

Interea Archiepiscopo et Episcopis supradictis mandamus, ut relationes de suarum ecclesiarum statu ad nostram Congregationem Propagandæ Fidei debitis temporibus transmittant, nec desistant eandem instructam reddere de iis omnibus, quæ spirituali suarum ovium bono noverint profutura. Nos enim in rebus ad Anglicanas ecclesias pertinentibus ministerio ejusdem congregationis uti pergemus. Verum in sacro cleri populique regimine, atque in ceteris quæ ad pastorale officium pertinent, Archiepiscopus et Episcopi Angliæ jam nunc omnibus fruentur

juribus et facultatibus, quibus alii aliarum gentium Catholici Archiepiscopi et Episcopi ex communi sacrorum canonum, et apostolicarum constitutionum ordinatione utuntur et uti possunt, atque obstringentur pariter iis obligationibus quæ alios Archiepiscopos et Episcopos ex eadem communi Catholicæ Ecclesiæ disciplina obstringunt. Quæcumque autem sive in antiqua ecclesiarum Angliæ ratione, sive in subsequenti missionum statu ex specialibus constitutionibus, aut privilegiis, vel consuetudinibus peculiaribus viguerint, mutata nunc temporum causa, nullum posthac sive jus sive obligationem inducent: qua de re ut nulla remanere dubitatio valeat, nos iisdem illis peculiaribus constitutionibus, ac privilegiis cujusque generis, et consuetudinibus a quocumque etiam vetustissimo et immemorabili tempore inductis omnem prorsus obligandi aut juris afferendi vim ex plenitudine apostolicæ nostræ auctoritatis tollimus et abrogamus. Hinc Archiepiscopo et Episcopis Angliæ integrum erit ea porro decernere, quæ ad communis juris executionem pertinent, quæve ex generali ipsa Ecclesiæ disciplina Episcoporum auctoritati permissa sunt. Nos autem haud certe omittemus adesse illis apostolica auctoritate nostra, et perlibenti etiam animo obsecundabimus eorundem postulationibus in iis, quæ ad majorem Divini nominis gloriam animarumque salutem conducere visa fuerint. Enimvero nos in restitutione ordinariæ Episcoporum hierarchiæ, et communis Ecclesiæ juris observatione nostris hisce Litteris decernenda eo quidem præcipue spectavimus, ut Catholicæ religionis per Angliæ regnum prosperitati et incremento prospiceremus; sed una simul propositum nobis fuit votis annuere tum venerabilium fratrum eo in regno sacras res vicaria apostolicæ sedis auctoritate moderantium, tum plurimorum dilectorum filiorum ex Catholico clero ac populo, a quibus impensissimas in eum finem preces acceperamus. Hoc ipsum non semel postulaverant illorum majores a prædecessoribus nostris, qui sane Vicarios Apostolicos tum demum in Anglia deputare orsi fuerant cum nulli ibidem manere poterant Catholici antistites propriam in regno ipso ecclesiam ordinario jure obtinentes, atque hinc illorum consilium in vicariorum numero et vicarialibus ipsis districtibus deinceps iterum atque iterum multiplicandis, non eo certe spectabat ut Catholicam rem in Angliæ regno extraordinaria jugiter ratione moderarentur, sed potius ut ejus incremento prout tempora ferebant prospicientes viam una simul pararent ordinariæ illic hierarchiæ tandem aliquando instaurandæ.

Itaque nos, quibus tantum opus perficere summo Dei beneficio datum est, hoc ipso in loco declaratum volumus, longe prorsus abesse a mente consiliisque nostris, ut antistites Angliæ, ordinariorum Episcoporum nomine ac juribus insigniti quacumque alia in re commodis destituantur, quibus antehac una cum Apostolicorum Vicariorum titulo fruebantur. Nec enim ratio sinit, ut in illorum detrimentum cedant quæ a nobis ex Catholicorum Anglorum voto in bonum sacræ apud ipsos rei decreta sunt. Juxta hæc firmissima immo spe nitimur fore ut iidem dilecti nostri in Christo filii qui in regno Angliæ Catholicam rem, et antistites vicaria illam auctoritate moderantes in tanta varietate temporum eleemosynis ac largitionibus suis juvare numquam destiterant, majori porro liberalitate usuri sint erga Episcopos ipsos Anglicanis Ecclesiis stabiliiori nunc vinculo alligatos, quo scilicet iisdem minime desint temporalia subsidia in templorum et divini cultus splendorem, in cleri pauperumque sustentationem, atque in alios usus ecclesiasticos eroganda. Ad extremum, levantes oculos nostros in montes, unde veniet auxilium nobis a Deo optimo maximo in omni oratione, et obsecratione, cum gratiarum actione, supplices poscimus, ut quæ a nobis pro Ecclesiæ bono decreta sunt, Divini auxilii sui virtute confirmet, iisque, ad quos rerum

a nobis decretarum exequutio plurimum pertinet, gratiæ suæ robur adjiciat, ut pascant, qui in iis est gregem Dei, atque ut ad majorem ejus nominis gloriam propagandam semper impensus incumbant. Atque ad uberiora in idipsum cœlestis gratiæ præsidia impetranda, deprecatores apud Deum denuo invocamus sanctissimam Dei Matrem, beatos Apostolos Petrum et Paulum, cum ceteris cœlitibus Angliæ patronis, ac nominatim S. Gregorium Magnum, ut, quoniam nobis etiam meritis adeo imparibus datum nunc est episcopales sedes in Anglia renovare, prout ille cum summa Ecclesiæ utilitate sua perfecit, hæc quoque facta a nobis in eo regno episcopaliun diœcesium restitutio religioni Catholiciæ benevertat. Decernentes has nostras Apostolicas Litteras nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis, et obreptionis vitio, vel intentionis nostræ aut alio quocumque defectu notari, vel impugnari posse, sed semper validas, et firmas fore, suosque effectus in omnibus obtinere, atque inviolabiliter observari debere. Non obstantibus Apostolicis, atque in synodalibus, provincialibus, et universalibus conciliis editis generalibus, vel specialibus sanctionibus, nec non veterum Angliæ sedium, et missionum, ac Vicariatuum Apostolicorum inibi postea constitutorum, et quarumcumque ecclesiarum, ac piorum locorum juribus, aut privilegiis juramento etiam, confirmatione Apostolica, aut alia quacumque firmitate roboratis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. His enim omnibus, tametsi pro illorum derogatione specialis mentio facienda esset, aut alia quantumvis exquisita forma servanda, quatenus supradictis obstant, expresse derogamus. Irritum quoque, et inane decernimus si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Volumus autem ut harum Litterarum exemplis etiam impressis, manuque publici notarii subscriptis, et per constitutum in ecclesiastica dignitate virum suo sigillo munitis eadem habeatur fides, quæ nostræ voluntatis significationi, ipso hoc diplomate ostenso haberetur.

Datum Romæ, apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die XXIX. Septembris, MDCCCL. Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

A. CARD. LAMBRUSCHINI.

[*Translation.*]

PIUS IX., POPE.

FOR A PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE OF THE THING.

THE power of governing the universal Church, entrusted by our Lord Jesus Christ to the Roman Pontiff, in the person of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, hath maintained in every age in the Apostolic See that admirable solicitude wherewith it watches over the good of the Catholic religion throughout all the world, and provides with zeal for its progress. And this answers the design of its Divine Founder, who, in establishing a chief, hath, with singular wisdom, provided for the security of the Church until the consummation of the world. The effect of this pontifical solicitude hath been felt as in other nations, so in the noble kingdom of England. The records thereof bear witness that from the first ages of the Church the Christian religion was carried into Britain, and that it afterwards flourished there very greatly; but that towards the middle of the fifth century, after the Anglo-Saxons had been called into that island, not only the commonwealth, but religion also, was seen to fall into the most deplorable condition. But it is recorded that our most holy predecessor Gregory the Great immediately sent thither the monk Augustine, with his companions, and afterwards raised him and a great number of others to the episcopal

dignity; added unto them a multitude of monks and priests; brought the Anglo-Saxons to the Christian religion; and arrived by his influence at the result of re-establishing and extending the Catholic faith in all that country, which began at that time to be called England: But to recall more recent facts, nothing seems to us more evident in the whole history of the Anglican schism consummated in the sixteenth century, than the active and ever-persevering solicitude of the Roman Pontiffs our predecessors in succouring and sustaining by every means the Catholic religion, exposed in that kingdom to the greatest dangers, and a prey to the fury of its enemies. It was in this view, not to speak of other works which were done with such great efforts by the Sovereign Pontiffs, or by their orders and with their approbation, to the end that in England there might never be wanting men to undertake the care of Catholic affairs in that country, and that Catholic youth endowed with good capacity, coming from England to the continent, might be educated, and be carefully formed, particularly in ecclesiastical studies, in order that, being invested with holy orders, and thereafter returning to their country, they might diligently labour in supporting their countrymen by the ministration of the Word and of the Sacraments, and in defending and propagating the true faith among them.

But the zeal of our predecessors will, perhaps, be more clearly recognised in what they did to give to the English Catholics pastors invested with the Episcopal character, at a time when a furious and cruel tempest had deprived them of the presence of their Bishops, and of their pastoral care. In the first place, the Apostolical Letter of Gregory XV., commencing with these words, *Ecclesia Romana*, and dated the 23d of March, 1623, shews that the Sovereign Pontiff, the first moment that it was possible for him, deputed to the government of the English and Scottish Catholics William Bishop, consecrated Bishop of Chalcedon, with ample faculties and the proper power of ordinaries. After the death of Bishop, Urban VIII. renewed this mission, in his similar Apostolical Letter dated the 4th of February, 1625, which he addressed to Richard Smith, conferring on him the Bishopric of Chalcedon, and all the powers granted to Bishop. It appeared afterwards, at the commencement of the reign of James II., that more favourable days were about to arise for the Catholic religion. Innocent XI. immediately profiting by the circumstance, in 1685 deputed John Leyburn, Bishop of Adrumetum, as Vicar-Apostolic of all the kingdom of England. Which being done, by another Apostolical Letter, dated the 30th of January, 1688, and commencing with these words, *Super Cathedram*, he joined with him three other Vicars-Apostolic, Bishops *in partibus*; in such wise, that all England, with the assistance of the Nuncio-Apostolic in that country, Ferdinand Archbishop of Amasia, was divided by that Pontiff into four districts—those of London, the Western, of Central, and the Northern—all which began to be governed by Vicars-Apostolic, furnished with the necessary faculties and with the proper power of ordinaries. For the proper accomplishment of so grave a charge, they received rules and succours, whether by the authority and most wise decisions of Benedict XIV., in his Constitution of the 30th of May, 1753, which commences with these words, *Apostolicum Ministerium*, or by those of the other Pontiffs our predecessors, and of our Congregation of Propaganda. This division of all England into four Vicariates-Apostolic lasted up to the time of Gregory XVI., who, in his Apostolical Letter, *Muneris Apostolici*, dated the 3d of July, 1840, considering especially the growth the Catholic religion had already made in that kingdom, and making a new ecclesiastical division of the country, doubled the

number of Vicariates-Apostolic, and entrusted the spiritual government of all England to the Vicars-Apostolic of the districts of London, of the west, of the east, of the centre, of Wales, of Lancaster, of York, and of the north. The little which we have just said, passing by many other things in silence, clearly proves that our predecessors strongly applied themselves to use all the means which their authority afforded to restore the Church in England after her immense disasters, and to labour to raise her up. Having, then, before our eyes this noble example of our predecessors, and wishing, by imitating it, to fulfil the duties of the supreme Apostolate; desirous, moreover, to follow the movements of our heart for this beloved portion of the vineyard of the Lord, we proposed to ourselves, from the commencement of our Pontificate, to pursue a work so well begun, and to apply ourselves, in the most serious manner, daily to favour the development of the Church in that kingdom. Wherefore, considering diligently the actual state of Catholicism in England; reflecting on the very great number of the Catholics, which is ever increasing; observing that the obstacles are daily falling down which so strongly opposed the propagation of the Catholic religion; we have thought that the time has arrived to bring back in England the form of the ecclesiastical government to that which it freely is in the other nations, where no particular cause necessitates the ministration of Vicars-Apostolic. We have thought that, from the progress of times and circumstances, it is no longer necessary to have the English Catholics governed by Vicars-Apostolic, and that, on the contrary, such a change has been effected there, that it required the form of the ordinary episcopal government. Added to which, the Vicars-Apostolic of England meanwhile, by their common suffrage, besought of us this boon, as also did many of the clergy and laity distinguished for their virtue and their rank, and a very great majority of the other English Catholics. Revolving these things in our mind, we did not fail to implore the succour of Almighty God, that, in the deliberation of such an important affair, it might be given to us to know and rightly to fulfil that which should be most adapted to augment the good of the Church. Furthermore, we implored the aid of the most holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and that of the Saints who have illustrated England by their virtues, to the end that they might deign, by their intercession with God, to obtain for us the happy success of this enterprise. We then entrusted the whole affair to the grave and serious study of our venerable brothers the Cardinals of the holy Roman Church, constituting our Congregation of Propaganda. Their sentiments having been altogether conformable to our desire, we resolved freely to approve of it, and to put it into execution. For which reason, after having weighed with an accurate consideration all this affair, of our own motion, of our certain knowledge, and by the plenitude of our Apostolical power, we have decreed, and we do decree, that there be re-established in the kingdom of England the hierarchy of ordinary Bishops, according to the common rules of the Church, drawing their denomination from their sees, which we constitute by the present letter in the different districts of the Vicariates-Apostolic.

To commence with the district of London: it shall form two sees—to wit, that of Westminster, which we elevate to the metropolitan or archiepiscopal dignity, and that of Southwark, which we assign to it as suffragan, as also the others which we are about to indicate. The diocese of Westminster shall include that part of the said district which is extended on the north of the Thames, and comprise the counties of Middlesex, Essex, and Hertford; but the diocese of Southwark shall

include the counties of Berks, Southampton, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, with the islands of Wight, of Jersey, of Guernsey, and the others adjacent. In the Northern district there shall only be one episcopal see, which shall take its name from the town of Hexham, and the circumscription of which shall be that of the district. The district of York shall also form only one diocese, the Bishop of which shall have for his see Beverley. In the Lancashire district there shall be two Bishops, of whom one, to be named from the see of Liverpool, shall have for his diocese, with the Isle of Man, the districts of Lonsdale, Amoonderness, and of West Derby; the other, who shall have the see of Salford, shall extend his jurisdiction over Salford, Blackburn, and Leyland. As for the county of Chester, although it belongs to this district, we unite it to another diocese. In the district of Wales there shall be two episcopal sees—to wit, that of Shrewsbury, and that of Menevia and Newport united. The diocese of Shrewsbury shall comprise, in the northern part of the district, the counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Denbigh, Flint, Merioneth, and Montgomery; to which we join the county of Chester, detached from the Lancashire district, and that of Shrewsbury from the Central district. We assign to the Bishop of Menevia and Newport for his diocese the southern counties of the district,—Brecknock, Carmarthen, Cardigan, Glamorgan, Pembroke, and Radnor, as also the English counties of Monmouth and Hereford. In the western district we create two episcopal sees, Clifton and Plymouth; the former shall have the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, and Wilts; the latter those of Devon, Dorset, and Cornwall. The Central district, from which we have already detached the county of Shrewsbury, shall have two episcopal sees, Nottingham and Birmingham: to the former, we assign for a diocese the counties of Nottingham, of Derby, of Leicester, and those of Lincoln and of Rutland, which we separate from the Eastern district; to the latter, the counties of Stafford, of Warwick, of Worcester, and of Oxford. Lastly, in the Eastern district there shall only be one episcopal see, which shall take its name from the city of Northampton, and shall retain the circumscription of the actual district, with the exception of the counties of Lincoln and of Rutland, which we have assigned to the aforesaid diocese of Nottingham.

Thus in the most flourishing kingdom of England there shall be one single ecclesiastical province, composed of one Archbishop or Metropolitan, and of twelve Bishops his suffragans; the abundant zeal and the pastoral labours of whom we hope, by the grace of God, will daily give new increase to Catholicity. For this reason, we will even now reserve to ourselves and to our successors, to divide this province into several, and to augment the number of the dioceses, according as circumstances shall require; and in general, freely to fix their new circumscriptions, according as it shall seem convenient in the Lord.

Meanwhile we order the Archbishop and Bishops aforesaid to send, at the appointed times, reports on the state of their churches to our Congregation of Propaganda, and by no means to neglect informing it of all the things that they shall judge profitable to the spiritual good of their flocks. For we will continue, in whatever concerns the affairs of the churches of England, to use the services of that Congregation. But in the sacred government of the clergy and of the people, and for all that which regards the pastoral office, the English Archbishop and Bishops shall even now enjoy all such rights and faculties as, according to the common dispositions of the sacred canons and of the apostolical constitutions, other Archbishops and Bishops use and may use; and in like manner they shall be bound by the obligations to which other

Archbishops and Bishops are subject by the common discipline of the Catholic Church.

But whatever may have been in force, whether in the ancient form of the Church of England, or in the subsequent state of the missions, in virtue of special constitutions, or privileges, or peculiar customs, now that circumstances are no longer the same, shall henceforth imply neither right nor obligation. And to the end that no doubt may remain concerning that matter, by the plenitude of our Apostolical authority, we take away and abrogate entirely all the obligatory and juridical force of the same peculiar constitutions and privileges, of whatever kind, and customs, derived from a period however remote and immemorable. The Archbishop and Bishops of England shall, therefore, have the integral power of regulating all the things which appertain to the execution of the common law, or which are left to the authority of Bishops by the general discipline of the Church. For us, assuredly, we shall never fail to assist them with our Apostolical authority; and we shall always be most ready to meet their requests in whatever shall seem to us fitted to procure the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls. In decreeing by these letters the restoration of the ordinary Hierarchy of Bishops, and the putting into operation the common law of the Church, we have had principally in view to provide for the prosperity and increase of the Catholic religion in the kingdom of England; but we have also wished to accede to the wishes as well of our Venerable Brothers governing sacred affairs in that kingdom in the quality of Vicars of the Apostolic See, as of a great number of our dear sons among the clergy and the Catholic people, who had addressed to us the most urgent petitions for this object. Their ancestors several times made the same request to our predecessors, who had begun to send Vicars-Apostolic in England, when no Catholic Bishop could remain there holding by ordinary right a church of his own in the kingdom itself, and who had afterwards multiplied the number of the vicars and of the vicariate districts, not certainly with the view that religion should be for ever subjected in that country to an exceptional form of government, but rather that providing according to circumstances for its increase, they might at the same time prepare there the way for the future re-establishment of the ordinary hierarchy.

It is for this reason that we, to whom it has been given by the infinite goodness of God to accomplish this great work, desire here to declare that it is in nowise either in our mind or our purposes that the Bishops of England, provided with the name and the rights of ordinary Bishops, should be deprived in any thing else whatever of the advantages which they formerly enjoyed under the title of Vicars-Apostolic. For reason would not permit us to turn to their detriment the decrees passed by us, at the prayers of the English Catholics, for the good of religion. We accordingly draw from these considerations the firm hope that our most dear brethren in Christ, whose alms and largesses have never failed to sustain in England religion, and the prelates who have there governed it in quality of vicars in times so diverse, will use a liberality yet greater towards the Bishops themselves, now attached by a more stable bond to the English Churches, so that they may not be deprived of the temporal subsidies for which they may have occasion for the ornament of the temples and the splendour of divine worship, for the maintenance of the clergy and of the poor, and for the other ecclesiastical services. Lastly, lifting our eyes to the mountains from whence the help of Almighty God shall come to us, we beseech him earnestly, by all prayer, supplication, and thanksgiving, to confirm, by the virtue of divine

grace, that which we have decreed for the good of the Church, and to give the strength of grace to those to whom appertains especially the execution of our decree, to the end that they may feed the flock of God committed to their keeping, and that their zeal may more and more apply itself to propagate the greater glory of his name, and to obtain more abundant succours of heavenly grace. We finally invoke, as intercessors with God, the most holy Mother of God, the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, with the other heavenly patrons of England, and by name St. Gregory the Great, to the end that, since it hath now been given to us, though of merit so unequal, to renew the episcopal sees in England, as he did to the very great advantage of the Church in his time, this restitution which we also have made of episcopal sees in that kingdom may turn to the good of the Catholic religion. We decree that this Apostolical Letter be never, at any time, taxed as subreptitious or obreptitious, or be noted or impugned with any defect arising from our intention, or with any other defect whatever, but that it be always valid and firm, and hold good in all its effect, to be inviolably observed, notwithstanding general apostolical edicts, those which have been passed by Councils synodal, provincial, or universal, or special sanctions, as well as the rights of the old sees of England, and of the missions, and of the vicariates apostolic constituted therein afterwards, of the rights or privileges of any churches whatever, and of holy places, even guaranteed by oath, by the apostolical confirmation, or in any other manner whatsoever, notwithstanding all other things whatever contrary hereunto. For from all these things we expressly derogate, in so far as they are contrary to the aforesaid, even though, to derogate therefrom, special mention of them ought to be made, or any other particular formality observed. We decree also to be null and void whatever may happen to be attempted by any one against these things, on whatever authority, knowingly or ignorantly. We furthermore will that the copies of this letter, even printed, provided that they are subscribed by a notary public, and furnished with the seal of a man constituted in ecclesiastical dignity, be received as the original diploma wherein is consigned this expression of our will.

Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, under the Ring of the Fisherman; the 24th day of September, 1850, the fifth year of our Pontificate.

A. CARD. LAMBRUSCHINI.

PASTORAL LETTER OF CARDINAL WISEMAN

TO THE CLERGY AND FAITHFUL OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF LONDON
AND DIOCESE OF SOUTHWARK.

NICHOLAS, by the Divine mercy, of the holy Roman Church by the title of St. Pudentiana Cardinal Priest, Archbishop of Westminster, and Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese of Southwark :

To our dearly beloved in Christ, the Clergy secular and regular, and the Faithful of the said Archdiocese and Diocese :

Health and benediction in the Lord !—If this day we greet you under a new title, it is not, dearly beloved, with an altered affection. If in words we seem to divide those who till now have formed, under our rule, a single flock, our heart is as undivided as ever in your regard. For now truly do we feel closely bound to you by new and stronger ties of charity ; now do we embrace you in our Lord Christ Jesus with more

tender emotions of paternal love ; now doth our soul yearn, and our mouth is open to you, though words must fail to express what we feel on being once again permitted to address you. For if our parting was in sorrow, and we durst not hope that we should again face to face behold you, our beloved flock, so much the greater is now our consolation and our joy, when we find ourselves not so much permitted as commissioned to return to you by the supreme ruler of the Church of Christ.

But how can we for one moment indulge in selfish feelings, when, through that loving Father's generous and wise counsels, the greatest of blessings has just been bestowed upon our country, by the restoration of its true Catholic hierarchical government, in communion with the see of Peter ?

For on the twenty-ninth day of last month, on the Feast of the Archangel Saint Michael, prince of the heavenly host, his Holiness Pope Pius IX. was graciously pleased to issue his Letters Apostolic, under the Fisherman's Ring, conceived in terms of great weight and dignity, wherein he substituted for the eight Apostolic Vicariates heretofore existing, one archiepiscopal or metropolitan and twelve episcopal sees ; repealing at the same time, and annulling, all dispositions and enactments made for England by the Holy See with reference to its late form of ecclesiastical government.

And by a brief dated the same day his Holiness was further pleased to appoint us, though most unworthy, to the archiepiscopal see of Westminster, established by the above-mentioned Letters Apostolic, giving us at the same time the administration of the episcopal see of Southwark. So that at present, and till such time as the Holy See shall think fit otherwise to provide, we govern, and shall continue to govern, the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex, as ordinary thereof, and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, and Hampshire, with the islands annexed, as administrator with ordinary jurisdiction.

Further, we have to announce to you, dearly beloved in Christ, that, as if still further to add solemnity and honour before the Church to this noble act of Apostolic authority, and to give an additional mark of paternal benevolence towards the Catholics of England, his Holiness was pleased to raise us, in the private consistory of Monday the 30th of September, to the rank of Cardinal Priest of the holy Roman Church. And on the Thursday next ensuing, being the third day of this month of October, in public consistory, he delivered to us the insignia of this dignity, the cardinalitial hat ; assigning us afterwards for our title in the private consistory which we attended, the Church of St. Pudentiana, in which St. Peter is groundedly believed to have enjoyed the hospitality of the noble and partly British family of the Senator Pudens.

In that same consistory we were enabled ourselves to ask for the archiepiscopal pallium for our new see of Westminster ; and this day we have been invested, by the hands of the Supreme Pastor and Pontiff himself, with this badge of metropolitan jurisdiction.

The great work, then, is complete ; what you have long desired and prayed for is granted. Your beloved country has received a place among the fair Churches, which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic Communion : Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour. How wonderfully all this has been brought about, how clearly the hand of God has been shewn in every step, we have not now leisure to relate, but we may hope soon to recount to you by word of mouth.

In the mean time we will content ourselves with assuring you, that, if the concordant voice of those venerable and most eminent counsellors to whom the Holy See commits the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs in missionary countries, of the overruling of every variety of interests and designs, to the rendering of this measure almost necessary; if the earnest prayers of our holy Pontiff and his most sacred oblation of the divine sacrifice, added to his own deep and earnest reflection, can form to the Catholic heart an earnest of heavenly direction, an assurance that the Spirit of truth, who guides the Church, has here inspired its Supreme Head, we cannot desire stronger or more consoling evidence that this most important measure is from God, has his sanction and blessing, and will consequently prosper.

Then truly is this day to us a day of joy and exaltation of spirit, the crowning day of long hopes, and the opening day of bright prospects. How must the Saints of our country, whether Roman or British, Saxon or Norman, look down from their seats of bliss, with beaming glance, upon this new evidence of the faith and Church which led them to glory, sympathising with those who have faithfully adhered to them through centuries of ill repute for the truth's sake, and now reap the fruit of their patience and long-suffering. And all those blessed martyrs of these latter ages, who have fought the battles of the faith under such discouragement, who mourned, more than over their own fetters or their own pain, over the desolate ways of their own Sion, and the departure of England's religious glory; oh! how must they bless God, who hath again visited his people,—how take part in our joy, as they see the lamp of the temple again enkindled and rebrichtening, as they behold the silver links of that chain which has connected their country with the see of Peter in its vicarial government changed into burnished gold; not stronger nor more closely knit, but more beautifully wrought and more brightly arrayed.

And in nothing will it be fairer or brighter than in this, that the glow of more fervent love will be upon it. Whatever our sincere attachment and unflinching devotion to the Holy See till now, there is a new ingredient cast into these feelings; a warmer gratitude, a tenderer affection, a profounder admiration, a boundless and endless sense of obligation, for so new, so great, so sublime a gift, will be added to past sentiments of loyalty and fidelity to the supreme see of Peter. Our venerable Pontiff has shewn himself a true shepherd, a true father; and we cannot but express our gratitude to him in our most fervent language, in the language of prayer. For when we raise our voices, as is meet, in loud and fervent thanksgiving to the Almighty, for the precious gifts bestowed upon our portion of Christ's vineyard, we will also implore every choice blessing on him who has been so signally the divine instrument in procuring it. We will pray that his rule over the Church may be prolonged to many years, for its welfare; that health and strength may be preserved to him for the discharge of his arduous duties; that light and grace may be granted to him proportioned to the sublimity of his office; and that consolations, temporal and spiritual, may be poured out upon him abundantly, in compensation for past sorrows and past ingratitude. And of these consolations may one of the most sweet to his paternal heart be the propagation of holy religion in our country, the advancement of his spiritual children there in true piety and devotion, and our ever-increasing affection and attachment to the see of St. Peter.

In order, therefore, that our thanksgiving may be made with all becoming solemnity, we hereby enjoin as follows:

1. This our Pastoral Letter shall be publicly read in all the churches and chapels of the archdiocese of Westminster and the diocese of Southwark on the Sunday after its being received.

2. On the following Sunday there shall be in every such church or chapel a solemn Benediction of the blessed Sacrament, at which shall be sung the *Te Deum*, with the usual versicles and prayers, with the prayer also *Fidelium Deus Pastor et Rector* for the Pope.

3. The collect, *Pro Gratiarum Actione*, or thanksgiving, and that for the Pope, shall be recited in the Mass of that day, and for two days following.

4. Where Benediction is never given, the *Te Deum*, with its prayers, shall be recited or sung after Mass, and the collects above-named shall be added as enjoined.

And at the same time, earnestly entreating for ourselves also a place in your fervent prayers, we lovingly implore for you, and bestow on you, the blessing of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Given out of the Flaminian Gate of Rome, this seventh day of October, in the year of our Lord MDCCCL.

(Signed)

NICHOLAS,

Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

By command of his Eminence,

FRANCIS SEARLE, Secretary.

NEW CHURCH AND MISSION AT GATESHEAD.

WE beg to call attention to the following extracts from an address to his flock from the Rev. F. Betham, as supplying the history of the persecution of a Catholic mission in past times, and as furnishing an instance of the manner in which the restoration of what has long been lost may be commenced on the soundest Catholic principles. Mr. Betham has adopted the plan, which cannot be too much recommended, of erecting a temporary building, until a fitting church can be erected. There will be no seat-rents of any kind.

“Benigne fac Domine in bona voluntate tua Sion: ut ædificentur muri Jerusalem.”

Ps. l.

To the faithful Catholics of the Parish of Gateshead, in the Diocese of Hexham.

Dearly beloved in the Lord,—To build up the ruined walls of Jerusalem is one of the chiefest cares of the watchmen of Sion: and hence it is with no ordinary feelings of gladness that I this day give myself to a work which, from the time I have known the ancient kingdom of Northumbria, has claimed a foremost place in my heart. Gateshead, once the habitation of holy religious, has been too long left a widow, deprived of a church or resident pastor. . . . It was here that the Rev. John Ingram, who is commemorated under No. 104 in the Memoirs of the Missionary Priests, was concealed in the time of the fierce persecution of Elizabeth; but to no purpose, for afterwards falling into the hands of his enemies, he was committed to Durham gaol, put to the rack and tortured by order of the Count Palatine (an ecclesiastic be it remembered), and afterwards arraigned of high treason for the crime of being a priest, and officiating as such; and finally, on the 25th July, 1594, hanged, drawn, and quartered in front of the house and chapel of the

Riddells in Gateshead, although one thousand crowns were offered by the Riddells, and the same sum by the Tempests of Stella Hall, and other families in Newcastle, to have his life spared; but, as the judge who condemned him intimated, he was too indefatigable a missionary to be allowed to escape. . . . The chapel in the house of the Riddells continued to be regularly served by priests, and in 1731 the Rev. Thomas Maire, S. J., was incumbent thereof: in 1746, however, on the return of Cumberland from his bloody raid in Scotland, after the defeat of the Scottish adherents of the Prince at Culloden, a mob collected in Gateshead to do the Duke honour as he passed, set fire to Gateshead House, the residence of the Riddells, which, together with the chapel, was burnt to the ground. The clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Walsh, fled to Felling Hall, then the seat of the Brandlings. Shortly afterwards he removed to a house in the Close, Newcastle, where he died in 1775, and was buried in St. Nicholas' churchyard. He was succeeded by the Rev. William Warrilow, of Ellingham in Northumberland, who removed from the Close to Westgate Street, where he fitted up an upper room for a chapel. For we must bear in mind that the penal laws against Catholics were not relaxed until the year 1778, so that it was unsafe to open public chapels. . . . The Rev. Mr. Warrilow died on the 18th November, 1807, and was interred in St. John's churchyard. From this time (until the building of St. Mary's Church, Clayton Street West) there was but one chapel, that of the Rev. James Worswick, representing the united parishes of Newcastle and Gateshead. The late Bishop Riddell made many efforts to restore the old chapel in Gateshead, but the prescribed time was not yet come. . . . Our present venerable Bishop no sooner succeeded him in the government of the Northumbrian churches than he began to turn his eyes towards Gateshead; and it is now eighteen months since his Lordship first proposed to me, although most unworthy, the task of reconstructing the former church of Gateshead, now upwards of a century since it had ceased to exist separately from Newcastle. However, circumstances did not then favour the undertaking, and it was postponed to a more convenient period; when, unexpectedly, towards the middle of this year, various and weighty reasons tended to bring it about. These were at once submitted to the Bishop, who, in a letter dated the 21st of June in this year, in general terms approved of the undertaking, to which his Lordship afterwards, at his residence at Darlington, and again on the feast of St. James the Apostle, at the college of St. Cuthbert, Ushaw, gave his particular sanction, and commissioned me, your unworthy servant, to organise subscriptions for that purpose in the whole town of Gateshead. Nor did I for one moment delay, but at once ordained a general and perpetual collection to be made for this object, beginning from the labouring classes at the rate of one shilling per month, and so in proportion to the wealth and means of each one. . . .

If the standard of Jesus floats aloft to encourage us, it is no solitary ensign; for in its company is the banner of our Lady, the protectress of Gateshead, and that of the holy Northumbrian prelate, St. Wilfrid, the patron of our future church. Already has the protection of these great saints been experienced; for we have, in the teeth of seeming difficulties, obtained from the lord of the manor of Gateshead half an acre of freehold ground in the very centre of the town, at an expense of 800*l.*, every farthing of which must be paid before one stone is allowed to be put in the ground, which should urge you on to greater exertions in the cause. But lest you should weary and grow cold through hope too long deferred, I, not unmindful of the history of our ancestors in the faith,

and more especially having before the eyes what the sainted Bishop Paulinus did in propagating the faith in Northumbria, have determined to walk in their footsteps: for we read in the *Ecclesiastical History* of the Venerable Beda, that when King Edwin and all his people were baptised by the holy Bishop at York, the sacrament of faith was administered in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, which the king had caused to be hastily built of wood, when he was instructed and baptised in the faith; but that, as soon as he was baptised, he took care, at the suggestion of Paulinus, to build a larger basilica of stone in the same place, in which the wooden oratory he had first constructed was included.

Acting, then, in accord with the council I have selected for the perfection of this work, I have, with the episcopal sanction, determined on the erection of a wooden church, in which the holy sacrifice may be offered up, and all other ecclesiastical functions be duly performed, until such time as we shall be in a position to build a church of stone. So, in like manner, until the parochial residence can be erected, I have thought well to fix it for the present in the new street of St. Catharine, which, being in the centre of the parish, can easily be reached by all. Matters being thus disposed, I trust I shall be able to be in the midst of you in the space of three months; but the necessary furniture of the oratory and parochial residence will necessitate a sum at the very least amounting to 200*l*. But, my brethren, since the Apostles did not consider it fitting that they should leave the Word of God, and minister at tables, and as the priesthood is set apart for the assistance of the Episcopacy in the administration of the Word and Sacraments, you will not expect that I, already overburdened with spiritual cares, should myself come amongst you to collect your alms and decimal contributions. With regard to the first, you will bear in mind what the Christians of Antioch did in favour of their poorer brethren of Judea, the disciples, every man according to his ability, sending relief to them by the hands of Barnabas and Saul; and with regard to the second, you will remember the precept of the Apostle to the Church of Corinth, "concerning the collections that are made for the saints, as likewise he had given orders to the Churches of Galatia, so also he prescribed for them, on the first day of the week, that every one should put apart with himself, laying up what it should well please him, that when he came, the collections should not then have to be made." Furthermore, brethren, you will remember, that what the Apostle leaves thus to the good-will of each one, the Church in her legislative capacity has subsequently fixed at a tenth of our substance, or fruits. My collectors, then, will continue to receive your regular contributions for the work, and the members of my council will solicit the alms of the faithful in the neighbouring cities and towns; whilst those who are at a distance will not fail, on knowing that you number between two and three thousand souls without a resident priest, and that there are few amongst you whom Heaven has blessed with ample means—they, I say, will not fail to send opportune succour to you in your need. I, on my part, will not cease to beseech Heaven in your behalf, and will weekly offer up the sacrifice of the immaculate Lamb for those who assist in the good work until its completion; and after that, monthly, for all benefactors living and dead, as long as it may please our heavenly Father to vouchsafe to me the use of my faculties. Nor will you be unmindful of the alms of prayer; but will bear in mind that we have a great work in hand, and that, if God is for us, who shall be against us? Omit not, brethren, also to pray for me, your unworthy but devoted servant. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, brethren.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

POPULAR SERVICES.—“Y.” Our esteemed correspondent has, with some others, overlooked certain statements in the article in question, and has attributed to its author an object at which he was far from aiming. If he will return to our pages, he will find that it was said that *Vespers are* in universal use on the Continent in *cathedral, collegiate, and monastic* churches, and that they are sung in various others *also*. France in particular was specified as a country where parochial vespers are common. The Roman vespers were also referred to. We admit, however, that the *extent* of their use ought to have been more fully explained. The opinion of the writer of the article, that Latin vespers are not likely to become generally *congregational* in England, grounded on the fact that they are not so abroad, remains untouched. On the shewing of our correspondent himself, France is the only country where the people heartily *adopt* the Latin vespers-service. In other countries where vespers are common the congregations merely listen to them as in England.

We must also remind our correspondent, that it was implied that vespers *do* form a part of the services of the Oratorian churches in our express statement that they do so in all *collegiate and monastic* churches. As to any thing like an “anti-vesper movement,” nothing could be more foreign to the views advocated in the article. So far from it, its aim was to suggest a method for *improving* the singing of vespers, by discontinuing them where they are *already* found to be a failure as a “congregational” service, that by uniting scattered forces they might be sung well in as many churches as possible. Of course, it is nothing more than our own opinion that such a course *would* tend to the improvement of vespers. Still, we do so think, believing that the surest method for making vespers at once general and congregational is to sing them thoroughly well. Let them only be sung as they ought to be in a few churches, and far more would be done towards their ultimate general adoption in towns and cities than can ever be expected from the practice of introducing them at once into a voiceless congregation, and thus prejudicing all but the more cultivated few against so exquisite a service. That such a method *would* succeed in towns, where the people are more quick and intelligent than in villages, we fully believe. English people can be best led, in music as in other things, by example. It is vain to try to persuade the immense majority of persons that vespers *may* be made as magnificent as they are now often made ridiculous. But let them once hear them really sung to the genuine tones, in the true style, by a large congregation, and a love for the service will immediately follow. That a *good* vespers-service is *now* practicable in Catholic churches generally, for ourselves, we do not believe. In some it is so; and if it were in such cases cultivated to the highest point attainable, in the course of a few years a most striking general improvement would probably be the result. That the English *agricultural* poor will *ever* be brought to sing vespers congregationally, we venture to re-express our doubts.

END OF VOL. VI.



